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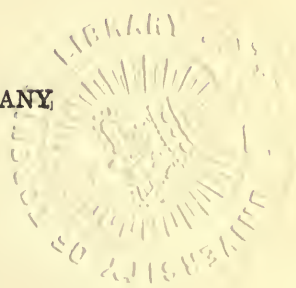
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WHERE THE AMERICANS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE



The eight-mile sector on the Lorraine front taken over by the Americans lies between Fliry and Apremont on the southern side of the St. Mihiel salient. Arrows indicate other sectors where Americans are fighting

FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG



A new portrait of the British Commander in Chief from a drawing
in color by Francis Dodd

(Reproduced from "Generals of the British Army," by courtesy of the George
H. Doran Company)

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1918]

THE MONTH'S WAR DEVELOPMENTS

THE chief events during the month ended March 20, 1918, were political. Transcending all else in importance was the complete collapse of Russia, an event in which the policy of the Bolsheviks attained its logical result in their acceptance of a humiliating peace, forced upon them by the Central Powers. Rumania followed suit, being compelled by her isolation to sign a mortifying peace in order to escape the complete extinction of her separate sovereignty. The secession of Ukraina and Finland from the former Russian Empire had provoked civil war, and fierce struggles raged in both regions throughout the month between the secessionists, who were aided by the Germans and Austrians, and the Bolsheviks.

The Germans made a separate peace treaty with Finland, as they had with Ukraina, and crossed the latter country to the Black Sea, occupying Kiev, Odessa, and other chief cities on the pretense of aiding the Rada. The Turks at the same time received a valuable strip of Trans-Caucasia, torn from Russia by the peace treaty, while Rumania was forced to give up her Black Sea littoral, thus placing that sea wholly under control of the Central Powers, with unobstructed rail connection from Berlin to Odessa, thence through Batum, on the Asiatic side, into the heart of Asia.

The Supreme War Conference, consisting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, issued a declaration on March 19 refusing to acknowledge the peace treaties signed by the Russians and Rumanians, and pledging their countries to continue fighting until they had "finished once for all the German policy of plunder, and established in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice."

There was considerable agitation over the possible intervention of Japan in Siberia in order to protect the allied interests in that part of Asia. All the

allied countries gave their assent; the United States registered no protest, but refused to assent to the suggestion.

The United States and Great Britain, on March 14, announced their intention of seizing more than 600,000 tons of Dutch shipping which had been lying idle in their ports, agreeing to make reparation and give compensation at the end of the war, meanwhile supplying fuel and food to Holland. This action was taken in consequence of the refusal of the Dutch to transfer their ships voluntarily on account of threats by Germany to torpedo these vessels if Holland yielded to the Allies' request.

The American troops took over three sectors of the front in France. Troops continued to leave American ports in large numbers throughout the month. No figures were given out, but it was stated that the expectation of having 500,000 men in France in the early Spring would be realized. Details of the prodigious progress made by the United States in war preparations appear in subsequent pages of this issue.

The military operations of the month were unimportant. The expected German offensive on the western front did not materialize. The activities consisted of numerous raids from both sides. The British made further advances in Palestine and Mesopotamia. There were intermittent raids and bombardments on the Italian front, but no general engagement developed.

* * *

THE WAR FORCED ON FRANCE

STEPHEN PICHON, the French Foreign Minister, in an address at the Sorbonne in Paris, March 1, 1918, made public two documents, one of which made clear the German Government's long-standing determination to force war upon France, while the other furnished an acknowledgment by Germany that she regarded Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 as French territory. It was explained that the documents had not previously been

published, because the code could not be deciphered; the Foreign Office had succeeded only a few days before in deciphering the document. In referring to the forcing of the war, M. Pichon said:

I will establish by documents that the day the Germans deliberately rendered inevitable the most frightful of wars they tried to dishonor us by the most cowardly complicity in the ambush into which they drew Europe. I will establish it in the revelation of a document which the German Chancellor, after having drawn it up, preserved carefully, and you will see why, in the most profound mystery of the most secret archives.

We have known only recently of its authenticity, and it defies any sort of attempt to disprove it. It bears the signature of Bethmann Hollweg (German Imperial Chancellor at the outbreak of the war) and the date July 31, 1914. On that day von Schön (German Ambassador to France) was charged by a telegram from his Chancellor to notify us of a state of danger of war with Russia and to ask us to remain neutral, giving us eighteen hours in which to reply.

What was unknown until today was that the telegram of the German Chancellor containing these instructions ended with these words:

If the French Government declares it will remain neutral your Excellency will be good enough to declare that we must, as a guarantee of its neutrality, require the handing over of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun; that we will occupy them and will restore them after the end of the war with Russia. A reply to this last question must reach here before Saturday afternoon at 4 o'clock.

That is how Germany wanted peace at the moment when she declared war! That is how sincere she was in pretending that we obliged her to take up arms for her defense! That is the price she intended to make us pay for our baseness if we had the infamy to repudiate our signature as Prussia repudiated hers by tearing up the treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium!

Bethmann Hollweg on March 18 acknowledged the accuracy of M. Pichon's quotation and declared that his instructions to von Schön were justified.

Taking up the question of Alsace-Lorraine, M. Pichon said:

Our mortal enemy in the war of 1871, von Moltke, declared on the morrow of the Treaty of Frankfurt that it would require no less than fifty years to wean the heart of her lost provinces from France.

M. Pichon contrasted the German acceptance then that the provinces were in reality French with the reiterated pretensions of German statesmen since, especially the assertions of former Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg and the present Chancellor, Count von Hertling, that in the main the provinces were always German.

The Foreign Minister made public for the first time the full text of a letter written by William I., the grandfather of the present German Emperor, to Empress Eugénie. The letter is dated Versailles, Oct. 26, 1870, and says:

After the immense sacrifices for her defense, Germany desires to be assured that the next war will find her better prepared to repel the aggression upon which we can count as soon as France shall have repaired her forces and gained allies. This is the melancholy consideration alone, and not a desire to augment my country, whose territory is sufficiently great, that obliges me to insist upon a cession of territories that has no other object than to throw back to the starting point the French armies which in the future will come to attack us.

After reading this passage M. Pichon asked:

Can one better destroy the legend which von Hertling tries to establish—that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine had for its origin in the minds of its authors the wish to return to Germany German provinces of which she had been dispossessed by French usurpation?

* * *

GERMANY'S ANNEXATION PLANS

HUGO HAASE, leader of the Independent Socialists, during an argument in the Main Committee of the Reichstag early in February, read excerpts from a secret official communication sent to the Austro-Hungarian Government by Chancellor Michaelis outlining the German Government's plans for annexation of parts of Russia and France. He read these for the purpose of proving that the German Government, while pretending to pay heed to the Reichstag majority resolution of July 19, 1917, calling for peace without annexations or war indemnities, really had no idea of giving up its Junker policy of seizing all the foreign territory it thought practicable. When the items were read the Government's representa-

tives at the session did not question their genuineness, but a few days later the *Kölnische Zeitung*, a Government mouth-piece, tried to prove them falsified. In answer, says The Manchester Guardian, Deputy Haase gave the document, which was written by the then Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, to the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* for publication. Its salient paragraphs read as follows:

The motive of all of Germany's acts is the lack of territory, both for the development of commerce and colonization. Germany has to solve two problems—the freedom of the seas and the opening of a route to the southeast. And these two problems can only be solved through the destruction of England. Our object is the permanent securing of the German Empire in Central Europe and the extension of its territory.

No one who understands the significance of this war can doubt that, in spite of our wish to be moderate, we shall not allow ourselves to be deterred from extending the borders of the empire and from, under all circumstances, annexing such territories as are fitted for colonization and are not subjected to the influence of the sea powers.

We cannot defeat Russia, because we are not in a position to strike directly at the heart of the country, but we can weaken her materially by taking away her border territories, the Baltic provinces. By using skillful policies the Baltic provinces can easily be Germanized. They will be settled with Germans and their population will double itself. That is the reason why they must be annexed.

We wish the independence of the Ukraine and hope that the Ukraine will, if possible, be bounded by a line that can easily be defended against the Russians.

The frontier between the German Empire and Poland must be materially altered. Esthonia and North Livonia will be completely protected through the fortification of the right bank of the Narva and the Pripet. The lakes, which we shall not leave in the hands of the Russians at any price, will be included within our borders. The Dagö and Oesel Islands will remain German in order to make the Baltic safe against attack from the sea.

We shall take only parts of French territory so as to safeguard the empire against future attacks by the republic.

In the Vosges the boundary line must be improved through the annexation of some valleys, so that the German frontier troops can no longer be fired upon from French territory. France will lose Briey and a strip of land west of Luxemburg. The value of Briey in an economic and military sense is evident from the fact that 16,000,000 tons of iron ore are pro-

duced there. For the safeguarding of the German and Luxemburg iron industry and its territory Longwy must remain in our hands. France must be compensated by a piece of the provinces of Hennegau, Brabant, and Luxemburg.

* * *

DURATION OF THE PRESENT WAR AND OF FORMER WARS

IN considering the probable duration of the war, the analogy is suggested that in earlier periods of European history wars continued through whole generations. When, in 1066, the Duke of Normandy, the greatest vassal of France, became also King of England, the Kings of France began a struggle, which continued at intervals for centuries, to drive the rulers of England from French soil. A period of great military activity began in 1338, when Edward III. declared war on France, thus opening the first hundred years' war, which lasted, with brief truces, until 1453, and of which Joan of Arc was the heroine. A second period of protracted fighting began with the wars of Louis XIV., in 1667, when his ambition to conquer the Netherlands was frustrated by William of Orange, (later King of England.)

After a lull fighting began again in 1689, which was destined to continue almost up to the time of the French Revolution, and which involved both America and India. In 1756 Washington and Clive, the one in Pennsylvania, the other on the Ganges, were both English officers fighting against France. This second hundred years' war included the war of the Spanish succession, in which the first Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won supreme distinction, and the war of the Austrian succession, which laid the foundation of Prussia's future power. The last period, from 1775 to 1783, covered the time of our own Revolution.

After a very brief interval the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon I. followed, covering the periods from 1792 to 1815. From 1803 to 1815 there was almost incessant fighting, made notable by the supreme military genius of Napoleon. Another long war belongs more to German history—the Thirty

Years' War, 1618-48. It is recorded to have been the most destructive and bloodthirsty war in history. Mansfield and Wallenstein, one on either side, adopted the policy of "frightfulness," by which half the population and two-thirds of the property of Germany were swept out of existence. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

* * *

FOR A CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION

A DECLARATION in favor of complete independence for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in a unified Czechoslovak State was adopted at Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, by a convention which included all the Czechoslovak Deputies in the Austrian Reichsrat and in the Diets of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, together with representatives of the commercial and literary classes, besides Dr. Kramarz and other Deputies who were deprived of their seats in the Reichsrat, and imprisoned for their participation in a similar declaration on May 30 last by the club of Czech Deputies in the Reichsrat. The convention was described as "a Constituent Assembly of the Czech Nation."

The declaration of the convention was suppressed by the Austrian censor and did not reach the United States until March 14. It was reaffirmed on Feb. 10, according to Czechoslovak leaders in this country, by a meeting of Czech Deputies of the Reichsrat, including all the representatives of all parties.

The resolution of Jan. 6, together with criticisms of Count Czernin's attitude in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk which were made at the same meeting, were bitterly attacked in the Austrian Reichsrat on Jan. 22 by Dr. von Seydler, the Prime Minister, who has since resigned. "One looks in vain in this resolution," he said, "for even a distant note of attachment to the dynasty and the State as a whole. Our enemies may read in it an encouragement to persevere in the pursuit of principles which conflict with the existence of the present Austrian State. It must be rejected with indignation by every Austrian and re-

sisted by every Austrian Government with all the means at its disposal."

The only reply to this was the reaffirmation of Feb. 10 and the declaration of Czech newspapers of all parties, including the Socialist, that the nation stood firmly behind its representatives.

* * *

AMERICAN LITHUANIANS IN CONVENTION

A CONVENTION of 1,800 Lithuanian delegates from all parts of the United States, comprising representative men of that nationality in this country, was held in New York, March 14-15, 1918. Resolutions were adopted repeating the demand for absolute independence for Lithuania "as a sovereign and independent democratic State within its own ethnographic boundaries, with the necessary corrections." Fear that the peace conferences at the war's end might be influenced to insist on union with Poland was expressed by many of the speakers, and there was insistence by the entire convention that the independence to be accorded the nation must be entire and free from any Polish connection.

While the suggestion of several delegates that Poland be named specifically in the resolutions demanding independence was not carried out, the opposition to union with Poland was so marked that a resolution was adopted declaring that land in Lithuania should be owned only by citizens of Lithuania. "This is aimed," said a statement issued by the organization of the convention, "against the danger of other nations buying up the land and colonizing with men of their own nationality." This danger is feared from both Germany and Poland, and the present ownership of large estates in Lithuania by a Polonized nobility gave a considerable impetus to the support of this resolution.

It was also voted as the sentiment of the convention, however, that full freedom should be accorded to the peoples of other nationalities living within the Lithuanian Republic. This would give recognition of cultural rights to the Polish minority found in many districts where the population is predominantly Lithuanian, but more particularly it would operate to guarantee cultural autonomy for the very

large Jewish element in the population of the country.

The Roman Catholic delegates joined in a cablegram to the Pope expressive of appreciation for his "hearty support of the right of nations to self-determination," and for his "paternal interest in Lithuania."

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THE KAISER'S PAEANS OF VICTORY

THE capitulation of the Bolshevik Government of Russia was the occasion of a series of telegrams by the Kaiser in response to congratulations. These characteristic utterances indicate a fresh increase in the Kaiser's faith in the sword. On March 6 the following telegrams were sent:

To Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

Now the costly prize of victory in the long struggle is in our hands. Our Baltic brethren and countrymen are liberated from Russia's yoke, and may again feel themselves Germans. God was with us, and will continue to aid us.

To King Frederick August of Saxony:

I feel the greatest gratitude toward God and the army, which has extorted this peace. The east front now having become free, we have made an enormous step forward. Firmly trusting in the sword, I face a future which will, after all heavy sacrifices, bring us victory and a strong peace.

To Prince Leopold of Bavaria (Praising his troops):

In irresistible marches over bad roads in ice and snow they did their utmost. The victorious march in the last fortnight will remain a glorious page in the history of the German Army.

On March 8:

To Philip Heineken, Director North German Lloyd Steamship Company:

The German sword is our best protection. With God's help it will also bring us peace in the west and, indeed, the peace which, after much distress and many troubles, the German people need for a happy future.

To the Vice President of the Reichstag:

The complete victory fills me with gratitude. It permits us to live again one of those great moments in which we can reverently admire God's hand in history. The turn that events have taken is by the disposition of God.

The heroic deeds of our troops, the successes of our great Generals, and the wonderful achievements of those at home have their roots in moral forces and in the categorical imperative which has

been inculcated in our people in a hard school. They will also carry us through in a decisive and final battle to victory.

In the great tasks upon which the conclusion of peace, reconstruction, and the healing of the wounds of war will set us I desire my people to rely on the old historical experience that unity means strength. May our people face the new time and its tasks with a strong sense of the realities, with unbending faith in themselves and their mission, and with strong, patriotic, and proud joy in the Fatherland, bound to me and my house by old and proved bonds of mutual trust. I do not doubt that a rich, strong, and happy people will arise out of the storms and sacrifices of this time.

On March 9 the following:

To the Bremen Senate:

In long years of struggle the German people in arms, led by ideal Generals, have broken the Russian power and won the safety of the empire in the east. Moreover, we are finally able to respond to the call for help by the hard-pressed Germans and border peoples of Russia, who were striving for free development, and to secure for them a guarantee of new and better times.

When we look back over the events of these years and grasp the significance of the peace gained in the east, which means the bursting of the ring the enemy laid around us, we must look up to Almighty God with heartfelt thanks, who has so gloriously directed everything. We will draw from this fact strong confidence that the end of the world war will open a happy future to our beloved German Fatherland.

On March 10:

To the Prussian Upper House:

Even if the road to a general peace is a long one, a good beginning has been made, and I confidently trust that our victorious sword and steadfast unity in this serious work soon will bring us within sight of the goal, which will give us the great peace. God grant it.

To the East Prussian Diet:

The Province of East Prussia is especially dear to my heart. In this war it has made great sacrifices and, therefore, it will more gladly acknowledge the hand of God as now shown in the east. We owe our victory largely to the moral and spiritual treasures which the great philosopher of Königsberg bestowed upon our people. [The reference is to Immanuel Kant, who was born there in 1724.]

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THE number of noncombatants, including women and children, who lost their lives in air raids in England up to Feb. 13, 1918, was 1,284; 3,105 were in-

jured. The number of noncombatants of Great Britain, including women and children, killed by German U-boats during the war up to Feb. 13, 1918, totaled 12,836. No statistics are given of the number of submarine victims whose health has been permanently injured by their experience.

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THE CHECKERED HISTORY OF ODESSA

THE seizure of Odessa by a German force, several days after the signing of a peace with Ukraina, in whose territory Odessa is at present, recalls the many vicissitudes of the great Black Sea port, which has, at different periods, been in the hands of half a dozen nationalities. During the days following the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts to seek the golden fleece in what is now Georgia, (a small country which still depicts the golden fleece in its national coat of arms,) there was extensive Greek colonization of the northern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea, and a grand trade route ran from Odessos, a Greek settlement half way between the Dnieper and the Bug, as far north as the Baltic, from which amber was brought to Greece.

For several centuries, this region drops out of history, to reappear, in the fourteenth century, as a port of Lithuania; it was subsequently held by the Poles, who absorbed Lithuania; by the Tartars, and by the Turks, who, after much hard fighting, finally ceded it to Russia in 1791, in the days of Catherine the Great, who owes her title largely to this victorious war against Turkey. A French Captain, de Ribas, a French architect, Voland, and a French nobleman, Armand, Duc de Richelieu, greatly enlarged and beautified the city under Catherine's orders, and Richelieu's statue still dominates the city, standing in the central square at the head of the immense staircase of 200 granite steps which leads down from the high ground on which the city is built to the quays of the port.

This high ground, from 100 to 150 feet above sea level, runs back into the "black soil" of the rich wheat lands. It rests on sandstone, which has been

quarried out, forming catacombs beneath the town. Odessa, (which had, just before the war, a population of 630,000, being the third city in Russia,) though it is in the south of Russia, lies, in fact, about on the latitude of Montreal, and has a correspondingly severe climate, with a Winter average of 23 degrees Fahrenheit, so that the harbors are frozen for two or three weeks each year. Moscow is more than a thousand miles north of Odessa.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN 1917

ANDREW BONAR LAW, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the House of Commons Feb. 14, summarized the achievements of the Government in 1917 as follows:

MAN-POWER.—In 1917 we put into the army 820,645 additional men. We placed in civil employment at home 731,000 men and 804,000 women.

FOOD PRODUCTION.—Last year 1,000,000 additional acres were brought under the plough. The additional amount of cereals produced was 850,000 tons, and of potatoes 3,000,000 tons. Already this year a further 800,000 acres had been brought under the plough in England, and 400,000 in Scotland and Wales.

WHEAT STOCKS.—There were 2,000,000 more quarters of wheat in this country at the end of last year than at the end of December, 1916.

SHIPBUILDING.—In 1916 the total quantity built was 539,000 tons. In 1917 the tonnage built in this country was 1,163,474 tons, and we secured abroad 170,000 tons in addition.

BETTER USE OF SHIPS.—Notwithstanding the loan of 1,500,000 gross tons to the Allies we imported precisely the same amount from September to November last year as from February to April. Whereas before the war every 100 tons net shipping brought to this country 106 tons of goods, the average was now 150 tons.

TIMBER.—We succeeded last year in reducing the imports of timber by 3,000,000 tons. That has been made good by an increase of 1,800,000 tons at home, and the balance has been made good by our work in France.

MUNITIONS.—The number of guns available in France increased last year by 30 per cent. The supply of airplanes in 1917 was two and a half times as great as in 1916.

AMERICA IN THE WAR

A MONTH'S PROGRESS IN BELLIGERENT ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND AT THE FRONT

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 18, 1918]

A LARGER number of American troops on four different sectors of the French front and a growing casualty list have been the chief indications during the last month of the increasing strength of the United States as a military factor in the war. At home the army has been growing mainly through enlistments in the regular branch of the service, by the calling up of the last increments of the first draft for the national army, and of additional men to replace those who have fallen out through death, illness, and other causes. The multifarious activities of equipping troops, providing munitions and supplies, and keying up the war machine are outlined in the article on Page 14. War Department and army officials have made many changes and improvements in the light of criticism and experience, and there has consequently been a marked decrease in the amount of faultfinding and dissatisfaction.

In the industrial sphere there has been corresponding progress. The railway congestion and coal shortage of January were relieved by the drastic measures already recorded in these pages, and the projected series of ten "heatless Mondays" was discontinued after the third week. The most serious delay in the war program has been in aircraft production; in consequence, German aviators have been able to fly over the American lines and obtain valuable information as to the positions held by our troops.

In shipbuilding, the initial stage of creating and equipping yards is well-nigh complete, and all the big establishments created in the last few months are now rapidly laying keels. From some of the new yards ships have already been launched, and will soon be ready for serv-

ice. Much of the discontent of the workmen has disappeared, and by a process of eliminating the less competent and more unruly the labor forces are both more adequate and more adapted to fulfilling the nation's requirements.

With the passing of the Winter the fuel situation has eased; while food, though still at the abnormal prices caused by unusual conditions, causes no anxiety.

The chief measure passed by Congress has been the Railroad Control bill, which in its final form prescribes that the roads are to remain in the hands of the Government for twenty-one months after the war, and that the guaranteed income to the owners shall be about \$945,000,000 a year. Legislation to establish a War Finance Corporation is still under discussion. A bill to increase the war powers of the President is meeting with considerable opposition. A bill to set forward the clocks of the country one hour during the seven months beginning the last Sunday in March has been passed. The daylight saving law, as it is called, will, it is expected, effect considerable economies in fuel for lighting purposes.

The further financing of the war is to be partly met by a third Liberty loan, the opening of which has been set for April 6.

The embargo laws, controlling exports and imports, have proved very effective in compelling the neutral countries of Northern Europe to enter into agreements which practically complete the blockade of Germany.

The summary of casualties to March 18 among American troops showed 152 killed in action, 142 killed by accident, 671 died of disease, 237 lost at sea, 6 fatally gassed, 584 wounded, 21 captured, and 14 missing.

Americans' Baptism of Fire in France

FOR an ever-increasing number of American soldiers life in the trenches, with its attendant risks and excitements of making or repelling raids, is becoming a matter of course. Slowly and steadily the men of Pershing's army have been taking over parts of the line hitherto held by the French, and are now in positions on at least four sectors of the front. The longest of these sectors is that northwest of Toul, and is about eight miles in length. [For maps see article on "Military Events of the Month."]

While the primary object of occupying trenches on different parts of the line has so far been that of training officers and men in modern warfare, the beginnings of the nation's sacrifice are seen in the classified list of casualties which was published by the War Department on March 15. From the arrival of the first contingent in France up to that date the summary showed the following:

Killed in action.....	136
Killed by accident.....	134
Died of disease.....	641
Lost at sea.....	237
Suicide	11
Unknown causes.....	13
Died of wounds.....	26
Executed	1
Civilians	7
Gassed	6

Total deaths.....	1,212
Wounded	475
Captured	21
Missing	14

Total casualties..... 1,722

Soon after the Americans took up positions in the sector northwest of Toul the Germans began to concentrate artillery opposite them, and, aided by airplanes, which flew repeatedly over the American positions, made a target of them. From hardly more than 150 shells a day the Germans now increased the number to about a thousand, but the American guns replied with at least two or three shells for every one fired by the Germans. Artillery dueling thus became as much

a feature of the Americans' training under actual war conditions as infantry work. The activity of the German airplanes was the most exasperating to them, because of lack of machines to fight them, especially when German aviators dared to fly low enough to empty machine guns into the American trenches and positions behind the lines.

The participation of American units in the defense of the famous Chemin des Dames (Aisne) sector was announced on Feb. 22. They had been there for some time, but their presence was kept a secret until it was certain that the enemy knew of their presence. This announcement showed that United States troops were now on the front in three different sectors, namely St. Mihiel, Champagne, and the Aisne. The first raid in which Americans took part in the Chemin des Dames sector was in conjunction with French troops on Feb. 23. A whole battalion volunteered, but only two officers and twenty-six men were selected to make up the party of 100 men who, protected by barrage fire, raided the German lines and captured a number of prisoners.

Americans were subjected to two formidable gas attacks on the morning of Feb. 26. Some of the men were caught by the gas before they were able to adjust their masks, with the result that several were fatally gassed; altogether about sixty men were more or less severely affected by the poisonous fumes. A couple of days later the Germans again used gas in a vigorous attack which was preceded by a heavy barrage fire directed against the American positions. The French and German official reports of March 1, describing a hand-to-hand encounter in which Americans were associated with French troops, indicated that one of the American positions was near Chavignon, north of the western end of the Chemin des Dames and a mile and a half northwest of Pargny-Filain.

Both on the Chemin des Dames and Toul sectors the Germans continued to make attacks which were obviously

directed against the American positions and to counter the raids by American troops. American heavy artillery was brought into action with good results, while the infantrymen acquitted themselves excellently. They were becoming accustomed to gas attacks and to meet the onset of German troops specially trained in trench raiding and shock tactics. A map found on the body of a German officer who was killed in one of these attacks proved how completely the Germans prepared their raids. It showed in detail every machine-gun emplacement, every trench, and every depression in the ground within the American lines.

A dispatch dated March 6 contained the information that American troops were on still another part of the French front, a sector in Lorraine. This position was described as east of Lunéville, near the border between French and German Lorraine. From the point of view of artillery fighting, this sector became the liveliest of any occupied by the Americans. American artillerymen demolished the German trenches and American infantry captured enemy positions northwest and northeast of Badonviller, which is about fifty-five miles southeast of where the United States troops were located in the Toul sector. The raids

carried out by the Americans near Lunéville were the most important to date.

General Pershing returned to his headquarters on Feb. 22 after a tour of inspection of the American front. He found that the troops were making steady progress daily and that by the midsummer of 1918 they ought to be in a position to give material aid to the Allies. The improvement since his visit four weeks previously was most marked.

It became known on March 7 that the American expeditionary force, before undertaking its first campaign, was to be organized into army corps consisting of six divisions each on the basis of the three-line method of trench warfare evolved in France, and that three or more army corps would constitute a field army. In addition to the six infantry divisions, each corps commander would have under him about 30,000 men known as corps troops, comprising artillery units, engineers, and all types of service battalions for work on the communication lines.

Negotiations between the United States and Spanish Governments were concluded by the ratification on March 8 of an agreement under which General Pershing is to obtain army supplies from Spain.

The Secretary of War Visits France

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War, with a staff of seven persons, arrived in France on March 10 on an American armored cruiser. The visit was undertaken at his own desire and with the approval of President Wilson. Mr. Baker was accompanied by Major Gen. William N. Black, Chief of Engineers of the Army; Lieut. Col. M. L. Brett, and Ralph Hayes, private secretary. During his absence the affairs of the War Department were handled by Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, with Major Gen. Peyton C. March as Acting Chief of Staff.

In Paris, where he arrived on March 11, Mr. Baker was received by General

Pershing, General Bliss, French officers representing Premier Clemenceau, and Ambassador Sharp. French opinion, as expressed by the press, was enthusiastic over the visit of the American War Secretary. In the statement he gave out for publication, Mr. Baker said:

Our purpose in visiting France is to confer with General Pershing, to visit the American expeditionary force, and inspect its lines of transportation and its storage and supply systems, in order that we in America can more effectively support our own army and the armies of our allies.

Of course, any visit to France at this time is a pilgrimage to the very shrine of heroism, and it will be an inspiration actually to see the great commanders and the armies which have so long held the frontiers of freedom against all attacks.

In America, as in France, we have a civilian Secretary of War, and civil power is supreme. That is one of the characteristics of the free institutions which we are fighting to maintain.

Civil power must bring up the supplies of organized industrial resources and support its armies. In America now the dominant thought in all minds is war. Industry is organized and supplies are beginning to be produced in a satisfactory quantity. War materials are accumulating and a great army is completing its training to join the force already here.

There can be but one result when the forces of civilization in great countries like those now allied are combined to

defend the vital principles of liberty. Our President has nobly phrased the spirit in which America entered the war, and his subsequent declarations reflect the feeling of the entire country that we are committed with all our resources to the winning of the war.

The American troops in the camps were delighted when they heard the news of Mr. Baker's arrival, because he would be able to see for himself the progress they had made and also discover on the spot deficiencies and requirements with which it was difficult to become acquainted in Washington.

Vast Supply Centres for Pershing's Army Behind the Lines in France

BEHIND the American Army in France there has been steadily growing up an organization which may almost be likened to that of a vast colonial enterprise, including the building of docks, warehouses, railroads, plants, and dwelling places, all for the purpose of supplying the men at the front with war material and catering to their physical needs. All this work is being done by Americans and nearly everything required has been sent from America. In one French port alone the American docks are costing millions of dollars. Over \$15,000,000 has already been spent on railroad construction, and it is now [March, 1918] possible to travel nearly 100 miles from the French coast on an American railroad.

Remarkable progress has been made by the American engineers in building warehouses and ordnance depots, despite the difficulties of transporting all the materials from America. The advance regulating station has nineteen warehouses completed, with a capacity of 5,000 tons each, to supply an army of 1,000,000 men. All this work, including the construction of the ordnance depot, railroad tracks, and barracks for several thousand men, has been completed since October, 1917.

Two intermediate stations can feed the same number. One has a refrigerating plant almost ready to hold 5,000 tons of

meat and to manufacture 500 tons of ice daily.

There is a camouflage studio, where a number of American and French artists are employed to supply the army with imitation forest screens for the communicating roads at the front, and coverings for guns and artillery bases. Another depot has a salvage plant, repairing 2,000 garments and 200 pairs of shoes daily. Several thousand men are employed in construction work at the various American depots. A total of 125 miles of tracks has been laid to the depots.

The various functions of the system of storage, transportation, and distribution of the hundred and one kinds of supplies are localized in three towns or cities situated respectively at the three corners of a triangle, and near enough to the training camps and front so that supplies can reach the furthest points in twenty-four hours.

GREAT ARMY BAKERIES

No link in the chain between "a port in France" and the American front is, perhaps, more interesting than the bakeries. When the troops began to arrive last Summer it was announced that they would be the first soldiers in Europe to receive white bread. For a time the troops, however, had to eat the dark French bread, until bakeries could be

established. Then, when a few field ovens had been set up a short distance behind the camping-training line, the men began to get their pure white bread. But the output required for the first arrivals was relatively small, and imposed few difficulties either on the bakers or on transportation.

Not only has all that changed, but the task of supplying the American troops in France with white bread has become a genuine industry, which is growing all the time. The few bakers originally have grown into companies, the relatively small daily quantity of bread turned out in July, 1917, has increased to scores of thousands of pounds, and entire shiploads of flour are arriving weekly and are being stored away in warehouses with capacity of millions of pounds, as a reserve against the arrival of still more troops.

The site originally chosen for the baking industry was selected by those who foresaw that it soon would develop to large proportions. The American Army first took possession of a huge bakery in a central French city, formerly operated by a German, and having a capacity for storing 1,500,000 pounds of flour, in addition to a not inconsiderable daily output of bread from its cake ovens. For the moment this establishment was more than ample for the needs of the first troops, but those making the arrangements knew that the time would soon come when the city bakery would be inadequate. So they went outside of the city and leased from the French a tract of land consisting of several thousand acres, upon which the conventional military wooden shacks soon sprang up and where there is room for an indefinite number of additional field bakeries, as the need may arise. By the time the city bakery had reached its capacity, the shacks were fully equipped with the very latest in baking machinery, while alongside of each building where are operated the mixing and kneading troughs there had been installed rows upon rows of field ovens that open conveniently a few feet from side entrances to the shacks, so that the kneaded loaves may be passed directly into place over the fire.

BAKING BY WOOD FIRE

The American authorities early foresaw probable difficulties in procuring a steady supply of coal, and decided from the outset to use only wood, for which the ovens were accordingly arranged. A large detachment of engineers was assigned to assist the bakers, and now furnishes a daily carload of wood for each of the baking companies. Additional engineers have arrived as fast as have been needed, and the reserve supply of wood on hand makes the plateaulike baking camp resemble a felled forest.

One of the first concerns of the officers in charge of the bakery was to provide railroad facilities, and to this end spur tracks have been constructed out to the field from the city. Over these tracks whole carloads of bread leave each morning and afternoon for the training camps and the front.

Each baking company, though supposed only to have an output of 30,000 pounds a day, for some time has been turning out from 33,000 to 35,000 pounds. The men, 101 in the company, work in two twelve-hour shifts, alternating week by week in day and night work. Their product, chiefly great, round, hard-crust-ed loaves, constitutes about forty separate shipments that are made daily by train, motor truck, and horse-drawn vehicles. The loaves are very hard on the outside to protect the bread as it is transported, but are soft inside. No soldier's bread is more than twenty-four, in rare instances thirty-six, hours old when he gets it. The bread is supplemented by biscuits and rolls to vary the monotony at breakfast and supper. All the product of the bakery is made as in ordinary times at home, except that sugar, one and a quarter pounds to 100 pounds of flour, is now omitted. The ingredients are flour, water, salt, and yeast. Shipments of these ingredients are arriving very regularly and satisfactorily.

In the city itself the Americans found one of the largest refrigerating and meat storage warehouses in France, and absorbed it last July, even though it was then many times larger than their needs. Its capacity is close to 2,000,000 pounds,

and while at times it has been full or nearly full, the supply is never permitted to fall below 500,000 pounds. There are more than 600,000 pounds there now. Direct railroad lines lead not only from the bakery and the refrigerating plant to the camps, but also from the seaports and the city, so that there is a constant flow of material into town as well as out.

Several miles westward, at the lower apex of the triangle, lies another French town which has all but bodily been taken over by the Americans as a storage centre. Here everything that comes under the head of nonperishable foods—canned goods, salt, sugar, vegetables, other than those bought fresh from the French peasants—is stored in huge quantities against the time of need.

One of the largest buildings which the Americans have taken over is devoted to equipment. Here are stored thousands upon thousands of uniforms and every article of clothing from shoes and caps down to buttons and handkerchiefs. The supply is not only large enough to meet all the re-equipment needs of the troops, estimated at several pairs of shoes a year and three or four uniforms, but to outfit all the newcomers who may arrive.

The bakery and cold storage plants at one apex of the triangle and the storage houses for clothing and nonperishable goods at another apex are all permanent sources of supply, where materials and goods come in huge quantities and whence they leave in bulk. At the third and upper apex is the "separator," into which everything flows, where it is split up and parceled out, and from which it is sent in large and small lots, according to the needs of this or that camp. Here a complicated organization has grown up which, with endless freight cars, motor trucks and horse-drawn vehicles at its disposal, seizes the bulk goods as they arrive, divides them into the requisite shipments, and is responsible for their arrival at camp behind the front.

The men who are doing all this work have long hours—none of them is on duty less than twelve hours and most of them work longer—and what they do lacks the zest of the spectacular without being entirely free from the dangerous features of warfare. Minus the popular acclaim which the fighting soldier gets, they are steadily and earnestly making the latter's task possible, and in their own way doing their share to win the war.

Providing Pershing's Army With Battleplanes

Secretary Baker's Report of Progress

WIDE attention was attracted by a dispatch, dated Feb. 20, 1918, from The Associated Press correspondent with the American Army in France, stating that control of the air in the American sector was at that time held by the Germans. The dispatch, as passed by the censor, said:

German airplanes come and go over the American lines almost at will. The chance of hitting an airplane with anti-aircraft shells is so remote that the enemy aviators calmly fly along as if on a pleasure tour. They take pictures, make observations, and do virtually whatever else they desire. It would be possible to carry quotations from virtually every officer at the front, urging a speedy appearance of large numbers of American airplanes with American pilots.

There is only one way to wrest control of the air from the enemy—that is to fight him for it in the sky and to relieve him of it by force of overwhelming numbers.

Any officer will say that the safety of individual soldiers depends upon keeping the enemy from doing as he pleases overhead. For days the Germans have been flying over some towns where American troops have been resting after periods in the trenches. Once or twice these daylight observation tours have been followed the same night by visits by enemy bombing planes. So free and unrestricted are the German airmen that in some towns the commands are under strict orders to disappear under cover the moment a German airplane is sighted. Moreover, officers say, more and more German airplanes are appearing in the sky, and in various quarters there is a growing belief that these are the first of

the machines which the Germans have been building to offset the large number of expected American airplanes in accordance with plans announced in the United States. Whether this belief is true or not, the fact remains that American troops are holding the sector and are endangered daily because there are no American airplanes with them. The question most asked from one end of the American front to the other is: "When are some American planes coming here?"

SECRETARY BAKER'S SUMMARY

Just before this dispatch was received, Mr. Baker, the Secretary of War, announced that the first American-built battleplanes were en route to the front in France. In the course of an important statement Mr. Baker summarized the story of America's efforts in aircraft production:

This first shipment, though in itself not large, marks the final overcoming of many difficulties met in building up this new and intricate industry.

These planes are equipped with the first Liberty motor from machine production. One of them in a recent test surpassed all records for speed and climbing for planes of that type.

Engine production, which began a month ago, is now on a quantity basis, and the peak of production will be reached in a few weeks. Only the twelve-cylinder type is being made, as developments abroad have made it wise to concentrate on the high-powered engine instead of the eight-cylinder.

These statements should not be exaggerated, but should be considered in the light of the following facts: After three years of warfare the total number of planes able to take the air at any one time on either side of the western front has not been over 2,500. This, combined with the fact that forty-six men are required on the ground for every plane in the air, gives a truer perspective of the European aviation situation than commonly possessed.

For every plane in the air there must be two replacement planes on the ground, and one training plane for every pilot who eventually reaches the front, with a spare engine for each plane. Moreover, while the American program has been delayed by difficulties which were impossible to foresee when the tentative program was adopted in all our lack of knowledge last Spring, it may be said that American planes are not due in France under the original schedule until July.

At the outbreak of war, the first step, both in sequence and importance, was to build up an industry to rush out the

training planes needed for the prospective aviators who were immediately on hand. This fresh and most promising personnel afforded indeed America's largest immediate source of aid to her associate nations in the war, which, while well able to turn out the latest type of airplanes, were seriously drained of men capable of manning them. The ultimate goal, however, was the construction of a large fleet of battleplanes.

Serious Problems Solved

Two serious problems, interwoven and reacting, were immediately met, the almost total lack both of airplane industry and of airplane engineering knowledge. The industry was rudimentary, with only one company on an appreciable production basis and another dozen small experimental companies. The metal work was mostly done by hand, each machine built as a separate unit, and little attempt made to manufacture from dies, jigs, or gauges. The estimates of the total value of the industry vary from \$2,000,000 to \$10,000,000 and of employees from 5,000 to 10,000. The Government was practically the only purchaser, having ordered 366 planes the year before the war, of which only sixty-six were actually delivered.

The engineering problems were even more complex. Europe, at war with the best engineers of each country pitted against each other in a struggle which knew no close, had worked out the most ingenious developments in the light of actual fighting experience. Information reaching here was generally fragmentary and always late. As a result, when war came, the United States had practically no airplane engineering staff and no modern fighting planes.

Construction of planes presented a much more complex problem than that of engines, which had been developed and produced here for other purposes on a colossal scale. The extreme refinement of their manufacture, requiring 23,000 screws in a single fighter, or 700 pieces of wood in a single wing, necessitated the most expert workmanship and balance to secure the essential combination of lightness with strength, and seemed to militate against quantity production.

New Ideas From Europe

The first step was to secure information from Europe. A commission was early sent across and rushed back the last minute details, upon the strength of which a large number of fighting planes of a certain type were ordered. The raw materials were very largely in hand and the drawings within several days of completion, when another cable said that this type had been superseded and should not be built. Nearly a month was thus

lost. Drawings then came for another type. They had just been redrawn for American manufacture and the diemakers put to work when a second and different set arrived. The work had to be cast aside and the process begun over again. Just as it was nearing completion, still a third set of drawings arrived and a third start was necessary. The unavoidable loss of time was preferred to turning out a design known at the outset to be out of date.

The effect of separation from the battlefields by 3,000 miles is further shown in that anywhere from seventeen days to eleven weeks have been required to secure various important samples from abroad. Another three weeks of day and night work is necessary to reduce the samples to drawings for American manufacture. It is significant of the rapid development of the art of aviation that not a single type of the original schedule has survived into the present program.

During the last months, however, a responsive channel of communication with the Allies has been opened, the latest types adapted to American manufacture, the industry increased at least twenty-fold, the training plane problem solved, and the production of battleplanes begun. It is still very necessary, however, to view America's effort in aviation against the true perspective, both in this country and in Europe.

The great problem now remaining is to secure the thousands of skilled mechanics, engine men, motor repair men, wood and metal workers, &c., needed to keep the planes always in perfect condition.

This great engineering and mechanical force at the airdromes, the flying fields, and the repair depots, both here and behind the line in France, is a vital industrial link in the chain to air supremacy. Without them the planes turned out would soon be useless and the fliers helpless.

At best the life of a plane is but two months, and the engines must be overhauled after seventy-five hours, while a pilot on a plane allowed to leave the hangars in imperfect condition is as helpless as a bird with a broken wing. Now that American battleplanes are going overseas, a great increase in the volunteering of skilled mechanics is both essential and expected.

On being questioned regarding the report that German airplanes were in control over the American lines in France, Mr. Baker said: "We are in close touch with the situation, and it is only fair to assume that the American aviation program is being pressed forward as rapidly as possible." Mr. Baker refused to deny or confirm the statements contained in the dispatch.

General Pershing already has the services of a considerable contingent of experienced airmen. All the "aces" and other leading American members of what was known as the Lafayette Escadrille, composed of American fliers who until recently served under the French Army, have been commissioned for service in the American Army.

Military Preparations at Home

THE month ended March 20 brought visible progress in improving the organization of the new American armies. With the appointment of two additional Assistant Secretaries of War, by authority of an act of Congress, the personnel of Mr. Baker's staff now consists of:

BENEDICT CROWELL of Ohio, the present Assistant Secretary of War, Administrative Director of the War Department, who has relieved the Secretary of War of a large amount of his administrative duties and who acted as Secretary of War in the absence of Secretary Baker in Europe.

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all industrial work and all purchasing for the army.

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK of New York, Assistant Secretary of War in charge of all nonmilitary work pertaining to soldiers, such as training camp welfare work.

JOHN C. SCOFIELD of Vermont, the present Assistant Chief Clerk of the War Department, in charge of all departmental routine, including the supervision of the heavy increase in the clerical force of the War Department and the army.

The War Council of the War Department, established by Secretary Baker on Dec. 15, 1917, was strengthened on March 8, 1918, by the addition of:

MAJOR GEN. GEORGE W. GOETHALS, the Quartermaster General of the Army;

EDWARD R. STETTINIUS, and

MAJOR GEN. PEYTON C. MARCH, in place of General Bliss, who is remaining in

AN IMPOSING REVIEW OF UNITED STATES TROOPS



Selectmen of the National Army at Camp Gordon, Atlanta, Ga., passing in review order a group of General Staff officers. The photograph was taken at the moment when the officers were saluting the Stars and Stripes.

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AMERICAN GUNS AND THE MEN BEHIND THEM



Five thousand artillerymen with their guns assembling on the parade ground at one of the new training camps in the United States

(C) Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood

France indefinitely as a member of the Interallied War Council.

The Administration initiated a policy of taking Congress into its confidence on March 14 when Acting Secretary Crowell invited members of the Senate Military Committee to attend a session of the War Council. This was followed by a similar invitation to the House Military Committee, and it was stated that these conferences were to be held regularly. In this way the War Department met the demand of Congress for a greater share in the conduct of the war, giving members an opportunity to co-operate while policies were in the making instead of criticising afterward.

SIX MONTHS' EXPENDITURES

In a financial statement issued by the Secretary of the Treasury on Feb. 17, covering the first half of the fiscal year ended Dec. 31, 1917, it was shown that the military establishment had expended \$1,762,000,000 in six months, as compared with estimates of War Department heads that expenses for the entire year ending June 30, 1918, would be \$8,790,000,000. Although the rate of expenditures thus shown was far under the early estimates, the Treasury statement indicated a rapidly increasing outlay, the month of November accounting for \$387,000,000, whereas December figures amounted to \$450,000,000.

Voluntary enlistments in the regular army after April 1, 1917, reached 389,685 on March 14, 1918. This was more than double the authorized war strength of the regular army.

Reclassification according to physical condition of the men to be called in the second draft for the national army was required in revised instructions issued on March 7 to Medical Advisory Boards. It was provided that every man summoned should be placed in one of the following classes: (A) Acceptable for general military service; (B) Acceptable for general military service after being cured of remediable defect; (C) Acceptable for special or limited military service in a specified capacity or occupation; (D) Rejected and exempted from any military service.

Plans for the division of the United

States into munition districts to bring about decentralization and closer contact with the manufacturers of munitions were announced on March 10 by General Wheeler, Acting Chief of Ordnance. The country was divided into ten zones, with district headquarters at New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Rochester, Boston, New Haven, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago. In each of these cities a leading business man was selected as District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department. Colonel Guy E. Tripp of New York, ex-Chairman of the Westinghouse Company, and now Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department, worked out the details of the plan. General W. S. Peirce, head of the bureau in which is the Finance Division of the Ordnance Department, and Colonel B. W. Dunn, head of the Inspection Division, arranged to follow the same decentralization plan and to have their field forces in the same district headquarters as the Production Department. Colonel Samuel McRoberts, formerly Vice President and Executive Manager of the National City Bank, who is now at the head of the Procurement Division of the Ordnance Department, is also co-operating with the district officers.

NEW MACHINE GUNS

The much-discussed Browning automatic machine guns, light and heavy, which have been adopted for the American Army, were publicly demonstrated and tested on Feb. 27. Before 300 persons, including British, French, Italian, and Belgian Army officers, Members of Congress, and about fifty newspaper men, the tests were conducted on the Government rifle range at Congress Heights, southeast of Washington. After the demonstration every spectator was impressed with the success achieved by the weapons.

The light Browning rifle weighs only fifteen pounds. The heavy gun weighs thirty-four and one-half pounds. Both guns fire the same ammunition that the American forces in France are using in the Springfields and modified Enfields—the rimless .30 calibre, cupro nickel jack-

eted bullets, which have a pressure of 50,000 pounds to the square inch when fired. The ammunition is interchangeable for all four weapons, the Springfield, the modified Enfield, the light Browning automatic rifle, and the heavy Browning machine gun.

The light Browning rifle, demonstrated in the hands of ten enlisted men of the army, is officially described as "the Browning machine rifle, model of 1918, air-cooled," and is the authorized light-weight machine gun of the United States Army. It may be fired from the shoulder or hip, in bursts of twenty shots, or by single shots. It is both semi-automatic and fully automatic, that is, the soldier by pressing a lever on the side of the weapon may have it shoot continuously or semi-automatically, or in single shots. In the hands of the ten enlisted men advancing across the range during the public test, firing at dummy targets, the light Browning rifle fired twenty continuous shots in $2\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. These shots are carried in cartridge magazines, which are attached beneath the gun just forward of the trigger, and can be changed by the rifleman in $2\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. Advancing behind each rifleman was another enlisted man carrying the reserve supply of ammunition, which was handed to the riflemen in magazines each containing twenty shots.

The Browning heavy machine gun is also of 1918 model and water-cooled. This gun is fed from a belt of 250 rounds of cartridges. Its features are endurance and simplicity of mechanism, rendering manufacture easy. In the official Government test this gun fired 39,500 shots without a break. At another test 20,000 shots were fired in forty-eight minutes, eighteen seconds, without malfunction and only three stoppages, each due to a defective cartridge. This gun weighs only thirty-four and one-half pounds with the water jacket around the barrel filled. It operates from a tripod and is effective for overhead, indirect, barrage, and defensive fire.

Both guns are being manufactured by machine process, and will reach the peak of production on a large quantity basis by June, when several thousand guns

of each type will be turned out weekly. It is the intention of the War Department to get both types of weapons to the fighting fronts as rapidly as they can be transported for use by General Pershing's men.

RIFLES IN LARGE QUANTITIES

In regard to rifles, it was reported on Feb. 22 that the Ordnance Department was producing the new Enfields in such quantities that all camps and cantonments had been supplied and full reserves had been provided. In addition a reserve stock of slightly more than 100,000 modified Enfields was stored in arsenals and depots. The Ordnance Department was now obtaining these rifles at the rate of about 250,000 a month.

A summary of the reorganization of the Quartermaster Corps effected by Major Gen. Goethals, issued on Feb. 21, showed that radical changes had been made to insure greater efficiency in the supply of food and clothing for the army and especially the forces in France. A series of embarkation storehouses have been established at the ports of departure, where vast quantities of foodstuffs are kept constantly in stock. A new element of organization is the outfitting of troops bound overseas at special camps maintained for that purpose. Heretofore they were outfitted at their training camps. Some interesting figures were given in the summary. The total food bill of the army since the war began is \$193,000,000. Through the remount division \$55,000,000 already has been spent since last April to obtain 289,352 animals. The motors division now totals more than 22,000 vehicles, as against 3,200 when the war began. More than 15,000,000 shoes were on hand and due on contracts, with another million necessary before the end of 1918.

MEDICAL RESERVE CORPS

Surgeon Gen. Gorgas announced on Feb. 26 that during the interval elapsing from the declaration of war up to Feb. 23 he had discharged 1,050 officers of the Medical Reserve Corps for various reasons, including physical disability, inaptitude for service, and to take up

other professional work. During the same period there were 2,265 promotions of medical reserve officers, including some officers promoted more than once. The discharges were in addition to about 4,000 rejections of applicants, 21,740 having been accepted and recommended to the Adjutant General's office for commissions, and of these 13,687 were on active duty on Feb. 23. The total strength of the Medical Corps on that date was as follows:

Regular Army Medical Corps.....	768
Medical Reserve Corps.....	13,687
Medical Corps, National Guard.....	1,207
Medical Corps, National Army.....	32

Total15,694

At the outbreak of the war there were 877 medical officers, 490 regulars and 387 reserve officers, on active duty.

Friction between the Army Medical Corps and high officers of the line came to an open break March 15 when Surgeon Gen. William Gorgas appealed to Congress, over the heads of his departmental superiors, for help in obtaining compliance with recommendations of the Medical Corps designed to safeguard the army's health. The question at issue was whether the Medical Corps should receive higher rank, in order that its recommendations might be received with consideration by line officers. That this might be accomplished, General Gorgas urged the Senate Military Affairs Committee to report favorably the Owen bill, putting men of the Medical Reserve Corps upon an equal plane with the Navy Medical Corps as to rank. This would permit army medical men to attain higher rank than that of Major, the present limit for Reserve Corps men.

Recommendations by Major Gen. Charles G. Treat, commanding the 37th National Guard Division, that the death penalty be imposed to check desertions and to bring soldiers to a realization of the gravity of that offense were disapproved by Secretary Baker, it was announced on Feb. 27. General Treat based his recommendation on the number of desertions from his command. Mr. Baker, however, instructed the Adjutant General to issue a bulletin to the army pointing out the seriousness with which de-

sertions must be regarded in time of war. The Secretary acted on an opinion by the Judge Advocate General, which held that there is a clearly drawn difference between desertion from training camps in this country and desertions in the zone of hostilities.

DECORATIONS FOR BRAVERY

Announcement was made by the War Department on March 6 that President Wilson had authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany, as follows:

First—The Distinguished Service Cross.
Second—The Distinguished Service Medal.

Third—War service chevrons.

Fourth—Wound chevrons.

The first and second medals will be awarded to women as well as men.

The Distinguished Service Cross will be a bronze cross with a ribbon, to be awarded to any person serving with the army for extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations which do not justify the award of the medal of honor.

The Distinguished Service Medal will also be of bronze, with a ribbon, and will be awarded for exceptionally meritorious service to the Government in a duty of great responsibility in time of war in connection with military operations.

The war service chevrons will consist of a gold chevron of standard material and design, to be worn on the lower half of the left sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has served six months in the zone of the advance in the war, and an additional chevron for each additional six months of similar service thereafter.

The wound chevron is a gold chevron of pattern identical with that of the war service chevron, to be worn on the lower half of the right sleeve of all uniform coats, except fatigue coats, by each officer and enlisted man who has received a wound in action with the enemy that necessitates treatment by a medical officer, and an additional chevron for each additional wound. Disablement by gas necessitating treatment by a medical officer is to be considered as a wound.

RAILROAD CONTROL BILL

The law under which the United States Government will control and operate all the railroads of the country for the duration of the war was passed by Congress on March 14, 1918, and sent to the President to be signed. Among its chief provisions are these: Government control of the roads shall not continue more than twenty-one months after the war; there is an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for a revolving fund; the short lines are included within the Federal system, and compensation of the railroads is provided for on the basis of their average net income for the three years ended June 30, 1917, amounting approximately to \$945,000,000 annually. The bill also provides that the State power of taxation of carriers shall be undisturbed, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be the final arbiter of rates, in the fixing of which

increases in expenses due to the war are to be taken into consideration.

Following the passing of the bill, plans for the future organization of the Government Railroad Administration were discussed the same night at a conference between President Wilson and Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads. One of the first tasks is making contracts with each railroad company for Government compensation on the basis provided in the bill. The contracts are to be negotiated under the direction of John Barton Payne, chief counsel; John Skelton Williams, Finance Director, and C. A. Prouty, Chief of the Division of Accounts. The railroads have been ordered by Director General McAdoo to make an inventory of materials and supplies on hand Dec. 31, 1917, when private control ceased, for use in connection with Government administration of purchases, additions and betterments, and railroad financing.

Our Soldiers Insured for \$12,000,000,000 Nearly All Have \$10,000 Policies

[The appended summary of the work of the War Risk Board is based on a recent study by Lawrence Priddy, President of the National Association of Life Underwriters]

THE act creating this insurance was passed by Congress and approved by the President Oct. 6, 1917, makes three separate and distinct provisions for those in active military service:

1. Family allowances and compulsory savings.
2. Compensation for death and disability.
3. Optional life insurance. (Meaning that, in addition to the benefits provided under the first two headings, those who desire may purchase additional life and disability insurance.) The insurance to be issued on the yearly renewable term plan.

The act provided that any person then in the military service would be insured automatically against death and permanent disability for the sum of approximately \$5,000, provided he had a wife, child, or widowed mother. Persons joining the service after that have the privilege of applying for the insurance within 120 days after enlistment. The automatic feature expired Feb. 12.

At the time of the passage of this act those representatives of the Government who were particularly instrumental in promoting the measure believed that with the passage of the bill there would be a tremendous demand for this insurance, but it was early discovered that the demand had to be created; that "life insurance is sold and not bought," and this notwithstanding the fact that the guarantee back of the contract is the United States Government itself, and that it is offered at a cost to the insured of about one-tenth of what it will cost to provide the insurance.

For example, the Government offers to insure all applicants (up to \$10,000) at age 20 for \$7.68 per \$1,000 per annum. (Most of the Government premiums are payable monthly.) At age 30 the Government rate is only \$8.28 per \$1,000.

The Government policy also furnishes

disability insurance in addition to life insurance. The rates for four ages are:

Age.	Govt. Rate.	Age.	Govt. Rate.
20.....	\$7.68	40.....	\$9.72
30.....	8.28	50.....	13.68

While the premium paid by the soldier is very small, it is believed that the cost to the Government for those soldiers who take part in actual warfare will be about \$80 per thousand per annum.

The preliminary campaigns to induce the soldiers to take out insurance were not entirely successful, so on Dec. 29 the Secretary of the Treasury summoned to Washington a group of practical insurance men. That group was told that it was the earnest desire of the Secretary of the Treasury and others in charge of the administration of this measure that the benefits of this insurance should be clearly and forcefully presented to all soldiers and sailors then in the service, and this group was asked to arrange a campaign for the sale of this insurance.

The responsibility for this campaign was vested in a smaller group, known as the Soldiers' and Sailors' Campaign Council, and they spent about ten days

investigating what had been done, how it had been done, and in planning a selling campaign to be conducted with more or less uniformity at all military and naval stations, and this campaign was launched Jan. 12. Up to that time there had been received at the Bureau of War Risk Insurance 427,811 applications for a total of \$3,633,213,000, (an average of \$8,493 per person.)

The records indicate that the work done was highly successful, for at the close of the campaign, Feb. 12, there had been actually received at the bureau 1,123,749 applications for a total of \$9,189,156,500 insurance, and on March 6 the applications received or in transit totaled more than \$12,000,000,000, covering 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval service.

In many of the units of the various camps every man has purchased the full ten thousand; there are eight camps in which 99 per cent. of the men are insured by the Government, and on Feb. 28 more than 90 per cent. of all the men in the service had availed themselves of this privilege. The average policy on the lives of our soldiers was \$9,186.

War Activities of the United States Navy

Address by Franklin D. Roosevelt

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in a recent address to the Harvard Alumni Association, threw some new light on the work of the United States Navy in European waters. He said in part:

THERE are two present phases of naval warfare, the first being the anti-submarine defense and second the battleship fleet. We sent a few destroyers in April, 1917, and kept sending more during the following months. These destroyers operated in certain localities on the other side, and charts plotted to show the sinkings by submarines proved an immediate falling off in the number of sinkings in these zones. The difficulty is that the ocean is altogether too large to cover as a whole with anti-submarine craft.

As a matter of fact, sinkings are still

going on in very great numbers. Those sinkings are almost wholly confined to a small area within a short distance of land. You would think the Allies would be able to control this area, but we have not one-tenth the amount of equipment necessary to patrol all the waters close to shore, let alone further out. The reason submarines go close to shore is because there they find a concentration of ships, as almost day and night a continuous procession of merchant ships go up and out of the English Channel, Irish Channel, &c.

It is quite a mistaken notion to think

that the English Channel is closed to submarines or that all the submarines have their base on the Belgian coast. Only some of the older and smaller submarines and mine layers are there, the majority of the larger ones coming out from Wilhelmshaven, which is on the North Sea side of the canal, or from Kiel, on the Baltic side.

We are making as good a contribution as we can toward the increase of patrols. We are building a great number of destroyers, which we hope to have completed in from ten to sixteen months. That seems a long time, but under the 1916 program the best bid for completion was twenty-five months, and getting down to ten, or even sixteen, months is quite an achievement. In addition to the destroyers, we are turning out other types. We have turned out a type of vessel which has taken the officers by surprise. This is called the 110-foot patrol boat. It is very interesting, built of wood and propelled by gasoline. A great number of these boats have been placed in commission already, and on their sea trips they seem to have excellent sea-keeping qualities.

In fighting the submarine the depth charge is very useful and effective. These charges have a small piece of mechanism which is set, and when the bomb has descended to a given depth it will explode; it can be set to explode at any depth. The first depth charges were those of fifty pounds, and they would hurt a submarine only if they went off almost in actual contact. The result was that they had to be increased in size, and now the depth charges weigh much more than fifty pounds, and their area of destruction is large. One interesting feature of increasing the size of depth charges was that we had to increase the speed of the ship to protect the ship itself.

Much work has also been done on other devices that we may not talk about. Experimentation is going on, and will increase if the war lasts, and it will in the end prove an effective answer to the submarine. The answer to the submarine is being carried today by building as many vessels against them as can possibly be

built, and, second, by building all the merchant tonnage we can and arming that merchant tonnage.

We are apt to forget that over on the other side the control of the surface of the ocean has been absolutely maintained by the existence of the British battleship fleet. There have been a few raids on the coast of England, and a few engagements in the North Sea, but today the relative strength of the British Navy is at least as great against the German Navy as at the outbreak of the war. Furthermore, they have the active cooperation of the French and American surface ships of heavy tonnage. We have, of course, many battleships on this coast that little is heard about. We have had to use the oldest ones largely as training schools, especially for the training of the gun crews of the merchant ships.

We have already armed over 1,000 merchant ships with fairly heavy guns. There have been few, and there will be fewer, cases of American ships being successfully shelled and put out of action by the submarine. We learned the lesson from the English.

As to surface control no one is worried. The British, with the assistance of the Americans, have successfully bottled up the Germans in the North Sea. It is a pity to have to hold them on defensive terms only. There are many who believe in the dictum that a defensive policy on the sea leads to defeat, and the rôle of the British battleship fleet has been considered by many to be purely defensive. However, authorities like Mahan and others have always maintained that an offensive can consist of two methods of war; first, to seek the enemy and destroy him in his own 'rat hole'; secondly, so to place yourself about the 'mouth of the rat hole' that the rat cannot come out. That is practically what has happened. The Germans are free at any time to come out with their battleship fleet, and very often they do come out, but for a very short distance. The stories we read from Berlin that the Germans came out for three days, &c., are true, but they have always kept conveniently close to their hiding place.

So ready is the British fleet that it is said that on one occasion they had given shore liberty to many hundreds of men; then word came that the German

fleet was out and might be cut off, and within twenty-two minutes the British fleet was ready and on the way to the scene of action.

Shipbuilding Difficulties Overcome

Mr. Hurley's Report of Progress

THE shipbuilding program adopted by the United States as an urgent war measure encountered many obstacles, including those due to the worst Winter in the recorded history of the Eastern United States. The Spring of 1918, however, has found definite results accomplished in many new shipyards that have been brought into existence since the United States entered the war.

Figures issued by the Shipping Board on March 9 showed that in February seventeen vessels of 120,700 tons were completed and put into service. The total was nearly twice that of January, admittedly a bad month, when only nine vessels, with a tonnage of 79,541, were delivered. Launchings more than kept pace with deliveries, sixteen ships of 112,500 tons being put into the water in January, and fifteen of 77,900 tons in February. Of the vessels completed in February, fifteen were cargo carriers, one was a tanker, and one a collier.

Summing up the situation on March 4, 1918, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, said that there were then 130 shipyards, with 700 ways and 500,000 men, occupied with the production of 1,600 ships. A Seattle shipyard had already broken all world's records by launching an 8,000-ton steel ship in sixty-four days, and yards on the Atlantic Coast were preparing to beat the Pacific Coast record.

At the Hog Island yard of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation the first keel was laid on Feb. 12, six days ahead of schedule time, and on Feb. 28, the date set for the second keel, there were ways ready for ten additional ships. A fuller account of the Hog Island shipyard, the largest in the world, will be found under a separate heading.

On March 1 it was reported that vessels were to come from the plant of the Federal Shipbuilding Company, at Kearny, N. J., six weeks ahead of the time fixed in the contract with the Government. Instead of finishing one ship every month the yard had reached a stage wherein it could finish one ship every three weeks. The Federal Shipbuilding Company was incorporated in July, 1917, by the United States Steel Corporation. At that time the 175 acres occupied by the yard went under six feet of water every time the tide came in. Now they have been built up nine feet, and twelve miles of railroad track have been laid. Five thousand men will be employed when shipbuilding is in full swing.

In a much more advanced condition in every respect is the new shipyard of the Merchants' Shipbuilding Corporation at Bristol, Penn., the second of the huge fabricating yards being built for the construction of standardized steel merchant ships. In respect to the number of ways it is the smallest of the three, for while there are to be fifty ways for building ships at Hog Island and twenty-eight ways at the yard at Port Newark, at the Bristol plant there are only twelve. The Bristol plant, however, is to build the largest ships of the three yards, freighters of 9,000 tons deadweight capacity, while 7,500-ton and 8,000-ton ships are to be built at Hog Island, and 5,000-ton vessels at Port Newark.

The shipyard of the Submarine Boat Corporation on Newark Bay, with twenty-eight shipways, has thirteen keels laid of the fifty ships of 5,000 tons which it is under contract to build before it begins work on another contract of 100 vessels of the same size.

The important question of housing the armies of workers was settled on March

1, when President Wilson signed the Emergency Fleet Corporation Housing bill, which empowers the Government to commandeer boarding houses, hotels, apartments, and even private homes near shipyards, and to build new houses wherever necessary. The bill carried an appropriation of \$50,000,000, and the Emergency Fleet Corporation has authority to extend loans to private shipyards at 5 per cent. to carry on this work. It does not, however, bear the expense of the new homes, except at Government-owned yards.

Following President Wilson's intervention in the dispute between the shipyard workers and the employers, (See *CURRENT HISTORY*, March, 1918, Page 422,) conferences were held and differences finally adjusted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Shipping Board. A new cause of delay, due to the attitude of labor unions, arose from the shortage of caulkers. In reply to an appeal for caulkers, William L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' Brotherhood, notified the Shipping Board on March 8 that it could expect no assistance from him in speeding up ship construction until his "closed shop" demands had been granted.

The American merchant fleet was in-

creased by 399 seagoing vessels in the last six months of 1917, or an average of more than two a day. Many of the vessels were built in the United States, having been under construction for foreign account and taken over by the United States Government. Others were interned German ships, but the large steamers like the *Vaterland*, which were commandeered by the navy, were not included in the total of 399. Figures previously made public showed that more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping were added to the American merchant marine in 1917.

Speaking in the House of Commons on Feb. 13, Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that in 1917 there were built in Great Britain 1,163,474 tons of shipping, and 170,000 tons were obtained from abroad. The Chancellor explained that the Premier's estimate of ship construction was not realized because the Government had arranged to have a large quantity of tonnage built in America, but when America came into the war she preferred, as the British would have preferred, to take the tonnage herself, but the tonnage, he remarked, was there. The output of the United States during 1917 was 901,223 tons, making a total combined tonnage of 2,064,697 for the two countries.

Heroic Rescue by American Naval Men

The heroism and seamanship displayed by the crew of the United States destroyer *Parker* when rescuing survivors of the British hospital ship *Glenart Castle*, which was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26, 1918, was the subject of eulogistic references in the House of Commons on March 13. According to the official report 153 persons perished in the sinking of the *Glenart Castle*.

Thomas J. Macnamara, Financial Secretary of the Admiralty, said that the Admiralty had expressed its very deep gratitude for the manner in which the Americans had dealt with this matter. He understood that the American authorities were averse to the award of

personal distinctions. Nevertheless, if the Admiralty could properly make any suggestion to them which would enable it in a substantial way to emphasize its opinion of this act of gallantry it certainly would do so. Two of the destroyer's complement deserved the greatest credit for their action in jumping overboard to effect rescues, in view of the temperature of the water, the choppy sea, and the distance of the raft from which the rescues were effected.

The Americans who jumped into the water in the course of the rescues were: J. C. Cole, quartermaster; R. E. Hosses, boatswain's mate; David Goldman, machinist's mate; Jerry Quinn, coxswain; F. W. Beeghley, yeoman; W. W.

Mathews, ship's cook; J. Newman, seaman, and T. F. Troue, seaman.

The Glenart Castle sank at 4 o'clock in the morning. The destroyer, although far distant, picked up a wireless message and hurried to the scene, where she searched the sea for survivors. The first survivor was sighted at 1 o'clock in the afternoon—a lone man on a raft. In the submarine-infested waters it was impossible for the destroyer to halt and launch boats. She threw a line to the survivor, but he was so weak that he became entangled in the line and was carried astern of the destroyer and severely cut

by her propellers. He managed to climb back on the raft.

The destroyer circled the scene and as it passed the raft again Quartermaster Cole jumped overboard, succeeded in swimming to the raft and brought the man back to the destroyer. He was a fireman, Jesse White of Southampton. He died later on board the destroyer, which continued her search, and in the course of the afternoon sighted three more groups of survivors clinging to rafts and wreckage, all of whom were similarly rescued. The survivors were landed in Wales.

The World's Greatest Shipyard

Created to Meet Demands of War

ONE of the romances of America's participation in the war is the establishment within a few months of some of the greatest shipyards in the world, one of them being actually the largest yet called into existence in any country. This is the Hog Island yard, on the Delaware River, near Philadelphia. Here, on a tract of land 860 acres in extent, the American International Shipbuilding Corporation, a subsidiary concern of the American International Corporation, has created what is virtually a city so large that it requires a water system as large as that serving Minneapolis, and as much electric power as is consumed by Providence, R. I.

The waterfront site and adjacent property which now comprise the Hog Island shipyard were acquired by the American International at \$2,000 an acre with the approval of the United States Shipping Board, and a contract was drawn up to build the yard. The American International, together with Stone & Webster, the engineering and contracting firm whose senior partner is President of that corporation, submitted an estimate of \$21,000,000 for the construction of the yard, but this was increased to \$35,000,000 after the Shipping Board decided that most of the ships to be built should be larger and speedier than originally planned in the contract.

Owing to quarrels among members of the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, which necessitated drastic reorganization, the contract was not signed till Sept. 13, 1917, and a start on constructing the yard was not made till Oct. 1. Not much progress was made before the severest Winter ever recorded on the North Atlantic Coast intervened and made operations almost impossible. During this inclement weather there was one week when seven times as many new workmen were taken to the island as all the men at work, but at the end of the week the force was no larger than at the beginning. This "labor turnover" of 700 per cent. was the worst, but there were several other weeks when it amounted to 300 per cent. or more, and 100 per cent. of men quitting in a week was below the average. At last, however, by a process of the survival of the fittest, a labor force was created able to meet the demands of the corporation and carry the work to a successful conclusion.

The contract received by the American International Shipbuilding Corporation was for 120 ships, totaling 935,000 tons—50 of 7,500 tons each, with a speed of eleven knots and each costing \$1,100,000; 70 of 8,000 tons, with a speed of sixteen knots, costing \$1,600,000 each; a total for the 120 ships of \$167,000,000.

To build these 120 ships, and the additional vessels which will follow, fifty great shipways were constructed. These ways cover an unbroken space of a mile and a half, presenting a spectacle to be seen nowhere else in the world. Behind them are the ships and warehouses, and further back the barracks, where the workmen are housed, the kitchens and mess halls, hospitals, and administration buildings. The site, originally swamps and sand dunes, is now well paved, with seventy-two miles of railroad track, all lighted with electricity, so that work can be carried on by night as well as by day.

After the initial difficulties were overcome, progress was greatly accelerated, and the first keel, scheduled to be laid on Feb. 18, was actually in place six days ahead of that date. Subsequent keels have also been laid ahead of schedule time.

Some idea of the vastness of the enterprise may be gathered from the following facts and figures: Approximately 1,000 shops and factories throughout the United States, employing 350,000 men, are manufacturing the parts of the vessels which require, for example, 75,000,000 feet of lumber, 400,000 tons of steel, and 570 boilers. At Hog Island the 20,000 parts of each ship are assembled. This in turn indicates the number of freight cars required to convey the fab-

ricated parts to the yard, which is actually handling about 400 cars a day. The total of workmen when work is in full swing will number 30,000, many of them being housed in barracks on the island, and others in the new accommodations which are being rushed to completion.

Hog Island is practically a city complete in itself, with its own water, sewerage, and electric supply systems, its own fire department, its military police force, including a large mounted force and numbering several thousand; its own base hospitals, emergency hospitals, dispensaries, and dentists' offices; the whole organized, officered, and controlled as if it were an army corps, as, indeed, it is, for the sole object of co-operating in giving the United States the world's greatest merchant fleet, to make American participation in the war possible to the fullest extent, and after the war to enable the nation to secure the maritime supremacy of the world. When the American International Corporation, capitalized at the start with \$50,000,000, came into existence it declared that its purpose was to secure for America its proper share of world trade. The Hog Island enterprise, so far the corporation's greatest step toward the carrying out of its objects, is eloquent of the industrial power which the United States is able to exert in the great emergency created by the war.

Life of the Former Czar in Siberia

When delegates from all over Russia assembled at Petrograd in January, 1918, for the Constituent Assembly, (which was never held,) the member from Tobolsk, Siberia, gave a correspondent the following sketch of the daily life of the exiled Czar and his family:

The people of Tobolsk exhibited a lively curiosity regarding Nicholas II. when he first arrived there, but this gradually evaporated, and now scarcely anybody pays any attention to the former Czar of all the Russias. Nicholas II. soon accepted the routine of his new life. Every morning regularly he attends religious service at a church near his château, if one may so designate the house he occupies. On leaving the church he takes a roundabout way back to his residence. Sometimes a few curious persons follow him at a distance. At first the ex-Czar saluted the crowd; now he walks with head down and does not reply to salutations addressed to him. After service Nicholas II. saws wood, and this exercise, which he adopted while still at Tsarskoe Selo, apparently has a good effect upon his health, which seems greatly improved. The former sovereign devotes most of his afternoon to reading. He receives French and Russian books, besides a large number of newspapers. In the evening he gives lessons in history to his son. The Czarina passes a large part of her day in prayer; in the evening she converses with her friends and often plays cards.

Blockade of Germany Complete

The United States War Trade Board Stops the Flow of Supplies Through Neutral Countries

THE completion of the blockade of Germany, made possible by America's entry into the war, was disclosed in the annual report of the War Trade Board submitted to President Wilson on Feb. 24, 1918. That board, of which Vance McCormick is Chairman, is responsible for the execution of the embargo policy in regard to exports and imports and of various other measures to prevent trading with the enemy. It wields the powerful economic weapons which have made the British blockade immeasurably more effective than before America became a belligerent, completing in fact the plan of economic strangulation which the British Government had been endeavoring to carry out since the beginning of the European war.

Such supplies as the Central Powers may now be able to obtain from Russia, Rumania, and the Ukraine will mitigate the grip of the Atlantic blockade, but those countries have little to give. The blockade is still a sharp weapon, and the United States has given it its new edge. While this country has only gradually been developing as a military factor, through the War Trade Board prompt and effective steps have been taken in the field of commercial, financial, and industrial activity to make the Central Powers feel the full weight of having America as an enemy.

When the policy of temporary embargoes was adopted by the United States on July 15, 1917, Germany was obtaining from the neutral countries of Northern Europe a sufficient quantity of fats to supply a full ration to 2,500,000 men. Foodstuffs and fodder imported into those countries from the United States alone made possible such wholesale traffic. From that time onward the exports of fats from the neutral countries of Northern Europe were steadily reduced until they reached a negligible quantity, so that in February, 1918, it

was calculated that Germany had available less than a fifth of the former supply. This reduction was reflected in the steady diminution of the German fat ration and in the desperate efforts of the Central Powers to obtain supplies of fats from other sources. The total food exports from the Northern European neutrals to the Central Powers were reduced by from 65 to 85 per cent. This result was pointed to in the report as the most important obtained by the embargo policy adopted by the United States in the face of opposition on the part of neutral nations.

By using the embargo policy as a potential weapon the United States has been able to secure control for Great Britain and itself of 1,650,000 tons of shipping belonging to Norway and Sweden. On this point the report of the War Trade Board says:

In November, 1917, we became party to Great Britain's tentative agreement with Norway, as a result of which action on our part 1,400,000 tons, dead weight, of Norwegian shipping were chartered into the service of the United States and Great Britain for the period of the war.

An agreement with Sweden gives us the use for three months of tonnage estimated at 250,000 tons, dead weight, which had not theretofore been employed in service useful to us.

DUTCH SHIPS SEIZED

Holland was notified on March 14 that the United States and British Governments intended to take over all Dutch ships in their ports, to be compensated for and returned after the war; the tonnage aggregated about 600,000. For seven months Holland had delayed acceptance of a proposal from the two Governments by which that country was to be supplied with food and fuel, provided the ships lying idle were leased to the United States and Great Britain. Holland appeared willing to agree, but Germany threatened to torpedo any Dutch ships

encountered at sea if the agreement was made. As no further agreement could be negotiated with Holland, the seizure was decided upon under the international law of angary, which gives a belligerent the right to use neutral shipping in cases of emergency.

The temporary embargoes, by which the Northern European neutral nations were forced to place this shipping at the disposal of the United States and Great Britain, are being replaced by comprehensive agreements regulating trade. It was announced at Washington on Feb. 22 that a complete economic agreement with Norway had been reached, but the terms have not yet been made public. In the case of Switzerland an agreement has been concluded, assuring to the Swiss the periodic receipt of a stipulated grain ration and of other articles required to maintain the economic existence of the people of Switzerland. The Swiss Government secured this concession by giving satisfactory assurances against exportation to the Central Powers of the imported foodstuffs and other articles, and by agreeing, in certain other respects, to limit trading with the Central Powers.

The general policy of the War Trade Board is summed up in the principle of supplying the food and other vital wants of neutral peoples, under carefully considered agreements, so as "to prevent acute suffering in those countries and to prevent them from falling under the economic power of the enemy," while conserving for the United States and its associates in the war "such commodities as are required to maintain adequately the economic life of the several nations and to carry out their war programs."

The War Trade Board effects its purpose through a system of licenses covering both exports and imports, and through measures for preventing trading with the enemy. The extent of the business under the control of the board may be gathered from the fact that its Bureau of Exports has handled approximately 425,000 applications for licenses to export, and was, at the date of the report, passing upon between 4,000 and 5,000 applications per day. The Bureau

of Imports, of more recent formation, has received to Jan. 1, 5,279 applications for licenses to import, upon which 4,719 licenses, covering commodities of an aggregate value of \$237,810,949, had actually been issued.

ENEMY TRADING LIST

Trading with foreigners is regulated by an "enemy trading list," which, since its first publication in October, 1917, has been continually revised. New firms are added with which it is unlawful to trade, and firms which have cleared themselves of the taint of enemy character have been removed from the list.

The majority of firms on the "enemy trading list" are in the Latin-American countries, and, according to the report of the War Trade Board, the effect of these restrictions is already palpable.

Concurrently with the enforcement of the embargo policy against the Central Powers, the United States has rendered enormous service to the Allies by its efforts to maintain an increasing supply of foodstuffs. The Food Administration, in a statement issued on March 5, showed that from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918, the United States had shipped food sufficient to furnish a balanced ration to an average of more than 16,000,000 men yearly. In addition, there was a surplus of some 625,000 tons of protein and 268,000 tons of fats. Russia received less than 1 per cent. of the total, or only enough to feed about 10,000 men a year. Great Britain took more than half of the entire total, or enough to feed about 8,000,000 men. France was next, with enough for 4,200,000 men, and Italy sufficient for more than 2,000,000 men. The three together received an excess of protein capable of supplying this portion of the diet to some 20,000,000 additional men.

The total exports of wheat and wheat flour to Great Britain, France, and Italy was equivalent to 384,000,000 bushels, or an average of 110,000,000 bushels per year. Exports of pork and pork products totaled almost 2,000,000,000 pounds, while sugar exports to those countries showed a yearly average of

648,000,000 pounds. Oats exports for the three and one-half years totaled 212,751,000 bushels, corn 24,310,000 bushels, and rye 3,618,000 bushels. Exports of fresh beef amounted to 443,484,000 pounds in the three and one-half years, while exports of butter totaled 29,000,000 pounds, cheese 103,500,000 pounds, and condensed milk 126,000,000 pounds. Cottonseed, linseed, and other oil products and by-products to be used for feeding cattle totaled 611,000,000 pounds.

A serious food famine in the Entente countries was averted only by the rigorous measures adopted by the United States in concentrating transportation facilities and conserving food supplies for domestic consumption. In thus preventing a crisis that might have caused a breakdown in the Entente countries, the Food Administration, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board, and the Railroads Board have all played important parts.

A Review of the U-Boat Campaign

Address by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

[Delivered in the House of Commons, March 5, 1918]

ON the whole, naval warfare during the last year has proceeded increasingly in our favor. It has continued chiefly to test the strength between the enemy submarine and the measures we and our allies have taken for combating that menace.

[Sir Eric stated that 30 per cent. of the losses of merchant ships was accounted for in the Mediterranean, and that conditions there had been more difficult to meet than in the Atlantic, the resources having been less adequate and success against the submarine less satisfactory.]

It became increasingly evident that as our resources improved we would be able to turn our attention more to the Mediterranean. I recently went to Rome for a meeting of the Allied Naval Committee and also inspected the naval establishments in the Mediterranean, including those of the Greek Navy. British naval officers are assisting the Greeks in the reorganization of their navy, which is already co-operating in the Mediterranean and rendering valuable service.

The meeting of the committee in Rome was representative of all the allies with naval forces in European waters. It accepted fully the anti-submarine proposals put forward by Vice Admiral Calthorpe, British Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean. It agreed we should

forthwith adopt and adapt to the Mediterranean the same measures which have given success in the waters of the British Isles, and the main anti-submarine operations decided on will be undertaken under Vice Admiral Calthorpe's orders.

It is perhaps natural that the co-operation between ourselves and the United States should be extremely close. I wish in behalf of myself and my colleagues publicly to pay tribute to the whole-hearted and generous devotion to the prosecution of the war which has governed the action of every representative of the United States Navy with which we came into contact. The personnel of all ranks has the respect and esteem of the officers of the British Navy.

The trend of the figures of loss by enemy action is steadily improving. The loss to the world's tonnage during February was little over half the loss in February last year.

The loss for the five months ended in February is 10 per cent. less than the loss in the corresponding months the year previous, although during four months of the latter period unrestricted submarine warfare had not been proclaimed by the enemy. If during the last five months the rate of loss had been maintained at the same rate as for the immediate preceding quarter—that is, the third quarter of last year—the

world's shipping would be 600,000 tons less than it is today.

Instead of a rise in ship production we have a serious drop. Why? The main fact is that owing to labor unrest and strike difficulties the men in the yards are not working as if the life of the country depended on their exertions. The employers are perhaps not doing all they could. The long strain of the war must have an effect upon their nerves as upon every one else. The serious unrest which existed in January will have an effect on completions in later months. I am driven to the conclusion that even at this late date the situation is not fully realized.

MORE TONNAGE NEEDED

To reach production at the rate of 3,000,000 tons a year is well within the capacity of our shipyards, but these results cannot be obtained unless the maximum output is given by every one concerned.

As to the destruction of German submarines, I have no reason to depart from my opinion that the submarine is held, but not mastered. Submarines are being destroyed in increasing numbers, and as our methods develop the numbers will further increase. There is a growing reluctance on the part of the German crews to put to sea. The chances of a submarine returning from a voyage in the waters around England are one in four or one in five. For some months, we believe, we and the Americans have been sinking submarines as fast as they are built.

The efforts of the British Navy and the navies of its allies are being steadily developed and a large program of anti-submarine craft and devices is being pushed forward, although the lag in the mercantile shipbuilding is reflected here also. Nevertheless, we and our allies are now able to devote more resources to the Mediterranean, which in the past has been regarded by submarine commanders as a rest cure and lappy hunting ground. The convoy system has been greatly developed and is a real success. Since it was adopted 35,000 ships have been convoyed with very low losses.

One result of the convoy system has been to drive the enemy closer to the shore, thus rendering the open sea safer for navigation. During the first months of the unrestricted submarine war 50 per cent. of the losses occurred more than fifty miles from land, and only 21 per cent. within ten miles of the shore. Today the losses outside the fifty-mile line have fallen to 1 per cent., while the losses close to land have risen to 61 per cent.

This transfer of attacks nearer the coast gives increasing opportunities for attacking the enemy by patrolling surface craft and airplanes, and enables us to save many vessels which would otherwise have been lost. The improved salvage arrangements have made tremendous demands on labor and material. Repairs are today occupying more men than new mercantile construction. The salving is so efficient that of all British armed ships damaged last year only eight were abandoned.

The Month's Submarine Losses

British Admiralty figures of ships sunk by submarine or mine during the last month showed an increase over the previous period. The British ships lost were:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish- ing Ves- sels.
Week ended Feb. 17, 1918.....	12	3	1
Week ended Feb. 24.....	14	4	7
Week ended March 3.....	12	6	..
Week ended March 10.....	15	3	1
Total for four weeks.....	53	16	9
Total previous 4 weeks....	38	19	7

To the above losses must be added those of other allied nations and of neutral countries.

The British hospital ship Glenart Castle, with 182 persons, but no patients, on board, was sunk in the Bristol Channel on Feb. 26. The United States torpedo destroyer Parker helped to rescue survivors, but 144 persons, including Red Cross doctors, orderlies, and seven women nurses, were lost when the vessel went down. Only seven of the lifeboats could be launched, partly because the ex-

plosion smashed nearly all on the starboard side and partly on account of the rough sea. The ship sank in seven minutes.

One hundred and ten persons perished when the French steamer *La Dives* was torpedoed and sunk in the Mediterranean on Feb. 1, according to an official statement issued Feb. 20.

Two officers and forty-eight men were lost in the British armed mercantile cruiser *Calgarian*, which was torpedoed and sunk on March 1. The *Calgarian*, 17,515 tons, was one of the finest merchant ships in the British service. An unusual feature of the case was the fact that the ship was struck by four torpedoes, suggesting that several German submarines concentrated to make certain of sinking it.

The Spanish Government decided on Feb. 21 to publish three notes to the German Government relative to the sinking

of Spanish ships by submarines and the invasion of Spanish territorial waters by U-boats. The first note took up the case of the *Duca di Genova*, and demanded that Spanish territorial waters be respected. The second, concerning the *Giralda*, demanded German recognition of Spain's right to regulate her coastwise traffic without reserve. The third, concerning the *Ceferino*, asked an explanation or the information thus far received officially in Berlin. A dispatch from Bilbao to Madrid on Feb. 26 stated that the Spanish steamer *Neguri* had been sunk by a submarine. Her crew was landed on *Ferro Island*, one of the Canary group. The *Neguri* was the fifth Spanish vessel torpedoed by submarines in as many weeks.

The month brought a completed death roll of Americans lost in the *Tuscania*, the sinking of which was described in these pages a month ago. The total was 212.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
February 16, 1918, Up to and Including March 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

A National Labor Conference Board, composed of representatives of capital and labor, was formed at the suggestion of Secretary of Labor W. B. Wilson to lay down a basis of relations during the war. The first conference was held in Washington on Feb. 25.

Announcement was made March 8 that an economic agreement with Spain, providing that General Pershing should get mules, army blankets, and other materials in that country in return for cotton, oil, and other commodities, had been signed in Madrid. France was also a party to the agreement, and arrangements were made for supplying her army.

A complete economic agreement was reached with Norway on Feb. 22.

President Wilson, in a decree made public March 6, authorized four new decorations for bravery, service, or wounds in the war against Germany.

Secretary Baker arrived in France March 10 to confer with General Pershing and to inspect the American forces.

Plans for the division of the country into ten munition zones to push production were

announced by the War Department on March 10, and a leading business man was appointed from each section to be District Chief of the Production Division of the Ordnance Department.

The casualties among the American expeditionary forces, as announced by the War Department on March 17, reached a total of 1,856.

The Daylight Saving bill, setting the nation's clocks ahead one hour, beginning March 31, passed its final legislative stages on March 16 and went to the President for signature. The measure provided that the clocks should be turned back again on the last Sunday in October. It was estimated that the change would save \$40,000,000 in the nation's lighting expenditure.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Dover was bombarded by a German submarine Feb. 16. One child was killed and several persons were injured.

British losses for the week ended Feb. 16 included twelve ships of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended Feb. 23, eighteen; for the week ended March 2, twelve, and for the week ended March 9, fifteen.

The British hospital ship *Glenart Castle* was sunk in Bristol Channel Feb. 26, and 164 persons were reported missing. The hospital ship *Gulford Castle* was attacked March 10 in the Bristol Channel, but escaped damage.

Commander Carlyon Bellairs announced in Commons on March 5 that submarine sinkings of merchantmen averaged 70,000 tons weekly in January and 80,000 tons weekly in February.

The British armed mercantile cruiser *Calgarian* was sunk March 1. Forty-eight men were lost.

French and Italian losses amounted to one or two vessels of over 1,600 tons weekly.

Spain lost three ships—the *Mar Caspio*, which was sunk Feb. 23; the *Neguri*, Feb. 26, and a grain ship, chartered to the Swiss, which was torpedoed on March 2 while on its way from America to Europe.

Norway announced on March 14 that two steamers, the *Skryster* and the *Estrella*, had been sunk.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Feb. 17—Active artillery fire west of Lago di Garda, east of the Brenta, and on the middle Piave.

Feb. 22—Artillery actions in the Trentino and from Asiago Plateau east on Monte Grappe.

March 2—Italian patrols seize enemy stores in fighting on Asiago Plateau; artillery active on both sides of the Brenta.

March 3—Austrian attack in the Frenzela Valley breaks down under Italian barrage.

March 8—Italians repulse raids in the Valfreddo region and fire on enemy troop movements in the Val Brenta and Col della Berretta regions.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

Feb. 19—British advance two miles on a front of fifteen miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 20—British advance three and a half miles east of Jerusalem.

Feb. 21—British capture Jericho.

Feb. 23—Turks retire across the Jordan.

March 4—British advance two miles on a twelve-mile front on their northern advance from Jericho.

March 8—British troops on the Jerusalem-Nablus road advance three miles on an eighteen-mile front.

March 10—British occupy Hit in Mesopotamia.

March 11—Turks fall back twenty-two miles from Hit and occupy Kahn-Baghdadi on the Euphrates; British advance a mile and a quarter in Palestine.

March 13—British advance three miles on an eleven-mile front in the coastal region of Palestine, capturing many villages.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Feb. 16—British repulse German raids south of the Scarpe; French penetrate German lines near Vauquoise.

Feb. 18—French repulse German attacks in the Butte du Mesnil sector.

Feb. 20—French enter German lines over a large front in Lorraine.

Feb. 21—Announcement made that British have taken over from the French a part of the line south of St. Quentin.

Feb. 22—Patrol action on the Aisne front reveals presence of American troops there.

Feb. 24—German fire northwest of Toul checked by American guns.

Feb. 25—American patrol, in conjunction with French patrol, penetrates German lines in the Chemin des Dames sector.

Feb. 26—Germans make gas attack on American line, killing three men and disabling a number of others.

Feb. 27—Germans fall in two attempts to recapture French positions at Butte du Mesnil.

Feb. 28—German surprise attack north of Dixmude repulsed by Belgians.

March 1—Americans repulse German attack north of Toul; Germans engage Americans and French in hand-to-hand struggle east of Chavignon.

March 2—Americans again repulse attacks in the Chemin des Dames sector.

March 3—German assaults in the Champagne sector repulsed.

March 5—Americans repulse German attacks in Lorraine.

March 8—Germans force British advance posts on the Ypres-Dixmude sector to fall back, but British re-establish their lines.

March 11—British repulse heavy assaults near Ypres and Armentières; Americans enter German trenches in the Toul sector.

March 12—Americans raid German trenches near Lunéville; German raiding party, attacking Portuguese positions near Lavantie, caught in flanking machine-gun fire.

March 14—Americans in the Lunéville sector occupy German trenches northeast of Badonviller.

March 15—French gain a footing west of the Mauroy road in the Champagne district.

March 17—Germans raid American positions in the Toul sector and a few Germans enter the American lines; French repulse German attacks in the direction of Samogneux and in the Bezonvaux region of the Verdun sector, and enter German trenches at Malancourt.

AERIAL RECORD

Allied aviators raided Innsbrück, Feb. 20, killing many Austrian soldiers.

Venice was raided on Feb. 26 and the Church of Santa Giustina, the Church of San Simeone Piccolo, and the Church of St. John Chrysostom were damaged.

Naples was attacked March 11. Sixteen persons were killed and forty wounded.

Bombs were dropped on Petrograd March 3. Three persons were killed and five wounded.

The British bombarded Mainz on March 9,

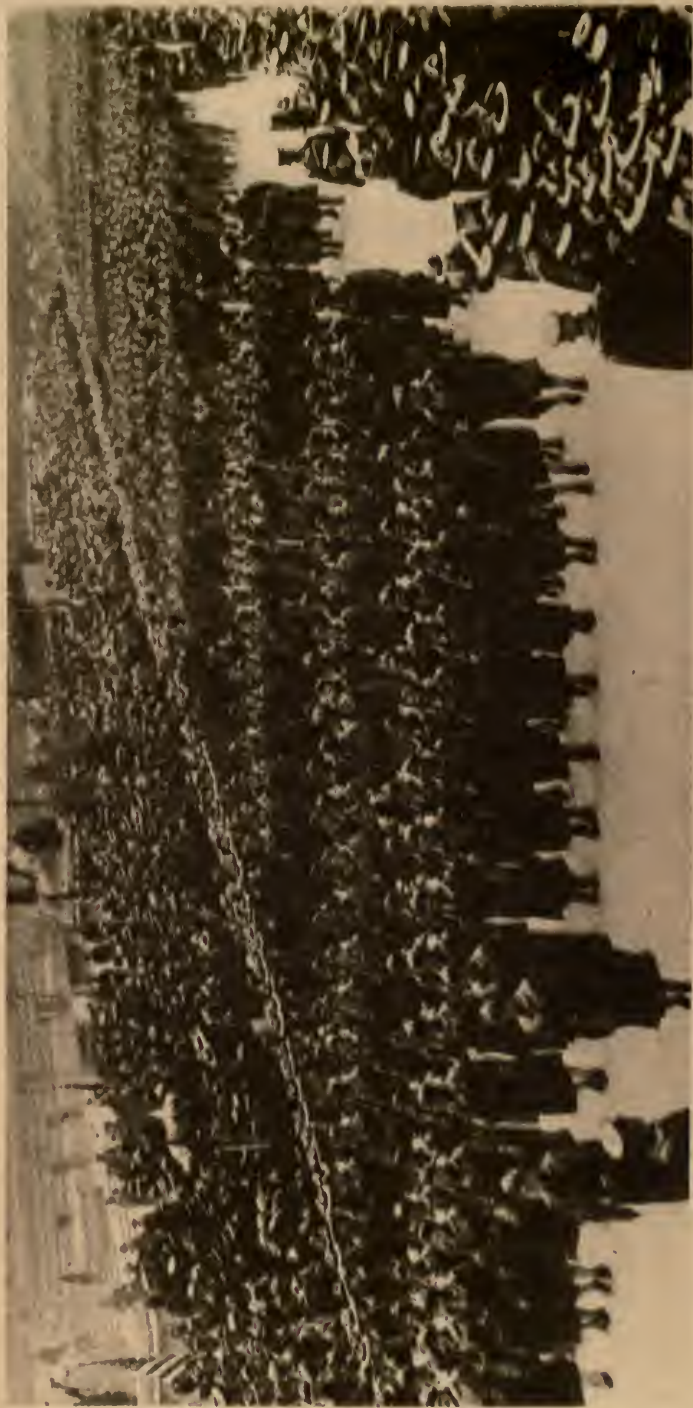
"NEW YORK'S OWN" ON PARADE, FEB. 4, 1918



The 308th Infantry Regiment, or "New York's Own," as it is more popularly called, passing the reviewing stand outside the Public Library at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City

(© International Film Service)

NATIONAL ARMY MEN READY TO LEAVE FOR FRANCE



Ten thousand men of the draft army from Camp Upton, N. Y., marching through New York City on Feb. 22, 1918, during a snowstorm. These men, after less than six months in camp, were already fit to leave for France and conclude their training there

(4) *International Film Service*

killing eight persons. On March 10 they caused several fires by dropping bombs on the Daimler Motor Works and other objectives at Stuttgart. On March 12 they raided Coblenz, and on March 13 they dropped bombs on munitions plants and barracks at Freiburg. Zevelbrücken was raided March 16, and on March 17 they bombed Kaiserslautern.

Nancy was bombed by the Germans on Feb. 27.

Paris was raided on the night of March 8 and thirteen persons were killed and fifty hurt. Another raid occurred on the night of March 11, when thirty-four persons were killed by bombs, seventy-nine were injured, and sixty-six suffocated in a panic at a subway entrance. Four German machines were brought down and fifteen raiders killed or made prisoner.

German aircraft crossed the Kent coast of the Thames estuary on the night of Feb. 16 to bomb London. Eleven persons were killed and four injured. A raid on Dover was repelled by British pilots. Fifteen persons were killed and thirty-eight injured in a raid on the next evening, and a third consecutive raid was made on the night of Feb. 18, but the Germans were driven off and there were no casualties. This was the one hundredth raid on London. On the night of March 7 eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured in London. Bombs were dropped on Hull March 12, and one woman died of shock. The northeast coast of England was again raided on the night of March 13. Five persons were killed and nine injured.

In the first ten days of March British aviators destroyed thirty-nine German airplanes and brought down forty others out of control on the western front.

Two British seaplanes destroyed one German seaplane and downed another in a battle over the North Sea on March 14.

NAVAL RECORD

The German auxiliary cruiser Wolf returned to Kiel on Feb. 24 after sinking eleven vessels in a fifteen months' raid in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. The Spanish ship Igotz-Mendi, with a German prize crew on board, was driven ashore near the Skaw Lighthouse, and twenty-two prisoners, including two Americans, were taken off. The ship was interned by the Danes, with the result that Germany protested to the Danish Government.

Two Russian transports were attacked and sunk by German destroyers after a fight south of Aland Islands on March 7.

The Russian fleet at Odessa withdrew to Sebastopol on the entry of the Germans into Odessa.

RUSSIA

German forces began a new invasion of Russia on Feb. 18, the day when the

armistice agreement between Russia and the Central Powers expired. The next day the Bolshevik Government issued a statement, signed by Lenine and Trotzky, announcing that Russia had been forced to sign a peace dictated by the delegates of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk. The German terms included the retention of Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Moon Island. Within a few days the Germans had occupied Dvinsk, Lutsck, Minsk, and Rovno, and many important cities in Esthonia. Resistance was ordered by the Bolshevik Government on Feb. 22, and Petrograd was declared in a state of siege. The next day, Feb. 23, Germany made a new offer of peace, calling for the cession of more territory and the demobilization of the army and navy. At the same time her armies continued to advance. On Feb. 23 they occupied Walk, on Feb. 25 they took Reval, and on Feb. 27 they occupied Borisoff.

Turkey began an offensive in the Caucasus on Feb. 23 and occupied Platana. Three days later the Turks occupied Trebizond.

The Bolshevik Government announced on Feb. 24 that Germany's peace terms had been accepted. The treaty was signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, Russia ceding Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to Turkey. Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, resigned because of a disagreement over the peace terms.

The All-Russia Congress of Soviets, which met at Moscow March 14, voted to ratify the treaty in spite of a message sent to them by President Wilson expressing sympathy with the Russian people. Germany announced that German commissions with the power of veto would be appointed to the Russian Ministries to control the fulfillment of the agreement. The Caucasus Government issued a statement refusing to indorse the treaty because of the cession of territory to Turkey, and declared that peace with Turkey could be signed only by the Caucasus Government. The Moscow Congress also authorized the creation of an army of both sexes, expressed appreciation of President Wilson's message, and approved the removal of the capital to Moscow.

Japan and China signified their willingness to intervene in Siberia for the protection of allied interests. A clash between the Maximalists and the Japanese occurred at Blagovieshtchensk, capital of the Amur province, on March 15, and 150 Japanese were murdered.

General Semenoff led a movement of the Cossacks in Siberia to redeem the country from the Bolshevik and the Germans.

Intense fighting occurred in Ukraine between the Germans and the Bolshevik. The Germans captured Kolenkowitz on Feb. 26, and on March 2 they took Kiev.

Premier von Seydler announced in the Austrian Reichsrat on Feb. 20 that a supplementary treaty had been arranged with the Ukraine Rada by which the Polish province of Kholm would not be handed over immediately to the Ukraine Republic, but its future would be determined by a mixed commission.

German troops landed in Finland on Feb. 21, and on March 1 a treaty was signed between Russia and Finland providing for the evacuation of Finland by the Russians. On March 7 official announcement was made that a treaty of peace had been signed between Finland and Germany, and the next day it was reported that the Finnish Government had asked the German Emperor to appoint Prince Oscar of Hohenzollern King of Finland.

The Aland Islands were seized by Sweden on Feb. 19. German troops occupied them March 3. Russia protested, on March 10, against German occupation as a breach of the peace treaty. On March 14 the people sent an appeal to the Finnish Government and to the German and Swedish monarchs, asking that their wishes concerning their Government be considered before the final peace conference, and requesting that a plebiscite be taken. The United States Government protested to the Finnish Government, March 15, against the arrest by the Germans of Henry Crosby Emery, and the British protested against the arrest of sixteen Britishers in the same party with Mr. Emery, all of whom were taken aboard a German steamer and taken to Danzig, Germany.

The State Council of Courland offered the Ducal Crown to the King of Prussia, March 15.

Germany replied to Lithuania's requests for recognition by making it dependent upon an agreement to certain military, customs, railway, and currency conventions, according to an Amsterdam dispatch dated March 14.

Armenia again became exposed to Turkish cruelty as a result of the cession of territory by Russia in the peace treaty. Massacres occurred in Trebizond, which was reoccupied by the Turks on Feb. 26. On March 3 reports were received at The Hague of the massacre of the entire male population of Samsun. On March 14 the Turks occupied Erzerum, and the Armenians offered resistance.

RUMANIA

Rumania received an ultimatum from the Bolshevik Government on Feb. 17 demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia by the Rumanian and counter-revolutionary troops and the right to transport Russian

troops through Rumanian and Bessarabian territory. Conclusion of a treaty of peace, in which Rumania conceded these demands, was announced on March 9.

A preliminary peace between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed on March 6. It provided for the cession to the Teutons of Dobrudja as far as the Danube and portions of the frontier of Rumania bordering on Austria-Hungary. Rumania undertook to further the transportation of Teutonic troops through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa. On March 13 the Teutons demanded a "rectification" of the boundary between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. On the same day German troops entered Odessa. The Averescu Cabinet resigned on March 15.

On March 17 the Germans occupied Nikolayev, and the Russian fleet escaped from Odessa to Sebastopol.

MISCELLANEOUS

General Sir William Robertson refused to keep the post of Chief of the British Imperial Staff, according to an announcement made on Feb. 16, and General Sir Henry Wilson was appointed to succeed him. General Robertson declined appointment on the Versailles War Council, but accepted the command of the eastern parts of the British Isles.

Charles Humbert, Senator from the Meuse and proprietor of the Paris Journal, was arrested on Feb. 18, and charged with treason as the result of his alleged dealings with Bolo Pacha. The appeal of Bolo Pacha from the sentence of death was rejected by the Court of Revision March 12. The same action was taken in the case of Darius Porchère.

An Interallied Labor Conference was held in London, beginning Feb. 21. It accepted the war-aims program enunciated by British labor on Dec. 28.

Chancellor von Hertling addressed the German Reichstag, Feb. 25, on peace, announcing that he agreed fundamentally with President Wilson's four principles. Secretary Balfour replied in the British House of Commons on Feb. 27, announcing that he saw no basis of peace in Hertling's speech.

The United States and Great Britain notified Holland on March 14 of their intention to take over Dutch ships in American and Entente ports on March 18 unless Holland was able to reach a definite agreement regarding them by that time. On the same day the United States War Trade Board announced that Germany was deliberately seeking by a campaign of ruthlessness to starve out the North European neutrals by cutting them off from American and allied food supplies.

[OFFICIAL]

Military Events of the Month

From February 13 to March 17, 1918

[ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT IN WEEKLY REPORTS]

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents five weekly reports, beginning with the week ended Feb. 20, 1918, issued by the United States War Department, giving the official review of military operations on all fronts.

Week Ended
Feb. 20

While there have been outwardly no new developments in the military situation in the west during the period under consideration, yet it is apparent that both the enemy and the Allies, after extensive preparations, which have been silently and systematically carried on, are ready for battle. The Germans have recently withdrawn a number of their veteran west front units from the first-line trenches and are busily training them in mobile warfare.

According to advices received, the German General Staff hopes that by massing a large number of these picked shock battalions, which have been intensively trained, they may deliver a crushing blow. The bulk of the German forces are now assembled in the west. But a large number of these units are wholly untrained in the method of western front warfare, which differs radically from that conducted along other fronts. Furthermore, the German higher command realizes fully that their forces will meet with far more difficult tactical obstacles than any hitherto encountered by an attacking army. A break through was possible in Russia only after the morale of the Russians had been undermined; the same was true in Italy, and we witnessed how speedily the Italian line was mended.

During the week there has been much activity of a minor character along the entire western front. In Lorraine a segment of the line is entirely under the control of our forces. Along our front patrol encounters were numerous. The Germans undertook a raid against our positions and succeeded in inflicting a

few casualties. A small American patrol, while scouting in No Man's Land, was ambushed by the enemy.

The weather was very rainy during the first part of the week and our troops were busy manning the pumps in an effort to keep their trenches dry. Later clear weather prevailed and hostile aircraft made frequent flights to reconnoitre our positions. A marked improvement in our anti-aircraft barrage is reported. Artillery duels took place and the Germans showered our lines with gas shells, which, however, caused no casualties owing to efficient gas-mask protection.

AMERICANS UNDER FIRE

In Champagne units of American artillery participated in an engagement undertaken by French forces. This operation was the most important of the week in the west. After very careful artillery preparation, during which our batteries co-operated usefully, French infantry advanced to the assault southwest of the Butte du Mesnil, along a front of about 1,400 yards. The French, succeeding in penetrating the German positions, broke through the second and reached the third German line. During this brisk attack the French destroyed many enemy shelters, inflicted much damage to enemy positions, besides bringing back 150 prisoners.

Other successful raids were undertaken by French detachments in the vicinity of the Chemin des Dames, east of Rheims, in Upper Alsace and elsewhere. In all, the French drove forward twelve very fortunate reconnoissance undertakings along different parts of the line.

German units were also active. Their attempts to reach the French lines were

temporarily successful in the vicinity of Bezonvaux and in Alsace. However, seven German raids at various other points broke down. French artillery kept the enemy constantly engaged along a widely scattered area.

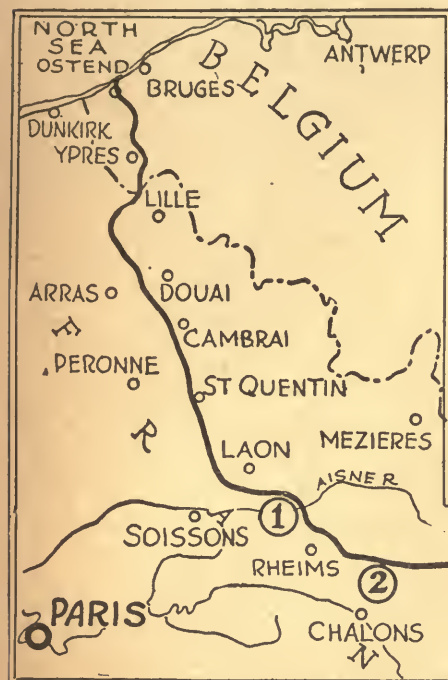
The British front was also the scene of numerous minor engagements. No im-

tance. The crossing of the Dvina was unopposed. In the region of the Gulf of Riga the German forces are rapidly advancing through Esthonia and have already reached a point 100 miles east of Riga. German warships have appeared off Reval. Harpsal has been captured.

The Germans apparently plan to seize Esthonia, Livonia, and parts of Finland, and even occupy Petrograd.

Finns are assisting the enemy in gaining a foothold on the Finnish coast. Four hostile transports have landed Finnish soldiers, who had served in the German Army, at Vasa. A vigorous offensive against the Finnish Bolsheviks who are in control south of Tammerfors and Viborg seems to be contemplated.

In the sector of the eastern front under Austrian control their forces are pushing deep into Volhynia. After the occupation of Lutsk the Austrians appear to have formed a junction with certain Ukrainian contingents and advanced on Rovno, which was captured and cleared of Russians.

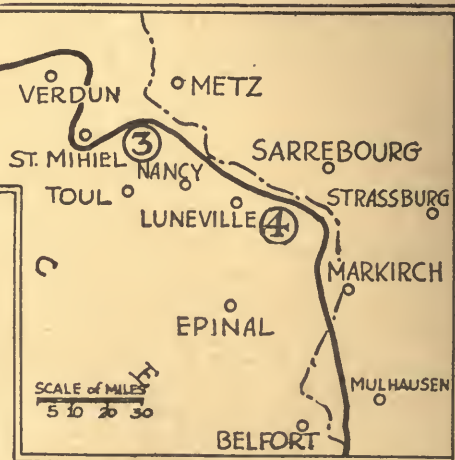


KEY MAP SHOWING POINTS WHERE UNITED STATES TROOPS ARE FIGHTING IN FRANCE. THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH THOSE ON DETAILED MAPS

portant actions took place and the enemy, who was evidently busy with the grouping of units and disposing fresh forces recently arrived from other theatres in the front line, undertook only such reconnoitring engagements as to familiarize the new units with the nature of the terrain in front of them.

Week Ended
Feb. 24

The most important news of the week comes to us from the Russian theatre. As was anticipated last week, the German forces have again taken the offensive. The enemy is moving eastward along a broad front. Dvinsk, Minsk, and Lutsk were occupied without resis-



The number of prisoners taken by the Central Powers is increasing rapidly, and the war material already enumerated which has fallen into the hands of the enemy includes 1,353 guns, 120 machine guns, between 4,000 and 5,000 motor cars, and 1,000 freight cars filled with food supplies, airplanes, and other booty.

Hitherto little opposition has been offered to the advancing Germans, and it

is not as yet clear what preparations the Russians are making to meet the enemy. Owing to the disorganization of the Russian forces, it is difficult to presage what effective opposition they may be able to place in the path of the invaders. It is reported that Russian units are concentrating at Vitebsk, 150 miles southeast of Dvinsk.

While no major undertakings were recorded in the west, yet the entire front was the scene of hard-driven assaults of a minor character.

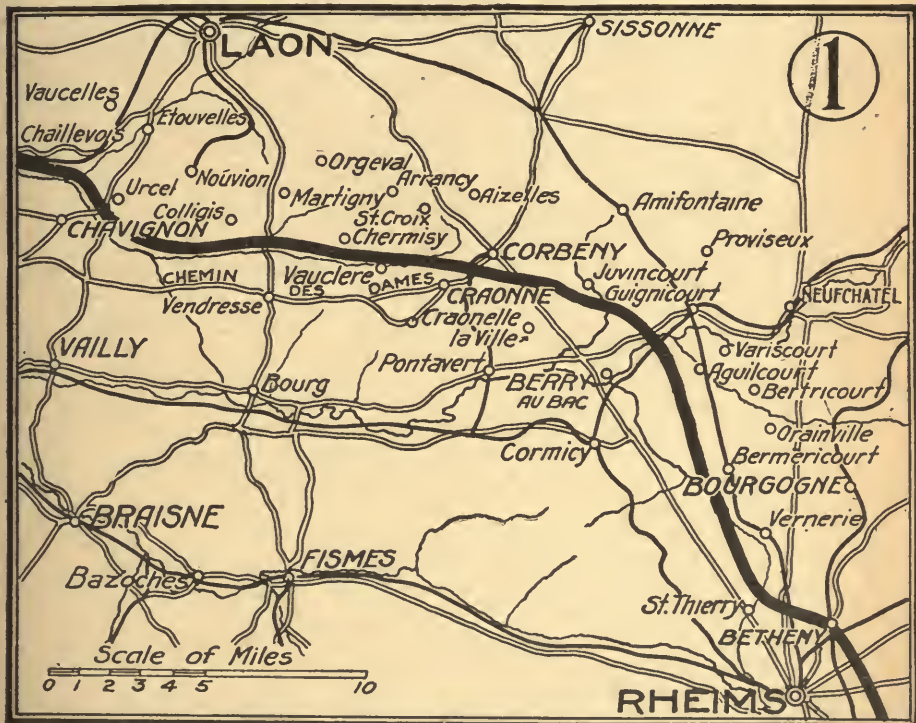
AMERICAN PATROLS ACTIVE

Our own forces are taking an increasingly important part in the operations.

in No Man's Land, which were successfully carried through.

At the time our detachments were coming up into the trenches they were under heavy hostile shellfire; nevertheless, our men made their way to their stations without confusion or casualties. It is useful to note that our forces now in action in this, one of the most active sectors of the entire French front, have acquitted themselves very creditably.

During the week General Pershing made a personal inspection of the American sector northwest of Toul. He visited all of our first-line trenches, observation posts, battery emplacements, and



AMERICAN TROOPS OCCUPY POSITIONS ALONG THE FAMOUS CHEMIN DES DAMES, NEAR CHAVIGNON

Last week we recorded the participation of our artillery in the very successful thrust made by the French in the region of the Butte du Mesnil. This week the presence of our infantry in a very important area of the Chemin des Dames is reported. Here our patrols have been outside our barbed wire and have undertaken a number of scouting expeditions

other points of interest. During the two days spent on this tour the Commander in Chief came in close contact with the men in the trenches, heard their comments or complaints, and noted carefully all suggestions offered to better the condition and welfare of our troops in action.

Our men who have completed their first period of duty in the trenches have

arrived at the leave centre established at Aix-les-Bains. This is the first of a series of rest centres it is proposed to establish, where our men can find rest and recreation after the trying ordeal of trench life.

MANY ENEMY RAIDS

Along the French front the enemy reacted energetically in the region southwest of the Butte du Mesnil. After a sanguinary encounter, the Germans succeeded in regaining part of the trenches

tional segment of the French line. The transfer of an appreciable mileage of the front below St. Quentin was made to the British without difficulty or delay.

Along the British front great activity prevailed. Near Epehy the Irish, near Lens the Canadians, east of Polygon Wood the New Zealanders, conducted successful local drives against enemy positions. The Germans raided the British lines north of Ypres, near La Vacquerie, and at a few other points.

After a heavy bombardment east of Arleux-en-Gohelle, the Germans began to advance against British positions. The attacking party was completely routed and a number of Germans were made prisoner.

U-BOAT BASES BOMBED

The weather was favorable for work in the air. The British again successfully bombed the submarine bases of Zeebrugge, as well as hostile concentrations in the vicinity of Ghent, Laon, Courtrai, Lille, &c. French aviators made a series of air attacks against points of military importance in the rear of enemy positions.

The Germans were also active, and a decided increase in hostile aircraft over our sector was reported.

In Italy, from the Val Guidicaria to the Adriatic, incessant reciprocal artillery bombardments took place. Slight infantry activity in the Val Lagarina was recorded. The Italians conducted a fortunate raid in front of Capo Sile, and the British forces operating in the Montello Hills announce a raid undertaken against hostile intrenchments.

In Palestine the British are following up their recent victories. On a fifteen-mile front east of Jerusalem the British advanced to a depth of two miles and along a seven-and-three-quarter-mile front they have pushed ahead for over three miles. Jericho has also been occupied. The offensive operations of the British are greatly facilitated by the successful completion of direct rail communication with Egypt.

In Arabia the detachment of Arabs are rendering useful assistance by the repeated raids along the railway north of Medina.



LE MESNIL AND TAHURE, EAST OF RHEIMS, ARE AMONG THE POINTS WHERE AMERICANS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING

lost last week. A further attempt, in which three German battalions participated, was repulsed. In a third assault the Germans took 125 prisoners, but the French forces regained the lost positions after a spirited counterattack. Our artillery participated in these operations.

Numerous hostile raids were executed, only two of which were partially successful, the one at St. Mihiel, the other along the Aisne-Oise Canal, while enemy reconnoitring parties were driven off in Champagne, Upper Alsace, and elsewhere.

The French carried out three well-planned raids, and in Lorraine took 525 prisoners.

Artillery duels took place along the entire front. A decided increase in the intensity of bombardments was noted.

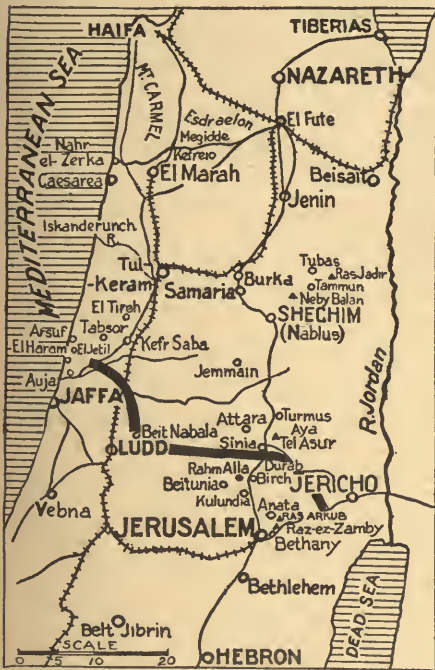
The British have taken over an addi-

Week Ended
March 2

The third month of relative quiescence on the western front has come to a close. During this period both belligerent groups have been massing their forces. There is evidence that the enemy continues to bring up fresh units. Owing to transportation difficulties this has been a slow and laborious process.

The allied war council is now in continuous session, assuring complete unity and flexibility of control.

The British have extended their front.



BRITISH ADVANCE IN PALESTINE. JERICHO WAS CAPTURED FEB. 21

Our own forces have taken over a sector northwest of Toul. In addition, a number of our detached units are in action in Champagne.

The momentum of battle is increasing.

We have but to note the occurrences of the past week in our own sector in Lorraine in order to gain an idea of what is taking place on an even larger scale along the entire western front.

Patrols have been very active. Early in the week the enemy made two attempts to reach our lines, but was driven off by

machine-gun fire. On March 1 the enemy developed a sharply driven attack. After a short struggle the hostile detachment was repulsed.

The Germans are now using gas along our front. Our men are becoming accustomed to this weapon. Our gas masks are efficiently protective. Our artillery was very busy shelling enemy dispositions and inflicted considerable damage on gun and mortar emplacements.

Important troop movements took place behind the German lines opposite our front.

In spite of the low visibility, hostile aircraft continued active and made frequent incursions over our lines.

In the region of the Chemin des Dames lively encounters took place. A French raid against the German outposts, in which a number of American volunteers participated, was very successfully carried through.

No important engagements occurred along the French front, which was less active than during the preceding period.

COUP DE MAIN BY FRENCH

On Feb. 24 the French executed a coup de main, destroying hostile defensive works and shelters near Aspach in Upper Alsace. Small raids in Champagne and Lorraine were also recorded.

The enemy was active in the vicinity of Avocourt and Les Eparges, and was driven back while attempting to react in the vicinity of the Butte du Mesnil and the Chemin des Dames.

Artillery duels were insistent along the entire front, flaring up with peculiar intensity in the Verdun salient and Upper Alsace.

Along the British front the Germans were more alert. They made numerous attempts to reach the British lines, and their raids were partially successful in the vicinity of the Ypres-Roulers railway and along the Yser; while in the vicinity of Passchendaele and in the Cambrai area repeated assaults were driven off.

The boldest enterprise undertaken by the enemy during the week took place north of Dixmude. Here, after prolonged artillery preparations, the enemy endeavored to throw a bridge across the

Yser. The Belgians successfully prevented six consecutive attempts to push this operation to successful conclusion, and the Germans were finally compelled to abandon the undertaking.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

The operations in the eastern theatre will probably have some repercussion along the western front. The new trend of events in Russia has no doubt modified German plans to a certain degree.

For the time being the enemy continues to advance eastward. Following the highways and railroads, six columns of invasion along a 700-mile front are operating in careful co-ordination.

In Esthonia the enemy has reached a point approximately 100 miles from Petrograd. In Livonia, Jurjev, 160 miles east of Riga, has been entered.

The column moving on Vitebsk is advancing at an average rate of sixteen miles daily and has passed beyond Pskov. This force has met with some opposition.

After the capture of Minsk the hostile army operating in this area continued its advance, and is apparently headed for Smolensk, and its ultimate objective, should it continue to find its course unimpeded, would be to cut off and possibly occupy Moscow.

The fifth column, operating in the Pripet sector, is also converging on Smolensk, with Moscow as a final objective.

The sixth column, composed of Austrian forces operating in Volhynia, owing to the favorable reception the Austrians have received at the hands of the Ukrainians, has been able to advance more than 200 miles into the interior and is reported to be within sixty miles of Kiev.

The Russians are believed to be preparing to stem the tide of invasion. Petrograd is being prepared to withstand a siege.

ITALIAN THEATRE

In the Italian theatre the Allies executed a number of minor raids along the Piave. The enemy confined his activity to increasingly heavy bombardments west of the Asiago Plateau. In the region of Val Largarina and Lake of Garda hostile preparations were particularly noticeable.

The enemy is continuing the bombardment of the cities of Venetia by aircraft. Repeated attacks were made against Venice, and much damage was inflicted upon churches and other buildings during these raids.

In the Caucasus the Turkish forces are meeting with little opposition. The region from the Lake of Van to the Black Sea is again in Turkish hands. In the districts reoccupied by the Turks it is stated that they are massacring the Armenians.

In Palestine the British are in close contact with the Turks, who are retreating northward through the Valley of the Jordan.

In Mesopotamia the British are advancing up the Euphrates and have arrived in the vicinity of Hit, which is reported to have been evacuated by the Turks.

<p>Week Ended March 9</p>

In spite of the fact that 120,000 square miles of Russian territory have been invaded during the last three weeks, and the enemy now is sweeping forward into the heart of Russia and has reached a point within seventy miles of the capital, nevertheless the centre of gravity of the war remains in the west.

The Germans have for the last three and a half years done all in their power to upset the centre of gravity and shift it eastward. This explains the successive blows struck in Russia and later in the Italian theatre.

Notwithstanding the diversions of the minor campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and on the Balkan front, the key positions of the war are France and Flanders. Here the strategic situation remains relatively constant. The enemy is completing the redistribution of available forces. There are some new units flowing into the lines in the nature of replacements. Nothing in the situation should lead us to estimate that the Germans have abandoned their plans of a major offensive in the west.

Considering tactical dispositions, we note that the enemy has developed two principal axes of activity, the one pivot-

ing on Rheims, the other in Alsace, in front of Lunéville. The Allies, while assuming an alert defensive, are resting content with allowing the enemy to break the strength of his assaults against their impregnable line.

The morale of the French and British forces has never been better. They are keenly anxious to give battle to the enemy, confident of their superiority.

AMERICANS ON FOUR SECTORS

Our own forces have been constantly engaged. The scope of their activities is being daily extended. The number of our detachments in the line is increasing. We now have troops in the trenches at four separate points.

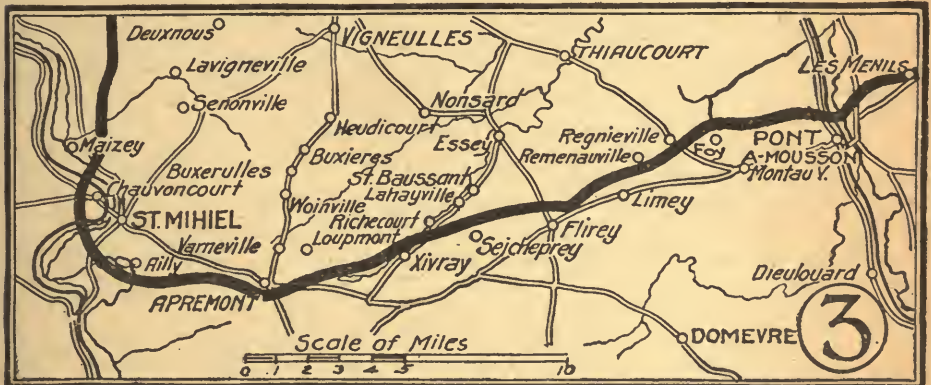
At dawn on March 5 the enemy attempted a strong raid against one of

ing apparatus, which was captured and later brought into our lines. During this attack the liquid fire reached a trench segment which contained none of our men, and little damage was inflicted. Our own patrols are continuously out on scouting missions, keeping in close contact with the enemy.

In our Toul sector the Germans are carrying on extensive preparations, continuing to bring up fresh units and accumulating material, apparently with a view to undertaking more extensive operations.

FRENCH SURPRISE ATTACK

During the period under review the French along their front have remained relatively inactive. However, they carried out a very successful surprise at-



ST. MIHIEL SALIENT, WHERE AMERICANS HOLD SEVERAL MILES OF TRENCHES THROUGH SEICHEPREY, XIVRAY, AND FLIREY

our advance posts further south. This thrust was repulsed with a loss to the enemy. Our casualties were slight and no prisoners or missing were reported. The French General commanding this sector congratulated our commander on the splendid manner in which our troops repulsed the assaulting columns.

We now hold four and a half miles of the battle front in our principal sector.

On March 7 the enemy, making use of liquid fire, advanced to the assault against our trenches. This is the first time this weapon has been tried out against our men. The assaulting column was repulsed and the Germans were compelled to abandon the flame-throw-

tack east of the Meuse against the enemy positions in the Calonne trenches. The French forces, on a frontage of some 1,200 yards, advanced to a depth of 600 yards and were able to reach the German fourth-line positions. The enemy counterattacked in force on the French left flank, but was repulsed without difficulty, and the French brought in over 150 prisoners.

French units drove the Germans from positions where they had recently gained a foothold in the vicinity of Fort Pom-pelle, southeast of Rheims. By a fortunate stroke, the French were able to dislodge the enemy and regain complete control of their old line.

During the last seven-day period the

Germans conducted no less than twenty hard-driven raids along the French front. The greater part of these were repulsed without difficulty, though the enemy was able to capture some 400 prisoners west of the Meuse early in the week, as well as to retake part of the trenches in the region of the Butte du Mesnil, which the French had captured in February.

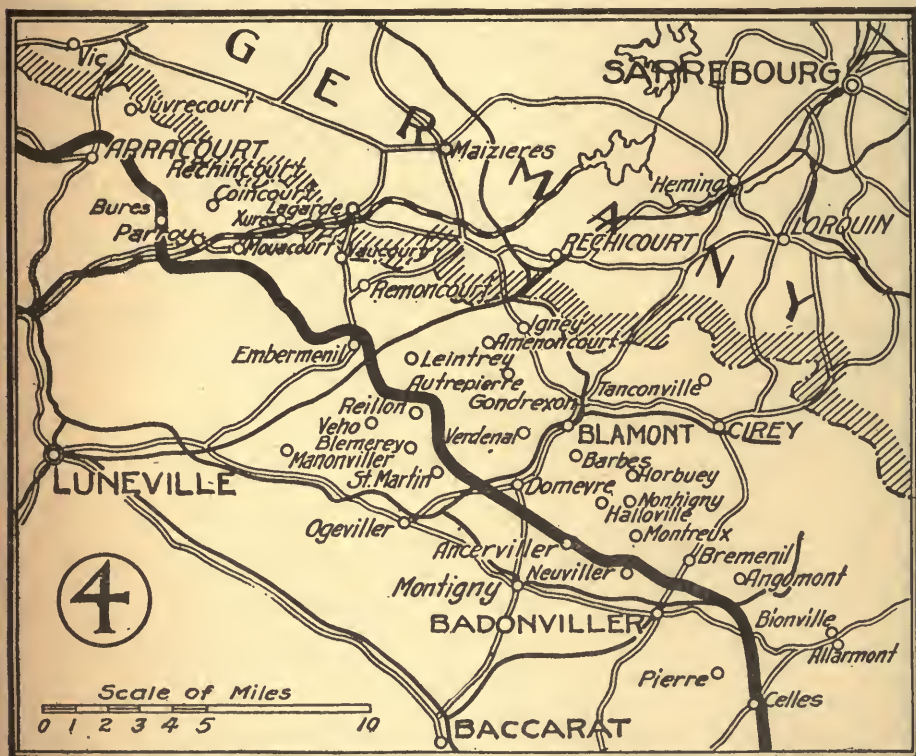
Along the British front, the British continued to hold the initiative and drove forward a series of successful minor

prisoners south of St. Quentin and north of Scarpe.

TWO ACTIVE NIGHTS

The Germans made raids into the British lines at a large number of points. Along the whole sector hostile raiding is increasing, and during two successive nights the Germans undertook no less than ten operations which were more than mere raids.

More serious fighting took place in the Ypres-Dixmude sector. Here the enemy



EAST OF LUNEVILLE AMERICANS ATTACKED AND SEIZED ENEMY TRENCHES NEAR BADONVILLER

raids along the Ypres salient, as well as at many points southward. The Australians carried out a very successful reconnoissance at Warneton, taking a number of prisoners and several machine guns. Though the attacking forces met with strong resistance, nevertheless they were able to mop up the enemy trenches in short order and reached the German second line after repulsing two strong counterthrusts. The English brought in

launched an attack in force on a frontage of over a mile and was able to gain a temporary foothold in the British advance post, south of Houthulst Wood. Severe fighting ensued, and as a result of a very brisk engagement the British units not only repulsed the enemy, but drove forward 300 yards from their original starting point.

In the region of Messines a trench element held by the Portuguese forces was

assaulted by the enemy, but the Portuguese troops held their ground firmly and drove off the attacking column.

As indicative of the intense air activities which now prevail, 214 enemy aircraft were brought down during last month on the western front. The Allies lost only eighty-eight machines on all fronts, while the enemy is credited with the loss of 273.

ITALIAN FRONT

In the Italian theatre heavy snow in the mountain area has prevented further operations. Artillery duels were, however, lively from the Astico to the Brenta, and from the eastern slopes of the Monte Grappa to the Piave.

The Italian front remains temporarily quiet. Advices indicate that the enemy contemplates taking the offensive in the mountain area, possibly in an effort to debouch through the Val Lagarina into the plain. We may look for increased activity in this theatre, which will, no doubt, develop spontaneously when preparations have been completed and weather conditions are more favorable.

In the meantime, Italian forces have now fully recovered from their losses of the campaign of last Autumn. Their cadres are reorganized, and the Italian armies are operating in close conjunction with the British and French divisions now at the front in Italy.

INVASION OF RUSSIA

In Russia the situation is changing with eruptive rapidity. The Germans continue to advance inland. The lists tabulated by the enemy of terrain captured, of guns, stores, and other war material taken, grow daily more voluminous.

In Finland the Germans are operating in conjunction with the White Guards against the Red Guards, and are in control of the line north of Tammerfors and Viborg. The Germans have landed on the Aland Islands, which they will probably use as a base for an invasion of Finland.

The German invasion of Russia is in full swing. One hostile column, at least, is now meeting with some opposition. In Esthonia the Russians are holding off

the invaders in front of Jamburg. This centre, though occupied by the enemy, has been retaken by Russian forces. Advices from Petrograd indicate that 100,000 workmen have enrolled in the Russian Army and are rallying for the defense of the capital.

Petrograd has been bombarded by German aircraft. Two additional invading columns, making eight in all, are making some headway along their respective lines of advance. The Livonian column has progressed about 130 miles in five and a half days, capturing many prisoners. The column advancing on Smolensk has arrived on the Dnieper and reached a point seventy-eight miles from this city. Two new columns under Austrian control are bearing down through Podolia into Northern Bessarabia. Three Russian infantry divisions are said to have surrendered to the Austrians.

In Siberia it is reported that the ex-German war prisoners are armed and drilling in the vicinity of Irkutsk, and that throughout Siberia German and Austrian prisoners of war are being assisted by certain Russian elements. Railway bridges east of Lake Baikal and in the vicinity of Chita have been destroyed as a result of the rumor of Japanese intervention.

A detachment of American engineers is en route for Harbin.

IN ASIA MINOR

In Mesopotamia the British are in constant contact with the Turks and have taken a number of prisoners in the vicinity of Hit.

In Palestine the British are pushing steadily forward, particularly along and west of the Nablus road. Cavalry encounters east and north of Jericho are reported.

In Macedonia a Bulgarian raid was repulsed southwest of Seres, and intermittent artillery action is noted in the vicinity of Monastir.

Week Ended March 15

The period of inactivity in the west is being prolonged.

Though the raids now taking place would in the past have

been considered important engagements, nevertheless, owing to the fact that they are merely of minor tactical value, they cannot be held to be major operations. While hostile preparations for an offensive in the west are not slackening, it is becoming more evident that the enemy will launch this offensive only if compelled to do so by the exigencies of the general strategic situation.

While fresh German divisions are reported as arriving in the west, it is important to note that the density of the enemy forces has nearly reached a point beyond which it will be impracticable to go, for, should any large additional body of men be massed, the chances are that the congestion of the lines of communication will become so great as to make it impossible to maintain the flexibility of manoeuvre, which is so essential.

Our own forces in France have been constantly in action. Our troops are now in the trenches at five different points. This week we undertook our first assault against German positions unassisted by any allied contingent.

At dawn, on March 11, after a preliminary bombardment lasting three-quarters of an hour, we drove a highly successful raid against a German trench segment. Our men penetrated the German line to a depth of 300 yards. The enemy was driven off after a hand-to-hand fight, whereupon our contingent returned to our lines.

TWO SUCCESSFUL RAIDS

At three places in Lorraine American troops, acting in co-operation with small French detachments, raided German trenches. Two of these operations were carried out simultaneously, each on a frontage of some 600 yards. After a prolonged bombardment the attacking units were able to reach their objectives. Few of the enemy were found in the first-line trenches and the attackers swept forward into the German second line. Our men remained for nearly an hour in the German positions and retired after inflicting much damage and capturing a considerable quantity of material.

There has been a decided increase in sniping, owing to more favorable weather conditions. Our artillery was also very

active. We kept up a vigorous bombardment on the rear areas opposite our Toul sector. Near the Swiss border, where another detachment of our men are in the trenches, hostile bombardments were frequent.

The western front, from the North Sea to the Aisne, was the scene of much hard fighting. In Flanders the British were able completely to re-establish themselves in the advance posts near Polderhoek Ridge and Houthulst Wood, which the enemy had captured during the preceding week.

The Germans initiated a number of important raids undertaken on a wide frontage which, had they proved successful, might possibly have developed into engagements of a broader character, as the blows driven in the vicinity of Passchendaele, Houthulst Wood, and along Menin road could readily have been linked together into an offensive having a frontage of eight and one-half miles. The British successfully raided the German lines from south of St. Quentin to Houthulst Wood.

ITALY AND THE EAST

In the Italian theatre the arrival of further hostile units, and the concentration of material coming from Germany, is noted in the area east and west of the Lake of Garda, which would point to hostile operations having Verona and Brescia as their objectives.

In the eastern theatre the enemy has stopped advancing in the north, while consolidating the territory gained in the south.

The chief operation of the week culminated in the capture of Odessa. An Austrian column bearing down from the north formed a junction with a German column which had advanced rapidly across Bessarabia. The occupation of Odessa will no doubt be of economic importance to the enemy. In Finland fighting continues. German infantry has landed at Abo, and the arrival of important additional German forces on the Aland Islands is reported.

In Palestine the British continue to advance. They have now pushed their lines eighteen miles north of Jerusalem.

RUSSIA'S CAPITULATION

Story of the New German Invasion, With Events Attending the Signing of the Peace Treaty— Germans in Finland and the Ukraine

IN an official proclamation, issued on Feb. 10, 1918, the Petrograd Government announced its decision to withdraw from the war without signing "an annexationist treaty." Simultaneously, complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts was decreed. The Bolsheviks laid down their arms in a manner new in international relations. Four days later Leon Trotzky, who headed the Russian peace delegation, reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Councils on the results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. He stated that Russia's withdrawal from the war was genuine, and that it implied the annulment of all agreements with her allies. The committee approved Trotzky's policy, and expressed its confidence that the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary would not allow a new offensive against the workers of Russia. The text of the official withdrawal was published in the March issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

The "no war, but no peace" declaration of the Petrograd Government was received in Germany with much suspicion. Both in Government circles and in the press the opinion prevailed that Trotzky's step ended the armistice, but did not end the war. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann had stated at the end of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations that if no peace treaty was signed, Russia would still be at war with Germany. The fact that one of the parties had demobilized its armies did not, he believed, change the situation. On Feb. 14, the Berliner *Neueste Nachrichten*, a German daily inspired from high army circles, wrote in effect:

For us the state of war remains, and the fact of our possession of occupied eastern territory remains, too. * * * The army command stands by the point of view that so long as the Russian Government

does not produce proofs that it wishes peace earnestly and honestly, so long as it does not bring guarantees for that, and so long as evil agitation is carried on among German troops by Russian officers under orders of the Russian Army command, the situation can only produce further hostilities.

Other papers declared the Russian demobilization order to be a 'sham manoeuvre. They reported that this order was quickly rescinded and that the Bolsheviks were busy organizing a large Red Army. The news was circulated that the Bolsheviks were arresting Germans in Russia by wholesale and holding them as hostages.

NEW INVASION OF RUSSIA

On Feb. 15 it was reported that Germany had resolved to resume military operations against Russia. The decision had been reached at a conference of the chief German military and political leaders, including the Emperor. An official German statement declared Russia's action of Feb. 10 equivalent to a denouncement of the truce signed on Dec. 15. Accordingly the Army Headquarters announced that the armistice on the Great Russian front expired at noon Monday, Feb. 18. Germany had now a free hand in the East.

Austria-Hungary showed no eagerness to renew the war against Northern Russia. The general tone of the Viennese press was one of opposition to the reopening of hostilities against the Bolsheviks. It was pointed out among other things that the Dual Monarchy no longer bordered on Russia, and was, therefore, not called to interfere in Russian affairs. A Vienna dispatch dated Feb. 18 announced that "an agreement had been reached between Germany and Austria-Hungary whereby, in the event of military action being necessary, the German

troops would be confined to the frontier of Great Russia, and the Austrians to Ukraine only."

Two hours after the truce came to an end the Germans crossed the Dvina Bridge, which the retreating Russian Army had failed to blow up, and entered Dvinsk, meeting with little resistance. All along a front stretching from the Baltic coast to Volhynia in the south the invading troops advanced eastward. The immediate objective in the north was the seizure of Esthonia and Livonia. The Germans declared that it was their aim to rescue the population of these provinces from the Bolshevik rule of murder and looting. Simultaneously, the town of Lutsk, in the Province of Volhynia, was occupied without fighting. According to an official German statement, the campaign in the south was undertaken in response to an "appeal of the Ukrainians," in which they implored "the peaceful and order-loving German people" to help them in their struggle with the Bolsheviks. In an army order Prince Leopold of Bavaria declared that the aim of the advance was not annexation but restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe.

THE BOLSHEVIKI CAPITULATE

The reopening of hostilities had an immediate effect on the Petrograd authorities. When the first day of the invasion was over the Council of People's Commissaries (the Bolshevik Cabinet of Ministers) held an all-night sitting, which took up the question of capitulation. Lenin pronounced himself in favor of accepting the German terms unconditionally and signing a peace treaty. Trotzky stood for war, but at the last moment he changed his mind, and the peace proposal was carried by a majority of one vote. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the Bolshevik Parliament, was not consulted, and at 5:30 in the morning Feb. 19, a proclamation was issued by Lenin and Trotzky protesting against the German advance, but announcing that "in the present circumstances the Council of People's Commissaries regards itself as forced formally to declare its willingness to sign a peace upon the

conditions which had been dictated by the delegations of the Quadruple Alliance at Brest-Litovsk."

Later in the day Ensign Krylenko, the Bolshevik Commander in Chief, addressed the following message to the Russian troops:

The Council of People's Commissaries has offered to the Germans to sign peace immediately. I order that in all cases where Germans are encountered massed, pourparlers with the German soldiers should be organized and the proposal to refrain from fighting made to them. If Germans refuse, then you must offer to them every possible resistance.

(Signed) KRYLENKO.

Speaking on the same day (Feb. 19) before the Executive Committee of the Soviets, Lenin defended the step of the Commissaries by pointing out that the country was completely unable to offer resistance and that peace was indispensable for the completion of the social revolution in Russia. He also argued that the imperialist Governments then at war would sooner or later unite for the purpose of crushing the Socialist commonwealth of Russia, and that it was, therefore, imperative to make peace while Russia's enemies were divided. The capital received the new decision of the Government with indifference; the press was divided as to the wisdom of it.

GERMANY'S REPLY

The German reply came late in the afternoon in the form of a telegram signed by General Hoffmann. Its text, together with that of the Russian answer, follows:

To the Council of People's Commissaries—A wireless message, signed by Nikolai Lenin and L. Trotzky from Tsarskoe Selo was today (Tuesday, Feb. 19) received at König Wusterhausen at 9:12 A. M. It has been handed over to the royal Government, although a wireless message cannot be regarded as an official document because the original signatures are absent. I am authorized to request from the People's Commissaries authentication in writing of the wireless message, which must be sent to the German command at Dvinsk.

GENERAL HOFFMANN.

The Russian answer:

We are sending today from Petrograd a messenger to Dvinsk with the wireless message containing the original signa-

tures of Lenine and Trotzky. We beg you to give us an acknowledgment of this message and inform us if it has been received promptly. We also beg you to reply in Russian.

COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES.

A messenger carrying the authentic capitulation telegram was forthwith dispatched to Dvinsk, but the Germans did not hasten to declare their attitude toward the Russian proposal. The situation remained uncertain till the end of the week. Meanwhile the invasion continued almost unopposed. The German detachments moved swiftly eastward, in four armies, and on Feb. 21 were seventy miles northeast of Riga. They announced the capture of 9,000 prisoners, including an army and a number of divisional commanders, with enormous quantities of booty.

Esthonia was occupied, and in the south the Germans came into touch with the Ukrainian troops. On Feb. 23 the Turkish Army began an offensive in the Caucasus. The Russian regular troops fled in disorder, blocking the roads and leaving ruin and destruction in the wake of their retreat.

TARDY CALL TO ARMS

In these circumstances the Bolshevik authorities called on the people to resist the invaders and organize a guerrilla warfare, if necessary. "The duty of Russian workmen and peasants," said a proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries on Feb. 22, "is defense to the death of the republic against the masses of bourgeoisie and imperialists of Germany." The proclamation urged the following points:

First—All the forces in the country in their entirety must place themselves at the service of the defense of the revolution.

Second—All the councils of workmen's and soldiers' revolutionary organizations must enter into the compulsory defense of each position to the last drop of their blood.

Third—Organizations on railways and the Soviets connected therewith are obliged with all their strength to check attempts of the enemy to profit by the equipment of lines of communication. In their retreat they must destroy the railways and blow up the stations. All roll-

ing stock and locomotives must be sent eastward and into the interior of the country without delay.

Fourth—Corn and provisions in general are placed on the same footing as valuable property when in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy and must then be destroyed. The local Soviets must see that these decisions are carried out and the responsibility falls upon their representatives.

Fifth—Workmen and peasants of Petrograd, Kiev, and all towns, villages, and hamlets on the line of the new front must raise battalions to dig trenches under direction of the military Socialists.

Sixth—All members of the bourgeois class, the women as well as the men, must enter these battalions under surveillance of the Red Guards and in case of resistance must be shot.

Seventh—All institutions which offer resistance to the action of the revolution on the defensive and pass to the side of the German bourgeoisie, or which have a tendency to profit by the invasion of the imperialistic masses in order to overthrow the authority of the Soviets, must be closed. Directors of and collaborators with these institutions who are capable of work must mobilize themselves to dig trenches and engage in other defensive works.

Eighth—Foreign agents and speculators are counted as revolutionary agitators, and German spies must be shot at sight. The Socialist Fatherland is in danger. Long live the national social revolution!

Another official proclamation declared:

We agreed to sign peace terms at the cost of enormous concessions in order to save the country from final exhaustion and the ruin of the revolution. Once more the German working class, in this threatening hour, has shown itself insufficiently determined to stay the strong criminal hand of its own militarism. We had no other choice but to accept the conditions of German imperialism until a revolution changes or cancels them.

The German Government is not hastening to reply to us, evidently aiming to seize as many important positions in our territory as possible. The enemy has occupied Dvinsk, Werder, and Lutsk, and is continuing to strangle by hunger the most important centres of the revolution.

We even now are convinced firmly that the German working classes will rise against the attempts of the ruling classes to stifle the revolution, but we cannot predict with certainty when this will occur. The German imperialists may hesitate at nothing for the purpose of destroying the authority of the councils and taking the land from the peasants.

The Commissaries call on all loyal

councils and army organizations to use all efforts to re-create the army. Perverted elements of hooligans, marauders, and cowards should be expelled from the ranks, and, in the event of resistance, wiped off the face of the earth.

The bourgeoisie, who under Kerensky and the Czar evaded the burden of war and profited from its misfortunes, must be made to fulfill their duties by the most decisive and merciless measures.

RUSSIA'S CANOSSA

This appeal testified to the ascendancy of the war party in the Petrograd Government, but that ascendancy was only temporary. The Bolsheviks who advocated resistance had a powerful enemy in the person of Lenine, head of the Government, who held the view that peace should have been signed at Brest-Litovsk. "The Russians," he said, "must preserve the revolution at all costs. They must therefore submit to the German demands, until they are joined by other nations, who will surely revolt under the pressure of the world war."

Finally, on Feb. 23, the Germans, through Foreign Secretary Kühlmann, announced that they were prepared to make a new offer of peace imposing new and more drastic terms than the previous offer, and added the condition that this offer must be accepted in forty-eight hours and must be signed within three days and ratified within two weeks.

LENINE FOR SURRENDER

All through the night the German offer was discussed at party meetings, the peace tendency growing gradually stronger. Premier Lenine in urging the acceptance of the new peace terms said:

The German reply offers peace terms still more severe than those of Brest-Litovsk. Nevertheless, I am absolutely convinced that to refuse to sign these terms is only possible to those who are intoxicated by revolutionary phrases. Up till now I have tried to impress on the members of the party the necessity of clearing their minds of revolutionary cant. Now I must do this openly, for unfortunately my worst forebodings have been justified.

Party workers in January declared war on revolutionary phrases, and said that a policy of refusal to sign a peace would perhaps satisfy the craving for effectiveness—and brilliance—but would leave out of account the objective correlation of

class forces and material factors in the present initial moment of the Socialist revolution. They further said that if we refused to sign the peace then proposed more crushing defeats would compel Russia to conclude a still more disadvantageous separate peace.

The event proved even worse than I anticipated, for our retreating army seems demoralized and absolutely refuses to fight. Only unrestrained phrasemaking can impel Russia at this moment and in these conditions to continue the war, and I personally would not remain a minute longer either in the Government or in the Central Committee of our party if the policy of phrasemaking were to prevail.

This new bitter truth has revealed itself with such terrible distinctness that it is impossible not to see it. All the bourgeoisie in Russia is jubilant at the approach of the Germans. Only a blind man or men infatuated by phrases can fail to see that the policy of a revolutionary war without an army is water in the bourgeois mill. In the bourgeois papers there is already exaltation in view of the impending overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Germans.

We are compelled to submit to a distressing peace. It will not stop revolution in Germany and Europe. We shall now begin to prepare a revolutionary army, not by phrases and exclamations, as did those who after Jan. 10 did nothing even to attempt to stop our fleeing troops, but by organized work, by the creation of a serious national, mighty army. * * *

Their knees are on our chest, and our position is hopeless. * * * This peace must be accepted as a respite enabling us to prepare a decisive resistance to the bourgeoisie and imperialists. The proletariat of the whole world will come to our aid. Then we shall renew the fight.

GERMAN TERMS ACCEPTED

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets met in the early morning of the 24th, (Sunday,) and, swayed by Lenine, accepted the German terms by a majority of 112 against 84, 22 not voting. Trotzky was not present at the sitting. Thereupon the Petrograd authorities informed the German Government that a Russian representative was leaving for Dvinsk Sunday at noon, for the purpose of transmitting Russia's official reply to Germany's peace offer. A telegram, addressed "to all," announced that, "according to the decision of the Central Executive of the Soviets,

FIRST AID IN THE AMERICAN FRONT-LINE TRENCHES



American ambulance men rendering first aid to soldiers wounded in the trenches on one of the sectors now held by the American expeditionary force

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AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE READY FOR A GAS ATTACK



A group of Americans in the front-line trenches on the Lorraine sector about to make a trench raid, equipped with masks as protection against an enemy gas attack

(1) (Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)

taken at 4:30 Sunday morning, [Feb. 24, 1918,] the Councils and People's Commissaries have decided to accept Germany's peace terms and will send a delegation to Brest-Litovsk." The Bolsheviks elected a new peace deputation, which included only one member of the former commission, and the envoys, accompanied by military and naval representatives, left for Brest-Litovsk to sign the pact. The delegates were M. Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; M. Alekxieff, Acting Commissioner of Agriculture, and M. Sokolkokoff.

Speaking before the Reichstag on Feb. 25, Count von Hertling, Imperial German Chancellor, declared that peace with Russia was well in sight. Prior to that, Count Czernin, Austrian Foreign Minister, informed the Russian Government that Austria-Hungary was ready, jointly with her allies, to bring the peace negotiations to the desired end. Nevertheless, the German Government gave no formal reply to the Russian acceptance of the peace terms and refused to grant the armistice which the Russians hoped would be automatically restored by Russia's surrender.

"Resistance becomes the principal task of the revolution," concluded the Russian official statement which announced the German refusal to grant an armistice. As the counter-revolutionary character of the German aggression became more manifest, and as one important base after another fell into their hands, the will to resist asserted itself more strongly and the peace mood rapidly waned.

NEW DEFENSE MOVEMENT

The Petrograd Soviet, which consisted mostly of Workmen's Delegates, took matters into its hands, and the city workers, especially the proletariat of Petrograd, became the backbone of the movement for the defense of the country and the revolution. Never since the March revolution had Petrograd and Moscow shown more signs of military activity. Detachments of Red Guards were being dispatched to the front and volunteers for the new revolutionary army hurriedly enrolled and drilled. It was re-

ported that fully nine-tenths of the workmen had enlisted in the "Red Army," and that the Viborg and Old Petrograd districts alone gave 90,000 volunteers. Other elements, moved by patriotism, joined the Bolsheviks, and young army officers of the bourgeoisie were seen at the head of Red battalions.

Presently the invasion ceased to be a mere military promenade. The first serious resistance the Germans encountered was at Pskov, sixty-five miles southeast of Petrograd, on Feb. 26. The following day the Teutons were forced by the Russians to retire near Orsha. But on the same day Pskov was occupied by the Germans, and Petrograd was declared to be in a state of siege. The allied representatives left Petrograd at this time, and the Bolshevik Government began the removal of the State archives to Moscow.

The work of the Red Army was greatly hampered by the regular troops, which refused to fight, and fled in panic, looting and pillaging the towns they traversed. The Soviet detachments had the double task of disarming the demoralized soldiers and of fighting the aggressors. They fought doggedly, knowing that the Germans would give them no quarter. According to a Bolshevik statement, the Germans announced that all the Red Guards would be hanged or shot. Another proclamation issued by the People's Commissaries declared that the invaders were arresting the Soviets, and concluded with these words: "May the 'blood shed in this unequal struggle fall 'on the heads of the German Socialists, 'who are allowing the German work-'men to be ranked among the Cains and 'Judases."

In addition to these activities, the Bolsheviks were also carrying on war against the Cossacks and Ukrainians in the south. They defeated Kaledin's forces and occupied Rostov-on-Don and Novocherkassk. They also engaged the rearguard of Kornilov's troops, and assisted the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

On March 2 the Petrograd Government received from the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk a dispatch asking for a train to Toroshaets, "es-

corted by a sufficiently large force." How this message was interpreted by the Bolshevik authorities is seen from the following communication sent by Lenine to all the councils:

This message most probably signifies that the peace negotiations have been broken off by the Germans. We must be ready for an immediate German advance on Petrograd and on all fronts. It is necessary that all the people rise and strengthen the measures for defense.

Lenine was mistaken. A later message presented the situation in a different light. It appeared that the envoys had resolved to sign the peace treaty without discussing its contents, in view of the fact that further deliberations might only make matters worse and that the Germans refused to cease military operations until the pact was duly signed. Therefore the delegation asked for a train, expecting to leave immediately upon signing the treaty.

By March 3, when the Germans announced that their advance had ceased on account of the signing of the peace treaty, they reported the capture of 6,800 Russian officers, 57,000 men, 2,400 guns, 5,000 machine guns, motor vehicles, 800 locomotives, and enormous quantities of munitions and supplies. Reval, Dorpat, and Narva were occupied; also Pskov, Polotzk, and Borissoff; Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, was in their possession, and practically all of Russia lying west of a line beginning at Narva on the Gulf of Finland, seventy miles west of Petrograd and running almost due south to Kiev. It placed under German domination the provinces of Russian Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Livonia; the outlying islands in the Gulf of Finland were later occupied. [The text of the treaty will be found following this article.]

The new treaty dispossessed Russia of territories amounting to nearly one-quarter of the area of European Russia and inhabited by one-third of Russia's total population. In addition to Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, a portion of Trans-Caucasia, lying at the southeast of the Black Sea, was ceded. This territory, the fruit of four wars waged against Turkey, is 20,000 square miles in area and

contains a million population. If the new treaty concessions remain in force after the war, the great Russian Empire will be reduced practically to the size of the mediaeval Principality of Muscovy.

GERMANY'S PEACE TERMS

The humiliating terms of peace imposed on Russia by the Central Powers were formally accepted by the Bolshevik Government at a meeting of the Pan-Soviet Congress held at Moscow on March 14-16, 1918. The action was taken under the influence of the Premier, Nikolai Lenine, and over the protest of the Foreign Minister, Leon Trotzky, who had been the chief figure in the original negotiations at Brest-Litovsk.

The peace treaty accepted by the Bolshevik delegates under German pressure at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, of which an official summary is printed in succeeding pages, provided that ratification was required within a fortnight. Trotzky opposed the treaty and was not a delegate at the final peace conference. He was displaced as Foreign Minister on account of his opposition to the treaty, being succeeded by M. Tchitcherin. Trotzky did not attend the Pan-Soviet Congress at Moscow. He was made Chairman of the newly created Government of Petrograd known as the Petrograd Labor Commune, which in turn was controlled by the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Council "for safeguarding revolutionary order and protecting the city from the enemy." It was stated at the Soviet Congress by one of the delegates opposing the treaty that this pact contained a secret clause making Petrograd a "free city."

CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

The congress was held in the Banquet Hall of the Nobility Club at Moscow, where former Emperors often were entertained. The Bolshevik Government, removing its offices from Petrograd to Moscow, had reached the latter city March 11. Lenine brought with him all the Government officials and State archives, and proclaimed Moscow the capital city, a distinction which it had last enjoyed 215 years before, when

Peter the Great had removed his Government from Moscow to the new city at the mouth of the Neva.

The Pan-Soviet Congress numbered 1,164 delegates, the majority being soldiers, sailors, and workmen drawn largely from Bolshevik constituencies, principally in European Russia's industrial centres, with very few delegates representing the peasants, the so-called bourgeoisie, (merchants, manufacturers, and business men,) or the professional classes; of the 1,164 delegates 732 were outspoken followers of Lenin; there were thirty-eight Social Revolutionaries, representing the moderate Socialists. M. Sverdloff, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congress, presided.

Premier Lenin made the principal speech in favor of ratifying the treaty, which had previously been indorsed by a caucus of the Bolsheviks by almost unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

A telegram from President Wilson was read at the opening session. It was as follows:

"May I not take advantage of the meeting of the Congress of the Soviets to express the sincere sympathy which the people of the United States feel for the Russian people at this moment when the German power has been thrust in to interrupt and turn back the whole struggle for freedom and substitute the wishes of Germany for the purpose of the people of Russia?"

"Although the Government of the United States is, unhappily, not now in a position to render the direct and effective aid it would wish to render, I beg to assure the people of Russia through the congress that it will avail itself of every opportunity to secure for Russia once more complete sovereignty and independence in her own affairs and full restoration to her great rôle in the life of Europe and the modern world."

"The whole heart of the people of the United States is with the people of Russia in the attempt to free themselves forever from autocratic government and become the masters of their own life."

(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON."

Washington, March 11, 1918.

The message was telegraphed to the American Consul General at Moscow for delivery to the congress.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sent the following cablegram:

To the All-Russian Soviet, Moscow:

We address you in the name of world liberty. We assure you that the people of the United States are pained by every blow at Russian freedom, as they would be by a blow at their own. The American people desire to be of service to the Russian people in their struggle to safeguard freedom and realize its opportunities. We desire to be informed as to how we may help.

We speak for a great organized movement of working people who are devoted to the cause of freedom and the ideals of democracy. We assure you also that the whole American Nation ardently desires to be helpful to Russia and awaits with eagerness an indication from Russia as to how help may most effectively be extended.

To all those who strive for freedom we say: Courage! Justice must triumph if all free people stand united against autocracy! We await your suggestions.

American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

Cablegrams of similar import were sent by a large convention of Russian workmen held in New York, and by the American Security League.

President Wilson's message was read at the opening session of the congress. On the next day the congress adopted the following resolution in reply:

The congress expresses its gratitude to the American people, above all to the laboring and exploited classes of the United States, for the sympathy expressed to the Russian people by President Wilson through the Congress of Soviets in the days of severe trials.

The Russian Socialistic Federative Republic of Soviets takes advantage of President Wilson's communication to express to all peoples perishing and suffering from the horrors of imperialistic war its warm sympathy and firm belief that the happy time is not far distant when the laboring masses of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism and will establish a socialistic state of society, which alone is capable of securing just and lasting peace as well as the culture and well-being of all laboring people.

In presenting the cablegram the Chairman said:

Comrades, allow me, in the name of the congress, to express my firm belief that the wide masses of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of Western Europe, as well as of America and Australia, are with us with all their hearts. Allow me to express my firm belief that these masses are watching with the closest attention the struggle which we are carrying on here in Russia, and I will permit myself to submit to your attention the resolution which was adopted by the presiding body of the Central Executive Committee in answer to President Wilson's address to the congress.

The telegram of the President of the American Federation of Labor was read to the congress and received with applause, but no action regarding it was taken. The Chairman announced that the message sent to the American people as the reply to President Wilson was sufficient.

RATIFYING THE TREATY

The congress, after a three days' session, adjourned March 16, having approved the removal of the capital to Moscow and elected a new Central Executive Committee of 200 members. No official report of the proceedings had been given out up to the time this record was closed, (March 20.) The impression conveyed by the semi-official reports was that the Bolsheviks ostensibly persisted in their belief that their revolutionary movement would so infect Germany and Austria as to cause the people of those countries to prevent the execution of the onerous terms of the treaty and enable the Bolsheviks to complete their revolutionary program.

The vote in the congress on ratifying the treaty stood 704 to 261. Two Bolshevik Commissaries—Debenko and Kollantai—and four Social Revolutionaries—Steinberg, Kalagaieff, Karelin, and Broshian—resigned from the Bolshevik Cabinet when the result was announced. It was asserted that the full provisions of the treaty were not made public, (the published terms appear on Page 54,) and it was charged that Germany had exacted an indemnity of 9,000,000,000 rubles, and that secret economic provisions gave Germany complete mastery of the former Russian Empire.

The Bolsheviks changed the name of their party on March 16 to the "Communist Party."

VON HERTLING DEFENDS TREATY

Chancellor von Hertling, on the first reading in the Reichstag of the peace treaty with Russia, March 19, declared that he did not wish to discuss the opinions of Germany's enemies. He continued:

Hypocrisy has become second nature to the enemy, whose untruthfulness is made worse by its brutality. Every attempt at calm explanation and every real deliberation must fail, when the enemy, at the very moment he is laying a heavy hand on a neutral country, dares to speak of a policy guided by complete unselfishness. The treaty with Russia contains no conditions disgraceful to Russia, if the provinces breaking away from Russia say it is in accordance with their own wish and the wish is accepted by Russia.

The Chancellor declared that Courland and Lithuania were united to Germany politically, economically, and militarily, and added:

Livonia and Esthonia are the eastern frontier fixed by the treaty, but we hope that they also will have close and friendly relations with Germany; not, however, to the exclusion of their friendly relations with Russia. Poland is not mentioned in the treaty, and we shall endeavor to see if it is possible to live in stable and good-neighborly relations with the new State.

If the Reichstag adopts the treaty, peace on the whole eastern front will be restored, as I announced Feb. 24; but among the Entente Powers there is not the least inclination to finish this terrible war. The responsibility for bloodshed will be upon the heads of those who wish continuation of the bloodshed.

NEGOTIATIONS REVIEWED

The Chancellor referred to Russia's proposal that all the belligerents enter into the peace negotiations, and added:

We and our allies accepted the proposals and sent delegates to Brest-Litovsk. The powers until then allied with Russia remained aloof. The course of the negotiations is known to you. You remember the endless speeches, which were intended not so much for the delegates there assembled as for the public at large, and which caused the desired goal of an understanding to recede into the distance. You remember the repeated interruptions, the rupture and the resumption of the negotiations. The

point had been reached where "yes" or "no" had to be said, and on March 3 peace was concluded at Brest-Litovsk. On March 16 it was ratified by a competent assembly at Moscow.

If in the telegram from Washington it was thought fit to express to the Congress assembled at Moscow the sympathy of the United States at a moment when, as it says, the German power obtruded itself, in order to bring success to the battle for freedom, then I put that calmly aside with the rest. * * *

We have not for a moment contemplated, and do not contemplate, opposing the justified wishes and endeavor of Russia to be liberated. As I said on Nov. 29, we desire for that sorely tried land a speedy return to a peaceful and orderly state of affairs, and we deeply deplore the terrible conditions which have made their appearance in many places.

Among the Entente there is not the slightest inclination to abandon the war, but rather the intention is manifested to continue this terrible combat till we are destroyed. We shall not lose courage on that account, for we are prepared for everything. We are prepared to make further sacrifices and stand firm as a rock in our confidence in our splendid army leadership and our heroic soldiers.

NO DISHONOR IN TREATY

Discussing the Russian treaty, the Chancellor said:

It contains no conditions whatever which dishonor Russia, no mention of oppressive war indemnities, no forcible appropriations of Russian territory. A number of the border States have severed their connection with the Russian State in accordance with their own will, which was recognized by Russia. In regard to these States we adopt the standpoint formerly expressed by me, that under the mighty protection of the German Empire they can give themselves political form corresponding with their situation and the tendency of their kultur, while at the same time, of course, we are safeguarding our own interests.

In recognizing the independence of Courland the Chancellor said he thankfully and joyfully had taken cognizance of Courland's "desire to lean on the German Empire, which, indeed, corresponds to the old cultural relations." He added that he expected a deputation from Lithuania within the next few days, after which Lithuania would likewise be recognized as an independent State. In Livonia and Esthonia things were different. Under the peace treaty these countries would be policed by Germany,

on their own invitation, until security was guaranteed and order restored.

The moment for a new political orientation will then have come for these countries, [the Chancellor went on.] We hope and desire that they, too, will place themselves in close and friendly relationship to the German Empire, but in such a way that this does not exclude peaceable, friendly relations with Russia.

FINLAND AND UKRAINE

While the congress was ratifying the treaty, the German invasion of Finland and the Austro-German invasion of the Ukraine continued uninterrupted. On March 20 the invaders were in possession of Odessa, Kiev, and all the principal cities in the Ukraine, and were within 200 miles of Moscow. The Turks recovered Trebizond and Erzerum in Asia Minor, and were in full possession of Trans-Caucasia, thus giving the Central Powers complete control of the Black Sea.

The invasion of Ukraine by the Germans after the signing of the peace treaty Feb. 9 was excused on the pretext that the step was taken at the request of the faction of Ukrainians opposed to the Bolsheviks.

INVITING GERMAN INVASION

It was announced on Feb. 17 that the delegation representing the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainians had handed to the German Government the following declaration:

To the German People: On Feb. 9 this year we signed, in the deep and ardent desire to live in peace and friendship with our neighbors, a peace treaty with the States of the Quadruple Alliance in order to put an end to this useless and fratricidal war, and we united all our strength to one end, namely, to establish and insure the life of our own independent State.

The joyful news of Feb. 9, however, for which the working masses of our people so greatly longed, has brought us no peace in our land. The enemy of our freedom has invaded our country for the purpose once more, as 254 years ago, to subjugate the Ukrainian people with fire and sword. The Russian Maximalists, who, a month ago, dispersed the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly in Petrograd, consisting almost solely of Socialists, have now undertaken, as they call it, a holy war against the Socialists of the Ukraine.

From the north hired bands of Red Guards are falling upon our country. They unite themselves with Russian soldiers who have deserted from the front and with liberated jailbirds. Under the experienced command of former police gendarmes, they force their way into our towns; have our public men and leaders of public opinion shot; they levy contributions from the inhabitants, and, after destroying and burning our towns, they pass on, seeking new booty.

This barbaric invasion of our northern neighbors once again, under hypocritical pretexts, sets up as its aim, as earlier in our history, the destruction of the independence of our State. Its real and ultimate objects lie, however, in the ignoble intentions and machinations of those who have an interest in seeing anarchy reign in the Ukraine, as also of those who are striving after the return of the old despotism.

Before the whole world we declare that the Petrograd Commissioners of the People lie when they talk about a rising of the people in the Ukraine, and that they lie when they describe the Central Rada, the Parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which consists of Ukrainian Socialists and has carried out far-reaching social-democratic reforms, as a Rada of bourgeois.

The Petrograd Commissioners, who with words only have stubbornly defended the woe of the Ukraine, Poland, Courland, and other peoples, have made use of a fine pose at Brest-Litovsk to recall from the front the remnants of the Russian Army for the purpose of secretly throwing them against the Ukraine to rob us, to send our stocks of corn to the north, and to subjugate the country.

Now, when, after four years, the rigid wall has fallen which separated us from our western neighbors, we raise our voice to proclaim the misfortune of our people. We must see the fruits of our own young revolution in danger, and we fear for our newly won freedom. Sanguinary collisions with Russian bands take place daily. In Volhynia and at other points we are collecting new forces to oppose the swarms who are ever anew pressing in from the north.

In this hard struggle for our existence we look round for help. We are firmly convinced that the peaceful and order-loving German people will not remain indifferent when it learns of our distress. The German Army, that stands on the flank of our northern enemy, possesses the power to help us and, by its intervention, to protect the northern frontiers against further invasion by the enemy. This is what we have to say in this dark hour, and we know that our voice will be heard.

FINLAND'S PEACE TREATY

Fierce fighting between the Red Guards and the Finland Independents was in progress up to March 20. The Germans first occupied Aland Island and then pushed forward into the mainland.

On March 7 it was announced that a peace treaty had been signed between Finland and Germany. Article 1 declared that no state of war existed between Germany and Finland; that the contracting parties were resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship, and that Germany would exert herself to secure recognition by all the powers of Finland's autonomy and independence. On the other hand, Finland would cede no portion of her territory to a foreign power nor grant such power any easement on territory over which she is sovereign without previously coming to an understanding with Germany on the subject. The other articles relate to the resumption of diplomatic and consular relations immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty, renunciation by each party of compensation for war costs and indemnities, restoration of State treaties and private rights, exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, and compensation for civil damages.

Those treaties between Germany and Russia which had ceased to be operative were to be replaced by new treaties corresponding to the altered conditions. In particular, negotiations were to begin immediately for a commercial treaty, and meanwhile trade relations were to be regulated between both countries by a trade and shipping agreement.

Respecting private rights, all military laws were to cease to be operative on ratification of the treaty. The relations of creditor and debtor were to be restored, and the payment of obligations, particularly public debt, would be resumed. A commission was to meet in Berlin for the purpose of fixing civil damages. It would be composed of representatives of both parties and neutral members, each to have a one-third representation. The President of Switzerland was to be requested to nominate neutral members, including the Chairman.



AREA IN BLACK SHOWS TERRITORIES WHICH RUSSIA HAS AGREED TO SURRENDER TO THE CENTRAL POWERS FOR DISPOSAL. IN EXTENT THESE PROVINCES ARE EQUAL TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Finnish prisoners of war in Germany and German prisoners in Finland were to be exchanged with all possible dispatch, and deported or interned civilian nationals of either side sent home.

Then followed stipulations concerning amnesty, return or compensation for merchant ships, &c.; for the settlement of questions relative to the Aland Islands, and providing that fortifications on the islands should be removed as

speedily as possible, and the permanent nonfortification of the islands regulated by special agreement.

Instruments of ratification were to be exchanged in Berlin as soon as possible. Four months after the ratification representatives of the contracting parties would meet in Berlin for the purpose of negotiating a supplementary treaty.

On March 14 it was announced that a number of Americans, including Henry

C. Emery, former Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, who sailed for Russia in 1916 as representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, had been arrested on Åland Island by the Germans. An attaché of the American Legation at Stockholm left for Finland on March 15 to lodge formal protest with the commander of the Finnish forces against the arrest. Sixteen Britishers in the same party were also arrested.

CROWN OFFERED TO KAISER

It was reported in German newspapers, March 15, that at a meeting of the State Council in Mitau it had been decided to offer the crown of Courland to the House of Hohenzollern. The Lettish representatives, according to the German newspapers, made the following declaration:

In voting for the proposition the

Lettish representatives express the desire of the Lettish people that Lettish parts of Balticum be not torn asunder but remain perpetually united. We also wish to emphasize that the Lettish people reject the idea of electing one of their own as Duke, but desire to have the German Kaiser and King of Prussia for monarch because they have the fullest confidence in his just and firm government.

The German Emperor replied to the offer in the following terms:

Receipt of the loyal greetings sent in the name of the Courland State Council has given me great pleasure. My heart is deeply moved and is filled with thanks to God that it has been granted me to save German blood and German culture from perishing. God bless your land, upon which German fidelity, German courage, and German perseverance have made their impress.

The "State Council" was created by the Germans in September, 1917, and consists of Barons, large land owners, and other members, all of the Germanic race.

Text of Treaty Signed by Russia

Germany's Exactions in Detail

THE following are the articles of the treaty of peace between Russia and the Central Powers, signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, by the respective plenipotentiaries:

Article 1. The Central Powers and Russia declare the state of war between them to be terminated, and are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

Article 2. The contracting nations will refrain from all agitation or provocation against other signatory Governments and undertake to spare the populations of the regions occupied by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente.

Article 3. The regions lying west of the line agreed upon by the contracting parties, and formerly belonging to Russia, shall no longer be under Russian sovereignty. It is agreed that the line appears from the appended map, No. 1, which, as agreed upon, forms an essential part of the peace treaty. The fixing of the line in the west will be settled in the German-Russian mixed commission. The regions in question will have no obligation whatever toward Russia arising from their former relations thereto. Russia undertakes to refrain from all inter-

ference in the internal affairs of these territories and to let Germany and Austria determine the future fate of these territories in agreement with their populations.

Article 4. Germany and Austria agree, when a general peace is concluded and Russian demobilization is fully completed, to evacuate the regions east of the line designated in Article 3, No. 1, in so far as Article 6 does not stipulate otherwise. Russia will do everything in her power to complete as soon as possible the evacuation of the Anatolian provinces and their orderly return to Turkey. The districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum will likewise without delay be evacuated by the Russian troops. Russia will not interfere in the reorganization of the constitutional or international conditions of these districts, but leave it to the populations of the districts to carry out the reorganization, in agreement with the neighboring States, particularly Turkey.

Article 5. Russia will without delay carry out the complete demobilization of her army, including the forces newly formed by the present Government. Russia will further transfer her warships to Russian harbors and leave them there until a general peace or immediately disarm. Warships of States continuing in a state of war with the Quad-

ruptle Alliance will be treated as Russian warships in so far as they are within Russian control.

The barred zone in the arctic continues in force until the conclusion of peace. An immediate beginning will be made of the removal of mines in the Baltic and in so far as Russian power extends in the Black Sea. Commercial shipping is free in these waters and will be resumed immediately. A mixed commission will be appointed to fix further regulations, especially for the announcement of routes for merchant ships. Shipping routes are to be kept permanently free from floating mines.

Article 6. Russia undertakes immediately to conclude peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the peace treaty between this State and the powers of the Quadruple Alliance. Ukrainian territory will be immediately evacuated by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard. Russia will cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Estonia and Livonia will likewise be evacuated without delay by the Russian troops and the Russian Red Guard.

The eastern frontier of Estonia follows in general the line of the Narova River. The eastern frontier of Livonia runs in general through Peipus Lake and Pskov Lake to the southeasterly corner of the latter, then over Lubahner (Luban) Lake in the direction of Lievenhof, on the Dvina.

Estonia and Livonia will be occupied by a German police force until security is guaranteed by their own national institutions and order in the State is restored. Russia will forthwith release all arrested or deported inhabitants of Estonia and Livonia and guarantee the safe return of deported Estonians and Livonians.

Finland and the Aland Islands will also forthwith be evacuated by the Russian troops and the Red Guard, and Finnish ports by the Russian fleet and Russian naval forces.

So long as the ice excludes the bringing of Russian warships to Prussian ports only small detachments will remain behind on the warships. Russia is to cease all agitation or propaganda against the Government or the public institutions in Finland.

The fortifications erected on the Aland Islands are to be removed with all possible dispatch. A special agreement is to be made between Germany, Russia, Finland, and Sweden regarding the permanent nonfortification of these islands, as well as regarding their treatment in military, shipping, and technical respects. It is agreed that at Germany's desire the other States bordering on the Baltic are also to be given a voice in the matter.

Article 7. Starting from the fact that Persia and Afghanistan are free and independent States, the contracting parties undertake to respect their political and economic independence and territorial integrity.

Article 8. Prisoners of war of both sides will be sent home.

Article 9. The contracting parties mutually renounce indemnification of their war costs—that is to say, State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for war damages—that is to say, those damages which have arisen for them and their subjects in the war regions through military measures, inclusive of all requisitions undertaken in the enemy country.

Article 10. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after notification of the peace treaty. Special agreements are reserved relative to the admittance of the respective Consuls.

Article 11. The prescriptions contained in Appendices 2 to 5 shall govern the economic relations between the powers of the Quadruple Alliance and Russia—namely, Appendix 2 for German-Russian, Appendix 3 for Austro-Hungarian-Russian, Appendix 4 for Bulgarian-Russian, and Appendix 5 for Turkish-Russian relations.

Article 12. The restoration of public and private relations, the exchange of prisoners of war, interned civilians, the amnesty question, as well as the treatment of merchant ships which are in enemy hands will be regulated by separate treaties with Russia, which shall form an essential part of the present peace treaty, and as far as is feasible shall enter into force at the same time.

Article 13. For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Russian text is authoritative for the relations between Germany and Russia; for the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia, the German, Hungarian, and Russian text; for the relations between Bulgaria and Russia, the Bulgarian-Russian text; for the relations between Turkey and Russia, the Turkish and Russian text.

Article 14. The present peace treaty will be ratified. Instruments of ratification must be exchanged as soon as possible in Berlin. The Russian Government undertakes at the desire of one of the Quadruple Alliance powers to exchange ratifications within two weeks. The peace treaty enters into force on its ratification, in so far as its articles, appendices, or supplementary treaties do not prescribe otherwise.

The signatures of the plenipotentiaries

are attached. The treaty was drawn up in quintuple form at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918.

The semi-official Wolff Bureau of Berlin stated that the trade and political questions to which Article 11 refers were to be regulated according to the

demands of the German ultimatum and analogously to the Ukrainian treaty. The legal and political agreements correspond substantially to the proposals which were submitted at the first sitting by Germany on the basis of its ultimatum.

Allies Denounce Russian Treaties

Protest of Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy

The following statement was issued March 18 through the British Foreign Office:

The Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the Entente, assembled in London, feel it to be their bounden duty to take note of the political crimes which, under the name of a German peace, have been committed against the Russian people.

Russia was unarmed. Forgetting that for four years Germany had been fighting against the independence of nations and the rights of mankind, the Russian Government in a mood of singular credulity expected to obtain by persuasion that "democratic peace" which it had failed to obtain by war.

The results were that the intermediate armistice had not expired before the German command, though pledged not to alter the disposition of its troops, transferred them en masse to the western front, and so weak did Russia find herself that she dared to raise no protest against this flagrant violation of Germany's plighted word.

What followed was of like character, when "the German peace" was translated into action. It was found to involve the invasion of Russian territory, the destruction or capture of all Russia's means of defense, and the organization of Russian lands for Germany's profit—a proceeding which did not differ from "annexation" because the word itself was carefully avoided.

Meanwhile, those very Russians who had made military operations impossible found diplomacy impotent. Their representatives were compelled to proclaim that, while they refused to read the treaty presented to them, they had no choice but to sign it; so they signed it, not knowing whether in its true significance it meant peace or war, nor measuring the degree to which Russian national life was reduced by it to a shadow.

For us of the Entente Governments the judgment which the free peoples of the world will pass on these transactions would never be in doubt. Why waste time over Germany's pledges, when we see that at no period in her history of conquest—not when she overran Silesia nor when she partitioned Poland—has she exhibited herself so cynically as a destroyer of national independence, the implacable enemy of the rights of man and the dignity of civilized nations.

Poland, whose heroic spirit has survived the most cruel of national tragedies, is threatened with a fourth partition, and to aggravate her wrongs devices by which the last trace of her independence is to be crushed are based on fraudulent promises of freedom.

What is true of Russia and Poland is no less true of Rumania, overwhelmed like them in a flood of merciless passion for domination.

Peace is loudly advertised, but under the disguise of verbal professions lurk the brutal realities of war and the untempered rule of a lawless force.

Peace treaties such as these we do not and can not acknowledge. Our own ends are very different. We are fighting, and mean to continue fighting, in order to finish once for all with this policy of plunder and to establish in its place the peaceful reign of organized justice.

As incidents of this long war unroll themselves before our eyes, more and more clearly do we perceive that the battles for freedom are everywhere interdependent; that no separate enumeration of them is needed, and that in every case the single but all-sufficient appeal is to justice and right.

Are justice and right going to win? In so far as the issue depends on battles yet to come the nations whose fate is in the balance may surely put their trust in the armies, which, even under conditions more difficult than the present, have shown themselves more than equal to the great cause intrusted to their valor.

Meetings of the Supreme War Council and important political conferences under the Presidency of Premier David Lloyd George were held in Downing Street Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. They were attended by the Premiers of France and Italy and other Ministers, with their military and expert advisers.

Rumania Forced to Make Peace

Terms of Preliminary Treaty Signed at Bucharest After Ultimatum From Central Powers

A PRELIMINARY peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed March 5, 1918, at Bucharest. The signatures appended were those of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann for Germany; Foreign Secretary Czernin for Austria-Hungary; M. Montschiloff, Vice President of the Sobranje, for Bulgaria; Talat Pasha, the Grand Vizier, for Turkey, and M. Caratojiana for Rumania.

The treaty was forced by an ultimatum, which was first sent to the Rumanian Government at Jassy by Field Marshal von Mackensen on Feb. 6, demanding that peace negotiations be begun in four days. The Rumanian Cabinet immediately resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed, headed by General Averescu. The situation of Rumania was desperate, and after fruitless negotiations the terms imposed by the Central Powers were accepted. The only alternative left to the country, if the conditions were refused, was to submit to seizure by the Central Powers and complete extinction as an independent State.

A Crown Council was held by the Rumanian Government on March 5, after receipt of a second ultimatum, which gave the kingdom twenty-four hours to accept the German terms or be wiped out. The collapse of Russia had completely isolated the smaller State, and it was felt that no other course was left except to bow to the inevitable. Former Premier Bratiano declared that no nation could accept terms so humiliating, but he declined King Ferdinand's request to as-

sume his former position as head of the Cabinet and accept the responsibility for refusing Germany's terms.

The terms of the preliminary treaty, as reported from Bucharest, were as follows:

I.—Rumania cedes to the Central Allied Powers Dobrudja as far as the Danube.

II.—The powers of the Quadruple Alliance will provide and maintain a trade route for Rumania by way of Constanza to the Black Sea.

III.—The rectifications demanded by Austria-Hungary on the frontier between Austria-Hungary and Rumania are accepted in principle by Rumania.

IV.—Economic measures corresponding to the situation are conceded in principle.

V.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to demobilize immediately at least eight divisions of the Rumanian Army. Control of the demobilization will be undertaken jointly by the upper command of Field Marshal von Mackensen's army group and the Rumanian chief army command. As soon as peace is restored between Russia and Rumania the remaining parts of the Rumanian Army also will be demobilized in so far as they are not required for security service on the Russo-Rumanian frontier.

VI.—The Rumanian troops are to evacuate immediately the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy occupied by them.

VII.—The Rumanian Government undertakes to support with all its strength the transport of troops of the Central Powers through Moldavia and Bessarabia to Odessa.

VIII.—Rumania undertakes immediately to dismiss the officers of the powers who are at war with the Quadruple Alliance still in the Rumanian service. The safe conduct of these officers is assured by



MAP OF RUMANIA: SHADED AND CROSS-HATCHED PORTIONS ARE THOSE TAKEN BY CENTRAL POWERS. THE CROSS-HATCHED PART OF DOBRUDJA WAS CEDED TO RUMANIA BY BULGARIA IN 1918. "A" AND "B" INDICATE POINTS WHERE FURTHER "RECTIFICATIONS" OF BOUNDARY ARE PROPOSED

the Quadruple Alliance. This treaty enters into operation immediately.

It was agreed that the armistice between Rumania and the Central Powers should run for fourteen days from midnight of March 5, with a period of three days for denunciation. Complete agreement was reached between the signatories that the final peace should be concluded within this period on the basis of the preliminary treaty.

Under the peace terms Rumania not only will have to give up Dobrudja, lose control of the Danube, and endure other great economic sacrifices, but she will be compelled to yield to Germany large wheat, petroleum, and salt concessions. It is understood that Germany will have control of the Rumanian railways for a period of fifteen years and will have possession of the four principal fortified passes through the Carpathians.

All German goods are to enter Rumania free of duty, while all Rumanian goods will go into Germany under the old tariff, with the exception of certain reductions.

Bulgaria will have nominal control of the Dobrudja, which gives the Central Powers command of the mouth of the Danube. At the other end of the Black Sea lies Batum, the western terminus of the Trans-Caucasian Railway, which runs through Tiflis to Baku, and the oil fields on the Caspian Sea. From Baku is another important Asian railway, the Trans-Caspian, which runs from Krasnovodsk, through Bami, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand to Tashkend and Ferghana. From Merv is a railway running down to Herat, Afghanistan, which was long known as the "Key to India." In the new terms imposed upon Russia, that country is required by the Central Pow-

ers to give up the region through which the Trans-Caucasian Railway runs.

Thus, with the Batum-Baku region passing from Russia to Turkey and the Dobrudja passing from Rumania to Bulgaria, the Central Powers would control a new route to India, Persia, and the provinces in Central Asia, regardless of whether they controlled the Bagdad Railway route or not.

After the signing of the preliminary peace treaty the Central Powers made

further demands. On March 13 one of these was made by Austria for a further "rectification" of the boundary between Rumania and Austria-Hungary, which will alienate a further strip from Rumania and add it to Austrian territory.

It was reported on March 13 that the allied diplomatic missions, the American Red Cross representatives, and the American Military Attaché in Rumania had left for Odessa on March 9; they reached Moscow on March 17.

The Modern Grenadier and His Grenades

Most Used of All Trench Weapons

Georges Bourrey, a French writer, telling in Les Annales the story of the various implements of modern war, gives this lucid account of the latest models and methods in the use of grenades. Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WAR in its present form causes the infantryman to need his rifle sometimes, his working tools daily, and his grenades every minute. Though he is a fighter, he is also a workman. With trench warfare now adopted on all fronts, we no longer see serried columns of infantry rushing to the charge, with bayonets fixed, flags streaming, and bugles sounding. The subterranean evolution of the war of position has gradually brought the lines of opposing infantry closer together, until they are separated only by a few hundreds—or a few tens—of yards. Thus a closer and closer contact of the belligerents has been established within the protection of their respective trenches.

It is readily understood that in seeking to hit the enemy thus protected, and burrowing deeper every day, the direct fire of the rifle has become ineffective. It has become necessary to use arms with a plunging fire, which can drop projectiles into the enemy trenches. This result is obtained by the throwing—in a curved trajectory—of special projectiles, such as hand grenades or rifle grenades; it has thus become possible to annihilate the defenders of trenches.

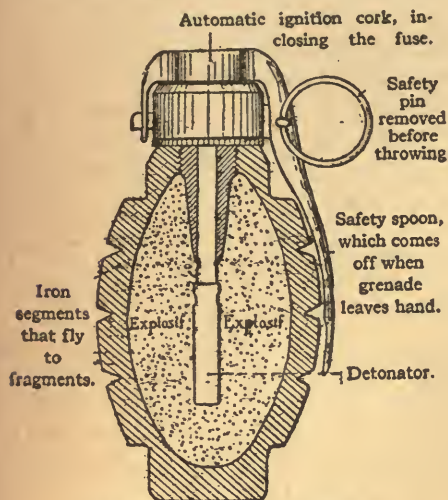
The grenade is beyond question the projectile best suited to short-distance fighting. Hurling by the powerful muscles of a soldier or by the explosion of a

cartridge, it is sure to strike pretty close as it "bounds" from one trench to the other. After the laborious gropings of the early days of the war, a grenade of unique type was adopted, embodying numerous improvements due to the hard lessons of war. It is a far cry from this modern grenade to the one with a fuse employed by the grenadiers in the latter part of the seventeenth century. That primitive weapon, indeed, had quickly been abandoned in the eighteenth century, leaving only its name to be borne by the crack regiments of French infantry—the famous Grenadiers of the Grand Army. Nevertheless, its tradition still survived in the modern army of France, which kept the grenade as the insignia and emblem of its infantry.

The present hand grenade, made of cast iron for the defensive, of composition metal for the offensive, is ovoid in form and is exploded by an automatic device. It no longer explodes at the point of contact, by percussion, as did the primitive models; on the contrary, it goes off while still in the air, a few seconds after leaving the hand of the thrower. The ingenious arrangement of the automatic detonating apparatus prevents it from exploding as long as it remains in the grenadier's hand. This important improvement has made it possible to prevent premature explosions and to avoid

the accidents that were always to be feared in the handling of the old grenades before the invention of the automatic detonating device.

Today every infantryman, whether private or officer, must be able to throw grenades with power and precision. Grenades, indeed, play an essential part



FRENCH HAND GRENADE

in offense, paralyzing the enemy, overwhelming him with a hail of projectiles and deadly explosives, and "cleaning out" deep underground shelters when thrown in at the top. The explosive contains suffocating, tear-producing, or incendiary gases, which are at times as effective as the flying fragments. In defense, when hurled with rapidity, coolness, and precision, the grenade keeps the assailant out of the trenches he is attacking, holds him at a respectful distance, and defends the approaches of machine-gun blockhouses and officers' posts.

Our soldiers are now past masters in the art of hurling this deadly device to distances of thirty-five or forty yards, and even a little further. Forty yards, however, is practically the limit for hand grenades. Beyond that distance they must be thrown by more powerful means. The simplest method is by means of the ordinary rifle. At first the soldiers were supplied with grenades mounted on sticks that could be inserted in the barrel of

the rifle or carbine, and the missiles were fired by means of a special cartridge that contained no bullet. This system has now been abandoned, both by the French and by the British, because of the inconveniences it entails—the need of special cartridges, the deterioration of the inside of the gun barrel, &c.

The latest model of the rifle grenade, of the type of the "V. B.," is cylindrical in form and has the advantage of causing little inconvenience, being fired with an ordinary cartridge. This is done by means of a simple device which is easily attached to the muzzle of the gun. It is a stout cylindrical affair, into which the grenade is inserted. The whole, when ready for action, resembles the ancient bell-mouthed blunderbuss which the brigands of Calabria made famous. Thanks to this ingenious invention, a rifle, pointed into the air at an angle of 45 degrees, can throw a grenade weighing a pound to a distance of more than 200 yards. When the cartridge is fired, the ignition of the fusing composition in the grenade is produced automatically by the passage of the bullet, and the grenade falls at a steep angle into the enemy trench, where it bursts into innumerable fragments.

This kind of plunging fire, when well directed, demoralizes the enemy and inflicts losses often comparable with those produced by shellfire. Permanently mounted on tripods, these curious weapons are continuously pointed at the enemy trenches and sharpshooters' posts, and the slightest movement there is followed by the firing of grenades at the point on which the guns are trained.

In defensive work the use of rifle grenades helps to establish powerful barrages at short distances, stopping an attack where the artillery would be helpless for barrage fire on account of the closeness of the combatants.

For lengthening the range of grenade fire still more the armies use little howitzers, ordinarily operated by means of compressed air or gas, which hurl—without smoke or noise—projectiles weighing more than a pound, and consequently containing a stronger explosive charge. These, however, may more properly be classed with the trench artillery.

The Brest-Litovsk Debates

Verbatim Report of the Crucial Session That Preceded Germany's New Invasion of Russia

The decisive session of the Brest-Litovsk peace conference between the Central Powers and the Russian Bolshevik Government was the one held on Feb. 9, 1918. It was at this session that each side summed up its arguments, and that the German delegates stated their final demands. On the same day the delegates from the Ukraine were signing a separate peace elsewhere in Brest-Litovsk. The following day Trotzky and his Bolshevik commission announced that they refused the German terms, supplementing the refusal with the declaration that they regarded the war between Russia and the Central Powers as ended without a formal peace treaty. The armistice continued seven days longer, and then the German Government announced that, as no peace treaty had been agreed to, the armistice was ended. At midnight on Feb. 18 the German armies resumed hostilities and began a rapid advance into Russia. The proceedings of the 9th, in which the whole issue had been traversed in detail, were reported verbatim, and the text of this report, as transmitted through the wireless stations of the Russian Government, is herewith placed on record.

Official Report of Proceedings of February 9, 1918

KUEHLMANN (German Foreign Secretary)—I open this session of the commission, which has been agreed upon. The representatives of the allied delegations are of the opinion that we have reached the point at which it is necessary to give an account of the negotiations. As we all know, these negotiations have been of a political character. The views of both sides were explained, before the Christmas postponement, in provisional formulas. The substance of these formulas has since been carefully examined at our debates. During these debates it became possible to state both points of view in greater detail. I shall beg you today, when we have to summarize briefly all that has been done, to forego any repetition of the discussions.

I regret to say that up to the present we have not succeeded in bringing together to any great extent the two points of view, in spite of all the debates. My task today is to summarize matters, and

I shall not indicate which party or which side is to be blamed for the negotiations not having been successfully concluded.

I am personally of opinion that any further discussions on either side are in the same position, and cannot give us more favorable results than those which have already been secured. It is beyond doubt that we cannot proceed with interminable discussions which have no promise of success.

Faithful to my principles during all the negotiations, I still hope that a free discussion of principles may bring us nearer to our goal, but I shall dispel all doubts, and I say that the circumstances at the moment are of such a character that we must reach a decision promptly. And, if I am again putting before you the political question in its full complexity, I desire to say that I hope the discussions will take place with the sincere wish to find a way to an agreement. In putting these questions again before you I only wish to tell you that I desire to see

them all connected up, the one with the other. The commissions have already discussed all the details, and an agreement upon the whole question should not present many difficulties. So far as the economic questions are concerned, the preparatory work of the commissions has not at present sufficiently progressed; nevertheless, I hope that in regard to these questions, during the short time which remains at our disposal, we shall reach some satisfactory agreement—satisfactory to both sides.

Count Czernin on Annexations

CZERNIN (Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister)—For a week we have been discussing whether we shall consider the territorial changes which have to be made in connection with the war as regards the self-determination of nations or not. Further discussions of the same character will certainly bring us no nearer to a settlement. But I would ask you whether such deliberations would not be calculated to bring us nearer to peace. The question now is not as to how these territorial changes are to be designated—changes which must take place—and we need not associate these questions with the conclusions of peace itself. I think that the past discussions have shown the different points of view qualifying the territorial changes which must take place, but they have not indicated that an agreement in these matters is impossible. Secretary of State von Kühlmann on Dec. 28 clearly stated what changes must take place. They concern Courland and Lithuania, parts of Livonia and Esthonia, and also Poland. Let us put aside the question as to how these proposed changes must be regarded. Let us try and clear up the point as to whether these disputed questions would form an obstacle to the conclusion of peace.

Trotsky on Self-Determination

TROTSKY (Russian Foreign Minister)—We also considered it necessary, after the last interval, (I am speaking of the postponement occasioned by us, and not of the postponement occasioned by the Austro-German delegations,) to sum up all our preceding work. The peace negotiations began with our declaration of Dec. 23 and the declaration of Dec. 25, by which the Quadruple Alliance replied to our declaration. These two statements formulated the object of the negotiations as being based upon the principle of self-determination of peoples. During a short interval, which could be measured by hours, it appeared that this principle, accepted by both sides, would serve as a means for the solution of these national and territorial questions as arising out of the war. But after an exchange of views on Dec. 27 it became clear that the appeal to this principle was of a character calculated only to complicate all other questions. The points of view of one side, namely, our side,

as applied by the other side, were a direct negation of the very principle itself. Afterward all the discussions took an entirely academic character, without any prospect of a practical settlement, because the opposite side was striving, with the aid of complicated logical manoeuvres, to draw from the principle of self-determination what, in their opinion, was in accordance with the true situation as disclosed by the military maps.

The question concerning the occupied regions, which was the principal theme of all the discussions, was reduced, after a number of sessions, to the question of the evacuation of these regions by the troops in occupation. To this principal question, in consequence of the nature of the discussion, it was only possible to reach a certain amount of clarity, and this only after great difficulties had been surmounted. The first formula of the other side, so far as we understood it—and we honestly tried to understand it—was as follows: Until the end of the war, so far as Germany was concerned and so far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, there could be no question of the evacuation of occupied territory on any front, owing to military considerations.

Our delegation later understood that the opposite side had now the intention of evacuating these occupied regions on the conclusion of a general peace, when the above-mentioned strategical considerations would have been put to one side.

Refusal to Withdraw Troops

This conclusion, however, also appeared to be wrong. The German and Austro-Hungarian Delegations have refused categorically to make a declaration which could force them to withdraw their troops from the occupied regions, with the exception of the small belt of territory which they proposed to return to Russia. The situation only then became clear. This clarity became, if possible, greater when General Hoffmann, in the name of both Delegations, proposed to us the frontier line which would in future separate Russia from its western neighbors, namely, from Germany and Austria-Hungary, because the separated regions were to be occupied by their troops for an indefinite period, unrestricted by any treaty.

We have already realized during the past discussions that if we were to trace the new frontier of Russia in accordance with the principle of self-determination, then we should have the best guarantee, under present conditions, against military aggression, because all the peoples on both sides of this frontier would be interested in maintaining it. The German conditions, and the policy which dictates them, entirely exclude any such kind of guarantees for peaceful relations between Russia on the one side and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other.

The new frontier proposed by the other side is dictated by military and strategical con-

siderations, and from this point of view must be estimated not only the separation from Russia of Poland and Lithuania, but even the separation of the Lettish countries. If such had been the desire of the peoples of these regions, then no danger would arise for the safety of the Russian Republic. Friendly relations with these States, which had freely formed for themselves an independent existence, would follow as a natural consequence of their origin and of their conditions.

In such circumstances questions concerning the strategical character of the new frontiers would have for us no important significance. But these new frontiers which the opposite side proposes appear to us in a very different light. Germany and Austria-Hungary, while maintaining their troops in the occupied regions, are linking these regions to their States by railways and by other means, and for us the new frontier must thus be considered not as a frontier with Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, and so on, but as a frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both these States are seeking military expansion, as is clearly shown by their attitude toward the occupied regions.

A new question arises for us, therefore, as to what these independent States mean for the Russian Republic in the future. The dependence of these peoples upon these two States will place very near to Russia the new frontier within their territories proposed by Germany and Austria-Hungary. What are really the military conceptions of the other side when they ask for such a frontier? For the purpose of examining this new question from the point of view of the leading military institutions of the republic, I shall ask for the views of our military advisers.

The Ukraine Boundary

We have here to meet a fresh difficulty. We have heard nothing of that part of the new frontier which is to run to the south from Brest-Litovsk. The opposite side was of the opinion that this part of the frontier had to be established in discussion with the Delegation of the Kiev Rada. We have decided that, irrespective of the unestablished political state of Ukraina, there can be no question of a one-sided tracing of the frontier, based upon an agreement with the Rada alone; we declared that the consent of the Delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries was also necessary. Subsequently, the political situation of Ukraina was defined by its entrance into the Federal Russian Republic. The delegation of the Central Powers, in spite of their declaration that they would examine the international position of the Ukraine after the conclusion of peace, has hurriedly recognized the independence of Ukraina, and, to wit, at the very moment when Ukraina entered the Russian Federation.

After this date events took place which

should have had a decisive influence upon these separate negotiations of the other side with the Kiev Rada. The latter fell under the blow of the Ukrainian Council. The fate of the Rada, inviolable in itself, was accelerated by the fact that the Rada, in its struggle for authority, made attempts, with the help of the Central Powers, to draw the Ukrainian people away from the Russian Federal Republic.

We officially informed the opposite side that the Ukrainian Rada was deposed, but, nevertheless, the negotiations with a non-existent Government have been continued. We proposed to the Austro-Hungarian Delegation, in a private conversation, it is true, but formally nevertheless, that they should send their representative to Ukraina with the object of seeing for himself that the Ukrainian Rada no longer existed, and that the negotiations with its delegation could not have any practical value. We understood that so far as the delegations of the Central Powers needed confirmation of facts they would postpone the signature of the peace treaty until the return of their representative from Ukraina. We have been informed that the signature to the peace treaty could not be postponed any longer. While negotiating with the Government of the Federal Russian Republic, the Governments of the Central empires not only, in spite of their former declaration, hurried to recognize the independence of the the Ukrainian Republic on Feb. 1, at the very moment when it declared itself to be a part of the Russian Federation, but is signing a treaty with a Government which, as we have categorically declared to the opposite side, does not exist any longer. Such conduct is creating doubts as to whether there is any sincerity of purpose on the side of the Central Powers for the establishment of peaceful relations with the Russian Federation. We are striving for peace now as in the beginning of the negotiations.

The whole conduct of the opposite side, as far as this question is concerned, is creating the impression that the Central Powers were striving to [words omitted—probably "make the situation impossible"] for the representatives of the Russian Republic. Only such a peace treaty will be binding for the Russian Federal Republic and its countries as will be signed by our delegation.

Concerning the question of frontiers, it can be discussed only as a whole, and only in such a way can we reach practical results. We ask the opposite side to complete on our map the frontier line which was submitted to us by General Hoffmann, [one of the German delegates.]

Sub-Commission on Boundaries

KUEHLMANN—If I am not replying to the detailed explanation of the preceding speaker, it is, as I have already stated today, with the purpose of avoiding every controversy. Accordingly, I shall not reply to the historical review of our negotiations.

They have become public; they can be studied and compared.

The preceding speaker examined for a long time the question of frontiers. I should not like to start the discussion of this question until I am sure that the proposal which I shall make to the opposite side will be accepted. The preceding speaker has already indicated that the discussion of this frontier is necessitating the participation of military advisers. I shall propose that the question of frontiers should be first submitted to a military sub-commission composed of one diplomatic representative and two military specialists—one for the navy and one for the army—for each side. I shall not participate personally in this sub-commission. I shall send to it one of my diplomatic collaborators. This sub-commission could be formed at the present session, and must prepare for our next session, tomorrow, a report concerning the results of its discussions. From the importance and difficulties of all these questions which the sub-commission has to clear up, it is obvious that the decisions of the sub-commission will have a decisive influence upon our further negotiations.

Our policy as regards the newly created States will always be directed toward the maintenance of friendly relations and non-intervention in their internal life as soon as this war is satisfactorily ended.

Peace With the Ukraine

That is all that I have to say concerning the frontiers. I hope that by the discussions in the sub-commission we shall have a report that will be beyond dispute for our session of tomorrow. Concerning the explanation of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the relations between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, I have only to declare that information which has reached us—and the tendency of which is beyond doubt to us—is in direct opposition to the real facts, and we find it unnecessary to take it into consideration. The point of view of the Central Powers has been repeatedly stated here, and we are of the opinion that all further explanation is unnecessary.

The Central Powers have concluded today a peace with the representatives of the Central Rada, which they have recognized. The consequences for the Central Powers are obvious. At the present time, when the circumstances are such as we see them, we cannot expect a practical result from our negotiations. The opinions concerning the rights of the Ukrainian State and of its representatives, the reciprocal relations of it and of the Petrograd Government, they all are questions which do not concern us while we are concluding peace with Ukraine.

This is no hostile act against Russia. We have concluded with Ukraine no alliance, but only a peace treaty. Ukraine has not become to us an ally, but only a neutral

State. If we could arrive at a peace with Russia, Russia would also become a neutral State. In such a case our relations to Russia would be the same as they are now to Ukraine. There will be a difference if we are unable to come to an agreement with the Government of the People's Commissaries, because then, while we shall have to consider Ukraine as a neutral country, those regions which submit themselves to the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries we shall have to consider as regions against which we are in a state of war. We are willing to avoid that by a conclusion of peace with Russia.

If we had ignored the Rada, as M. Trotzky wished, that would have meant that we should have to intervene in the internal life of Russia. And we will not do it. If we had not recognized Ukraine, we had, in fact, recognized the Council of the People's Commissaries as the only authority for the whole of the territories which composed the old Russian Empire. But we know that many countries are not willing to recognize the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. We are not arbiters in questions which concern only Russia herself. Our attitude is nonintervention.

We do not demand that the President of the Russian delegation should renounce his claim for the authority of the council for the whole of former Russia. We shall avoid the difficulties if we sign an eventual treaty concerning these regions which are under the authority of the Council of the People's Commissaries. How many regions such treaty would concern we cannot tell at the present. We know that such treaty would be concluded without knowing for which regions exactly it would be valid; but the situation which would be created would be more disagreeable for us than for the Government of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, we agreed to do it for the sake of peace.

Concerning the question of the President of the Russian delegation upon the fate of the occupied regions, I refer him for a reply to my declaration, which was made in public before the last session of the Austrian delegation, and which, perhaps, is known by the gentlemen; to it I have nothing to add, because my point of view has not changed. * * * [Portion of message here missing.]

I cannot give a categorical reply as asked for by the President of the Russian delegation, but I gladly agree that a communication on this subject should be made to the subcommission.

CZERNIN—I agree completely with the preceding speaker, namely, that this question needs to be discussed by the Allies and that I do not see any reasonable objection why a reply could not be given to this question afterward.

TROTZKY—It has been said that there are none and can not be any reasonable objections

to a statement concerning the frontiers projected for this part of Russia, which, thanks to the energy and decision of the Ukrainian workmen, is now under the authority of the Ukrainian Councils. It seems to me that there can be no objection to the creation of a military technical sub-commission which will have to examine the question of frontiers if the project is submitted to that commission.

KUEHLMANN—I should be very much obliged to the President of the Russian delegation if he would give his views upon the details of the creation of the sub-commission as proposed by me. Then we could decide who shall take part in this sub-commission at this session.

TROTZKY—Before I give you a detailed reply I must have a consultation with my delegation. It will require but little time.

Russia Has No Choice

KUEHLMANN—I expect to have the reply today because, as I have already said, we need this preparatory work complete for our session of tomorrow. The representatives of the sub-commission could then have a day at their disposal for their labors. Our proposal has been known a long time. All the questions concerned have been discussed in detail, and I firmly believe that all arguments have been already used, and that now we have to bring them to a conclusion with a view to making a decision concerning our peace negotiations. I have already stated our proposal, which could in a certain degree replace the second clause of the projected peace treaty. This formula is as follows:

"Russia must agree to the following territorial changes which will enter into force after the ratification of the peace treaty: The regions between the frontiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary and the indicated line will not be in the future a dependency of Russia. As a result of their former adhesion to the Russian Empire no obligation will bind them to Russia. The further destiny of these regions will be settled in agreement with the peoples concerned, namely, on the basis of those agreements which have been concluded between them and Germany and Austria-Hungary."

In handing over this formula to the President of the Russian delegation, I state that an essential part of our proposal is in Clause 1, which we have already sufficiently discussed, and during these discussions no insurmountable obstacles have appeared * * * for the conclusion of peace.

I will give my point of view in a few words. It is as follows: The evacuation of certain regions was promised by us under the condition that at the same time the evacuation of regions taken from our allies should be carried out. At that time we considered, as the nearest date when the evacuation by us was to begin, the date of the

complete demobilization of the Russian Army. I state that concerning this date we are ready to compromise, and I must repeat what I have already stated.

I declare that we cannot accept a peace treaty in which it is not diplomatically promised to evacuate the provinces taken from our allies.

Armenia and the Aland Islands

In accordance with the explanation given by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, I think there is no ground for doubt that the troops which are in occupation of Turkish provinces * * * are under the authority of the Petrograd Government. I shall touch here also the second clause, which has been discussed by us many times, namely, the question concerning the future of the Aland Islands. I must point out that the peace treaty must give us at least the same rights as we had before the beginning of the war. I shall also recall to you the most passionate wish of the Swedish people to reunite with these islands, where they have, besides geographical and ethnographical considerations, the most vital interests.

TROTZKY—Concerning the evacuation of the Turkish provinces, we find in our principles sufficiently weighty considerations for our declarations that the evacuation of the Armenian territories could not be considered simply as an exchange for the evacuation of the one or the other portions of the occupied Russian territories. As we are withdrawing our troops from Persia, we shall also withdraw them—we have already begun it—from Armenia. It is beyond doubt that we shall state that clearly in our peace treaty with Turkey if our negotiations should advance so far. Concerning the Aland Islands, I must say that I did not understand of what minimum of rights the Secretary of State was speaking. If he had in view the obligation of Russia not to fortify these islands, then, independently of the very essence of the question, the arguments of the Secretary of State appeared to me as being not entirely correct, so far as the rights of Germany are created, and so far as Germany has not renounced these rights. Perhaps the information in possession of the Secretary of State will help us to clear up this question from other points of view. As is known, we have in our possession documents which prove that, in 1907, von Schön for Germany and Gubastoff for Czarist Russia signed a treaty which cannot be published, in which von Schön declared that Germany would not consider it as a breach of the Treaty of Paris if Russia fortified the Aland Islands. Before the question can be discussed, my opinion is that it should be prepared, from a technical point of view, by the Military Commission.

KUEHLMANN—In remaining faithful to the statement at the beginning of this session, I will not discuss the importance of the document which the preceding speaker refers to. I shall again, once more, express my

opinion in a few words, that the peace treaty must return us all those rights which we possessed before the war. As far as these islands are concerned, it is a demand of principle. If in the opinion of the President of the Russian Commission we did not possess any rights before the war, then such a demand must appear to him as one which can be easily agreed upon. I used the word "minimum" with the object of expressing exactly that our demand is, for us, a demand of principle. If somebody asked me of what I was thinking in using the word "maximum," then I should reply, as I have suggested several times previously, that it means the neutralization of these islands by the consent of the peoples on the borders of the Baltic Sea.

For the further discussion we need some preparatory work done by the sub-commission. I regret that the sub-commission has been unable to finish its work for our meeting of today. All other matters have been finished. I have to state that I am expecting during this evening, from the Russian side, the creation of a sub-commission for the discussion of the frontiers. In any case, I propose to have our next session at 6 o'clock P. M. We shall discuss the report of the sub-commission. I shall not waste time, and I here give notice that I, from my side, shall send to this sub-commission, if it is created, von Rosenberg and General ——. As also a naval specialist will take part, I shall send ———.

I declare the session closed.

Narrative of the Final Rupture

No official detailed report was given of the final session. It appears, however, from the German report of the subsequent proceedings, that the sub-commission referred to above did not meet "at 6 P. M.," as proposed, but did meet the next day, without reaching an agreement.

On Feb. 10, when the conference finally broke up, the sub-committee mentioned above held two sittings, at which the respective military experts were the principal speakers. The Russian delegates attempted to demonstrate the strategical disadvantages to which Russia would be exposed by the proposed new frontier line, while the Germans denied this contention, adding that it was not a matter of the Russo-German frontier, but of the frontier between Russia and the new border States. Agreement, however, could not be reached on this point. At the plenary sitting of the conference on the same day, Trotzky, replying to Kühlmann, denied any knowledge of an alleged order by the Russian Supreme Command urging Russian soldiers to incite German troops against their Generals and officers. Dr. Gratz, having reported that an agreement could not be reached in the sub-committee over which he had presided, Kühlmann asked Trotzky whether he had any communication to make which might contribute to a satisfactory solution. This question brought about the final rupture.

M. Trotzky, replying, said his delega-

tion considered that the decisive hour had arrived. After a bitter attack on imperialism, M. Trotzky declared that Russia would no longer participate in the war, as she was unwilling to shed the blood of her soldiers in the interests of one party against another. Russia, therefore, had decided to withdraw her army and people from the war. She had notified all peoples and their Governments of her decision, and had ordered the complete demobilization of all the Russian armies now confronting the armies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. His Government, however, added M. Trotzky, refused to sanction the conditions of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Russia had abandoned the war, but she was obliged to forego the signing of a peace treaty. Then followed the declaration of the ending of the state of war and the demobilization order, which have already been published.

THREAT OF HOSTILITIES

To this statement of M. Trotzky's, Baron Kühlmann rejoined that if he analyzed the present position correctly he found that the Quadruple Alliance was still at war with the Russian Government. Warlike operations, he added, were suspended for the time being by the armistice treaty, but on the lapse of this treaty these would automatically revive. If his memory did not deceive him, the real purpose of the armistice was the conclusion of peace. If, therefore,

peace was not concluded, and the essential object of the armistice should thus vanish, Baron Kühlmann concluded that warlike operations would revive again after the termination of the prescribed period.

The fact that one of the two contracting parties had demobilized its armies would in nowise alter this, either in fact or in law. This existence of the customary international relations between States, and of legal and commercial relations, was the mark of a state of peace. He therefore requested M. Trotzky to state whether the Russian Government intended, in addition to making its declaration regarding the termination of the state of war, to say where the frontiers of Russia ran, as this would be a necessary requisite before the resumption of diplomatic, consular, legal, and commercial relations, and also to say whether the Government of People's Commissioners was willing to resume legal and commercial relations to precisely the same extent as would naturally result from the termination of the state of war. These questions, he said, it was essential to determine in order to judge whether the Quadruple Alliance was still at war or not.

Baron Kühlmann then proposed a sitting for the next day, at which the attitude of the Central Powers to the latest statement of the Russian delegation might be made known.

END OF CONFERENCE

M. Trotzky replied that his delegation had now exhausted all its power, and considered it necessary to return to Petrograd. All communications, he added, which the allied delegations might make would be deliberated upon by the Federal Russian Government, and a reply would be given in due course. On being asked through what channel this exchange of views was to take place, M. Trotzky said that the Russian delegation had had direct telegraphic communication with Petrograd from Brest-Litovsk. Furthermore, before the inauguration of the armistice negotiations an understanding

had been reached by wireless, and, moreover, there would be presently representatives of the four allied powers in Petrograd, who might communicate with their respective Governments. Communication might therefore, suggested M. Trotzky, be restored in this way. The sitting then closed.

THE BOLSHEVIST VERSION

The following is the Bolshevik Government's official version of the rupture:

Yesterday at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Councils, the President of the peace delegation, Trotzky, reported on the course and results of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Not only the representatives of the parties composing the Government's majority but also the representatives of the opposition groups recognized that the decision taken by the Council of the People's Commissaries was the only correct one and the only dignified outcome of the newly created international situation. The speakers of the majority and opposition put forward the question whether there was a possibility of a German offensive against Russia. Nearly all were of the opinion that such an offensive is very improbable, but they all uttered warnings against an unlimited optimism in this direction, because the dare-all-annexation groups of Germany might make attempts to force the Government of Germany to a new offensive. Certainly in this case the duty of all citizens will be, in the opinion of all speakers, the decisive and heroic defense of the revolution.

All speakers also expressed their belief that the large masses of the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary will not permit a new shedding of blood on the former eastern front, because Russia, on its side, has declared the state of war as ended, and because the offensive by the German annexationists would have the character of an open raid for plunder. The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs concluded this report with the statement that Russia is withdrawing from the war not only in appearance but in reality. It is throwing away all agreements with its former allies, and, as regards the war in progress, it is reserving for itself the whole freedom in respect to both sides of its revolutionary policy. At the conclusion of the session a resolution was passed which approves the whole of the policy of the Brest-Litovsk delegation of the Council of the People's Commissaries.

The Internal Policy of the Bolsheviki

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

ON the night of Nov. 7, 1917, the now historic night of the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, two decrees were drafted by the new masters. One dealt with the armistice to be concluded on all fronts, and formed the prologue of the Russo-German peace. The other abolished private ownership of land. This measure was the first of a series of blows directed by the new revolutionary authorities against the middle pillars upon which rested the house of the old economic order in Russia. With this step the vast upheaval entered upon the phase of proletarian communism, which the disciples of Bolshevism hail as the long-awaited social revolution, and which, in their opinion, opens the final apocalyptic struggle between labor and capital.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Lenine's agrarian policy, which, together with the promise to give the country peace, was his trump card, is the epitome of the efforts of the Soviets to establish a Socialist Commonwealth. The original decree was later elaborated and duly ratified by the Third All-Russian Congress of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies, which met in February, 1918. All the forests, mines, waters, and landed estates, with their live stock, buildings, and machinery, were declared the common property of the people. The peasants were invited, even urged, to seize them immediately and turn them over to the Land Committees, which had been organized under the "bourgeois" régime. One of the decrees dealing with the confiscation of lands states that the land owners' mansions will be used for schools, asylums, hospitals, and theatres.

This was the triumph of the program of nationalizing the land, which Lenine's group has been advocating since 1905. Two other schemes of settling the land

problem are current among Russian radicals. One, popular among Social Democrats, would "municipalize" the land, that is, expropriate the privately owned estates beyond a certain minimum area and have them administered by autonomous organizations, embracing large territorial units. The other plan, known as "socialization of land," forms the main plank of the platform of the Social Revolutionists. It provides for the division of the confiscated land among small land communities organized on the pattern of the traditional Russian mir.

Lenine's agrarian program, under the circumstances in which it was put into execution, proved by far the most disastrous. The land decree merely sanctioned the promiscuous seizure of land, which had been going on since the revolution. It introduced no organizing principle into the chaos of agrarian relations. Its immediate effect was to swell the tide of riots which laid waste whole counties. True, the People's Commissaries repeatedly warned the population against wanton destruction of what was now the nation's common property. The appeals remained unheeded. The Bolsheviki had conjured up a power which they were not able to control.

With the coming of the Spring the apportioning of land assumes an importance for Russians equal to that of the peace problem. The peasants have extravagant notions about the amount of land available for distribution among them. There are some bitter disappointments in store for them. Figures show that if the landed estates were confiscated in the twenty-three Governments of the black-soil zone and distributed among the tillers, the increase would average no more than six acres per family. The struggle for land will, therefore, inevitably lead to severe clashes. The situation is aggravated by a portion of the city population, which, driven by unemployment, is seeking to return to

the soil in the hope of getting an allotment of land.

Kalegayev, the Commissary of Agriculture, elaborated definite plans for the division of the land, but the Third Congress of Councils did not adopt them. Lenine wants the masses to take matters into their own hands and make the necessary readjustments by means of direct revolutionary action. Speaking recently before a gathering of propagandists prepared for work among the peasants, he said: "We have taken the land to give it to the poor peasants. Do not let the rich peasants or exploiters get the agricultural implements. Pit ten poor peasants against every rich one."

SPECIALIZING PRODUCTION

In the field of industry the Petrograd Government proceeded more cautiously. In principle, it favored the socialization of all the factories and State control over all production and distribution. Up to the present, however, but few factories have been confiscated and handed over to the workmen. The prevalent type of industrial plant in Russia is still the so-called "constitutional factory," evolved under Kerensky, that is, a factory in which the authority of the owner is limited by a committee of the employees' delegates. The State confines itself to regulating the production, with a view to bringing order into the confusion of capitalistic economy, and, especially, for the purpose of increasing the manufacturing of commodities most urgently needed. On several occasions the State has taken over the distribution of a particularly important commodity. Thus, on Dec. 12, 1917, the Council of People's Commissaries declared, in the name of the republic, that all agricultural implements manufactured in and imported into Russia would henceforth be at the exclusive disposal of the State, which would distribute them according to special regulations published through the local Soviets.

In a statement issued early last February, Mr. Shlyapnikov, Commissary of Labor in the Bolshevik Cabinet, asserted that the effect on labor had been most beneficial. He cited the example of the

Ural factories, which were handed over to the workmen, with the result that in a short time the productivity of labor there increased 300 per cent. "There is," he says, "a psychological reason for this. The workmen realize that they are working for themselves and their country and not being exploited for private gain. That is a great stimulus."

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

The principle of nationalized means of production also has been applied to the press, in a fashion highly characteristic of both the theory and practice of the Bolshevik rule. Lenine's régime has added a sad chapter to the age-long martyrdom of the Russian press. Speaking on Nov. 17, 1917, before the Central Executive Committee of the Councils, on the repressions against the press, Trotzky explained the stand of the authorities in this matter. According to this official spokesman of Bolshevism, the abstract legal notion of the freedom of the press is meaningless in the social republic of Soviets. All the supplies of print paper and type must become the common property of the nation and be put at the disposal of the Soviets. A free press is a press serving the interests of the people, that is, the workmen and peasants. "Novoe Vremya," (a large conservative Petrograd daily,) he said, "which had no following at the elections, cannot lay claim to a single letter of type or a single sheet of paper."

In this connection may be mentioned a decree published Jan. 14, 1918. According to it the author's copyright becomes public property fifteen years after his death. The State may then assume the monopoly of the publication of his works, for the purpose of spreading them among the masses. The decree added that the authorities had undertaken the publication of a series of national classics.

FINANCES AND FOOD

On the same day the Petrograd Government definitely repudiated all the national loans issued under the imperial and "bourgeois" régimes. The short-term loans and the series of the National Treasury were the only ones

to be declared valid. The foreign loans were annulled early in December.

The most important financial measure of the Bolsheviks was the nationalization of the banking system. They began by requisitioning large sums for Governmental needs. Then they limited the amount of money which the depositors were allowed to draw from the banks every week. By this measure the commercial life of the country was severely injured. Finally, on Dec. 30, the Central Executive Committee of the Councils voted two decrees, which nationalized the banks. One made banking a State monopoly and amalgamated all the private banks and similar institutions with the State bank, which was ordered to take possession of their funds and assume the provisional direction of their operations. It added that small savings would be safeguarded, but made no mention of the fate of the large deposits.

The other decree empowered the authorities to transfer to the State Bank all funds contained in the strong boxes of the private banks, and to confiscate all gold coin and bullion.

This and several minor financial measures, such as curtailment of the officials' salaries, which the Bolsheviks succeeded in enforcing, failed to relieve the financial distress of the country. This distress had been steadily growing since the revolution. In February, 1918, the amount of paper money was 18,000,000,000 rubles, against the gold reserve of 1,604,000,000 rubles, while the national debt reached the sum of 80,000,000,000. The official organ of the Bolshevik Government recently suggested the heroic measure of a legal revaluation of the ruble, to be made when the war is over. In a recent speech bearing upon the financial situation, Lenin is reported to have said: "The rich, who 'have hidden their wealth, think the 'masses will pull them through. Some-how, we must uncover the hidden 'wealth, otherwise the Bolshevik Government is bankrupt. The republic 'needs 28,000,000,000 rubles annually. 'Its prospective income is only 8,000,000,000. The hidden wealth must be

"uncovered and placed at the disposal 'of the Government."

The Bolsheviks have been inefficient in the vital matter of food supply. Shortly after Lenin seized the reins of power, the Petrograd Committee on Food Supply issued a statement to the effect that the coup d'état had completely stopped all shipments of food from the interior of the country, and utterly disorganized transportation. The new Government appointed a special Commissary of Food Supply. It issued a number of decrees, and made desperate appeals to the peasants for bread. Declaring that Kerensky had raised the price of bread in August because he had at heart the interests of land owners, speculators, and other persons who had accumulated large stores of grain, it announced its decision to fix the price at a low level. It apparently succeeded in reducing food speculation, the campaign against which was conducted by the Military Revolutionary Committee assisted by subsidiary local commissions, but the north of Russia was hardly ever nearer starvation than in the month when the Bolsheviks signed their forced peace with the Central Powers.

THE RED ARMY

The Declaration of the Rights of the Workman, which was rejected by the abortive Constituent Assembly and ratified by the Third Congress of Soviets, is based on the principle of an armed proletariat and a disarmed bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks started out with the hope of reviving the disintegrated troops—or, at least, that portion of them which had not been disbanded—by means of reducing to absurdity the principles of equality and election. They ruled that all officers, from the lowest to the highest, both in the army and in the navy, should be elected by their subordinates. The elective principle had worked miracles in the French Army at the time of the French Revolution; but the French regulations provided for the election of officers by their equals. The "democratization" of the Russian Army, enforced by the proletarian Government, only added to the demoralization of the military command, for many responsible posts fell into the

hands of wholly incompetent men. The authority of the commander was limited by the Military Revolutionary Committees, which were created early in the revolution by the celebrated Order No. 1. No order could be given without the knowledge and approval of these committees. Besides, military colleges and schools were declared unnecessary. If we wish to have military experts, argued the Bolsheviks, we must teach the science of war not to selected groups of men, but to all the soldiers, thereby avoiding the formation of a military aristocracy.

Before long, however, it became apparent that the task of rehabilitating the army was little short of hopeless. Reporting to the Congress of Soviets on Jan. 24, General Bonch-Bruyevich declared that the army organizations were utterly demoralized, the officers inexperienced, and the maintenance of discipline impossible. It was then that the idea was conceived of completely discarding the old military machine, the inheritance of the past, and creating a new fighting force, the revolutionary army of the republic of Soviets. The nucleus of this "Red Army" was the Red Guard, which Kerensky formed in the days of Korniloff's revolt by distributing 14,000 rifles among the workmen of Petrograd, and which was the chief instrument of Kerensky's fall.

On Jan. 27 a special commission for the organization of the new military body was formed at the Commissariat for War. The Red Army was to consist of the most revolutionary and intelligent elements of the working classes, and was to be, in a sense, a select body of men. The State took upon itself to provide lodging and maintenance for both officers and men, to pay them a salary of 50 rubles a month, and support their dependents.

OTHER RADICAL CHANGES

The régime of proletarian communism did not confine its experiments in democratization to the army. As early decree of the People's Commissaries abolished all existing legal classes, ranks, and civil titles, and handed over the corporate property of nobles, merchants, and

burgesses to the State. All Russians were to be referred to as "citizens of the Russian Republic." A month later came the destruction of the judicial system, which was created under Alexander II. The Senate, (Supreme Court,) courts of appeal, district and other courts were replaced by revolutionary tribunals, consisting of one permanent Judge and two jurymen appointed by the local Soviet. Any man or woman was allowed to act as counsel or procurator, the posts of Attorney General and Examining Magistrate being abolished.

An interesting specimen of Bolshevik legislation is "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia." In this document Kerensky's policy is characterized as "a policy of cowardly distrust for the peoples of Russia, a policy of caving and provocation, disguised 'with words about the 'freedom' and 'equality' of peoples.'" The Government of the Soviets declares that in its activity it will be guided by the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples to free self-determination, including even their separation and the formation of independent States.
3. Abolition of national and religious privileges and disabilities.
4. Free development of the national and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia.

It seems, however, that the Bolsheviks do not unanimously accept the principle of extending the right of self-determination to complete separation. Some time ago Lenine himself spoke against such a policy. "The defense of the right of 'self-determination,'" he wrote, "does not encourage the formation of small States. On the contrary, it leads to 'the freer, more fearless, and, therefore, more extensive and general formation of large States and unions of States, which are more advantageous for the masses and more in harmony with economic development. * * * The conception of the legal separation of nations is a reactionary conception."

The latest important act of the Petrograd Government is a decree separating the Russian Church from the State and

the school, sequestering all church property, abolishing the oath, and doing away with all the privileges previously accorded to the Orthodox Church. This iconoclastic measure definitely severs the

immemorial union between Russian statehood and the Orthodox Church. Enforced with brutality, it brought upon the heads of the Bolsheviks the anathema of Patriarch Tikhon.

Desperate Conditions Under Bolshevik Rule

The preceding article covers some phases of legislation enacted by the Bolshevik Government; there were, however, other developments in Petrograd and throughout the country during the exciting weeks of early 1918, prior to Russia's capitulation in March, and these should be recorded. Arthur Ransome, the Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, in a cablegram sent Feb. 16, 1918, summarizes some examples of legislative oddities of the Bolsheviks as follows:

NOWADAYS a newspaper can only come out on condition that it prints all orders and enactments issued by the Petrograd Soviet on its first page. There are other restrictions, but this is the most serious, as after a busy day at the Soviet a paper may find itself compelled to surrender the whole front page to advertising its enemies' doings—the only form of advertisement now permitted to appear in the columns of the non-Soviet press.

Then there are restaurant regulations coming into force. All restaurants which have the necessary accommodation will have to provide a certain number of cheap meals fixed at a low price in accordance with the new card system. Then there is "Spitzberg's Marriage and Divorce Bureau." Apparently this Government institution only found twenty-one couples willing to submit to its ministrations during the six weeks of its existence. Spitzberg, the barrister who runs the bureau, is preparing an extensive advertising campaign.

These days have also seen a heavy assault on the Russian Church. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, has been murdered by hooligans, who entered his rooms at the Lavra, robbed him, stripped him, and finally drove out the old man of 70 and killed him. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, who also is Patriarch of the Russian Church, has been prevented from coming to Petrograd, while the sacristy of the Moscow Kremlin has been looted. The gold and silver removed alone are worth many millions of rubles, to say

nothing of such things as very early text Slavonic manuscript gospels and articles of inestimable historical value.

The amount of robbery and murder now proceeding has led the Petrograd Soviet to appoint a special commission to devise means of suppressing the disorder. All criminal elements are to be invited either to adopt an honest method of earning a living or leave the town within twenty-four hours. At the expiration of this time limit all criminals caught red-handed are to be shot forthwith.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the line between ordinary criminality and anarchism, inspired by the loftiest motives, has now completely vanished. The front page of Sunday's Burevestnik, an anarchist daily, consists of an appeal addressed to hall porters. "You have been watchdogs long enough guarding the wealth of others," it says. "The poor do not need protection. It is a crime to protect the rich. Open the gates; let the real masters, the poor, enter and take what is theirs. Owners of palaces and private houses, if you do not desire equality, go live in the cellars, under the stairs, in damp corners. We, where there are light and sun, create anarchy."

PETROGRAD DESERTED

Dr. Harold Williams, another Petrograd correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, under date of March 10 described the exodus from Petrograd as follows:

The streets are very quiet now. They

have never been so quiet since the beginning of the war, and in the evenings the stillness of the dimly lighted thoroughfares is fraught with foreboding. The turbulent emotions of the year of revolution are exhausted; the fever is slackening, the pulse of life is very low, and the depression and foreboding are inarticulate. They cannot be summed up as dread of any definite calamity, as fear of the Germans, as fears of unrestrained anarchy. They are gloomier, because they are inarticulate, because they come of a sense of emptiness, of the ebbing away of life.

DEPARTING FOR MOSCOW

There has been a great exodus. The Government is migrating to Moscow, and has let fall hints that Moscow is to be proclaimed the capital. The Council of People's Commissaries will have its seat in the Kremlin. Lenine will sit in the seat of the predecessors of Peter the Great and the Neva will be deserted. The Ministries have nearly completed their evacuation. Tons of goods have been dispatched south and east, and to-night or tomorrow night those members of the Government who still remain will leave for Moscow.

The power is leaving Petrograd, and the population, seized by vague alarm, has been flocking out of the city. Day after day a queue of many thousands waited on the Nevsky Prospect for permits to leave the city. Day after day overcrowded trains moved off south and east, soldiers in the forefront, and dismissed workmen and all that miscellaneous mass of humanity that is afraid of starvation, afraid of unemployment, afraid of the invader, of unknown calamities. Many thousands who could not go by trains went off on foot through the snow, and many who had ready money to spare hired sledges and went driving off on a pilgrimage into the depths of Russia.

Yet there was no noise, no outward sign of panic. There was a strange hush about it all, a sad and patient resignation, as though in the presence of an unintelligible, inexorable fate; and those who remain go wandering about the streets, vaguely, hopelessly, asking

for an explanation of the life that has grown meaningless.

There are provisions. Somehow the city still lives from hand to mouth, with a curious ingenuity. This week the refrigerators were emptied and their contents allotted among the population as a parting gift, so that for a few hours they had plenty of flour and dried vegetables and fed on frozen goose. And supply trains still come in irregularly and in dribbles, but still they come.

The street cars have no stores of fuel, but from time to time they buy remnants from factories that are closing down, and so struggle along with interruptions. Half the cabmen have gone home to their villages, often selling their horses for meat before they go, for horse meat is now a recognized article of diet, even in many families that were once well to do, and the horses that remain are dying. Day after day one sees them fall in the street and gathering round them a doleful crowd of idle onlookers. They die, and their bodies lie in the snow unburied for many days. Most of the big theatres are deserted, and it is the easiest thing in the world now to get tickets for the once-crowded opera.

In the night one hears shots, unintelligible fusillades. A few nights ago there was a rattle of rifles in my neighborhood, and in the morning passersby found the bodies of six young men, students, as I afterward discovered, shot, heaven knows why.

All goods, sledges, and motor cars and lorries have been requisitioned for the evacuation, and their movements for the last week have constituted almost the sole traffic of this once great industrial centre, and in the settled gloom there is no place left for excitement, for panic, for sudden flashes of fear or anger. People talk and speculate, but they know that their words are vain, and they speak wearily, indifferently of loss and pain and death.

LOOTING THE WARSHIPS

Louis Edgar Browne, Petrograd correspondent of The New York Globe and Chicago Daily News, cabled under date of March 13:

When the Soviet decided to evacuate

Petrograd the crews of three warships in the Neva held meetings and decided that so far as they were concerned the war was over and that each sailor was free to return to his village. The silver plate, crockery, and every particle of the movable equipment were divided and distributed so that each member of the crew received approximately an equal share.

A sailor presiding at one of the meetings presented a resolution authorizing the distribution with the argument that the warships formerly belonged to the Czar, but the revolution made them the people's property. As it was impossible to divide equally the three cruisers among 180,000,000 people, the crews of these three ships had a perfect right to divide the materials provided they relinquished claim to any other properties of the former Czar.

Everything in the Russian Army and Navy is now in a process of liquidation in a similar manner. Regiments are dividing clothing and the supplies. The automobile units are selling their motors and supplies and dividing the proceeds, while the commissary is making an equal distribution of food. The psychological formula of the soldier units today is to gather all the loot and spoils possible, divide equally, and return to the native village as quickly as possible for the purpose of being present when the land is redistributed.

Horseflesh is the only meat available in Petrograd, and queues of forlorn and hungry people extend for blocks on each side of the butcher shops. A more varied crowd cannot be imagined. Ragged and well dressed children, fur-clad women and shabby servants and street sweepers and army officers wait hour after hour with unbelievable patience for a few pounds of horseflesh. Each queue eventually becomes an indignation meeting against the existing order of things. The women especially are bitter, blaming the Bolsheviks for all their troubles. If one stands in a queue for a few moments he is sure to overhear the expression of the hope that the Germans will soon occupy Petrograd, and there is never a dissenting protest.

Horse meat costs 3 rubles (\$1.50) a pound. Formerly Petrograd was noted for the huge flocks of pigeons which lived in belfries of the cathedrals, but most of these have already found their way to the pot. Dogs and cats are disappearing. Here are a few prices of commodities: Potatoes, 2 rubles (\$1) a pound; butter, 13½ rubles (\$7.25) a pound; sugar, 15 rubles (\$7.50) a pound; porridge, 6 rubles, (\$3;) flour, 5 rubles, (\$2.50;) rice, 8 rubles, (\$4,) and bread from 2 to 7 rubles (\$1 to \$3.50) a pound.

ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION

Herman Bernstein cabled The New York Herald on March 13 as follows:

On the eve of the anniversary of the Russian revolution Petrograd presents a sad sight. The fairy tale of long-dreamed dreams awakened by the overthrow of Czarism is now a nightmare of terror, starvation, plunder, and demoralization. The bourgeoisie are hard hit. Fur-coated ladies are selling newspapers at the street corners. Bankers and Generals are cleaning the streets and working as railroad station carriers and theatrical supernumeraries. The proletariat is commencing to suffer from lack of employment.

Petrograd's fate is apparently sealed as the great Russian capital. The Ministers are hurrying away and there is a general evacuation by rail, by sleigh, and on foot, as from Moscow during the Napoleonic invasion.

Petrograd is daily the scene of many murders, robberies, holdups, and raids. When the Government departments leave, excesses on a large scale are feared, even though several regiments have published warnings that pogrom makers will be shot immediately. A grave catastrophe is expected in the next few weeks.

Persons are summarily killed in various parts of the city to terrify the population, and people are shot on the slightest pretext without trials. The Department of Justice now demands a thorough investigation of the murder of so-called counter-revolutionists by unknown persons.

Text of Decree Repudiating Russia's Debts

The official proclamation repudiating Russia's debts was dated Feb. 8, 1918, (New Style,) and was finally approved by the Central Committee. The text is as follows:

1. All loans contracted by former Russian Governments which are specified in a special list are canceled as from Dec. 1, 1917. The December coupons of these loans will not be paid.

2. All the guarantees for these loans are canceled.

3. All loans made from abroad are canceled without exception and unconditionally.

4. The short-term series of State Treasury bonds retain their validity. The interest on them will not be payable, but they will circulate on a par with paper money.

5. Indigent persons who hold stock not exceeding 10,000 rubles in internal loans will receive in exchange, according to the nominal value of their holdings, certificates in their own name for a new loan of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic of Soviets for an amount not exceeding that of their previous holding. The conditions of this loan are specially defined.

6. Deposits in the State savings banks and the interest upon them are not to be touched. All holdings in the canceled loans belonging to these banks will be replaced by debt entered to their credit in the Great Book of the Russian Socialist Republic.

7. Co-operative and other institutions of

general or democratic utility, and possessing holdings in the canceled loans, will be indemnified in accordance with the special regulations laid down by the Supreme Council of Political Economy, in agreement with their representatives, if it is proved that the holdings were acquired before the publication of the present decree.

8. The State Bank is charged with the complete liquidation of loans and the immediate registration of all holders of bonds in the State loans and other funds, whether annulled or not.

9. The Soviet of the Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, in accord with the local economic councils, will form committees for the purpose of deciding whether a citizen is to be classed as "indigent." These committees will be competent to cancel entirely all savings acquired without working for them, even in the case of sums below 5,000 rubles.

THE CALENDAR REVISED

A decree was issued Feb. 7 by the Bolshevik Government, providing for the adoption of the Gregorian, or "New Style," calendar, as from Thursday, Feb. 14, 1918, "the first day after Jan. 31, 1918, (Russian style,) being reckoned as Feb. 14." This abolishes the "Old Style" calendar, which caused Russian dates to lag thirteen days behind the corresponding dates in the rest of the world.

Proclamation of the "Social Revolution" Lenine's] First Manifestoes

IZVESTIA, the full title of which is News of the Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies," is the official organ of the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd. No. 210 of this small four-page newspaper, issued on Nov. 11, 1917, and dated Oct. 29, (Old Style,) contains the first proclamation of the "Social Revolution," the uprising which overthrew the Kerensky Government, along with other documents of a similar nature. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents its own translation of these historic milestones on the road to Russia's present catastrophe:

TO WORKMEN COMRADES!

By the will of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies has been created a Temporary Peasants' and Workmen's Government. By its direction the Commission of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, with a cordial invitation to help the work of strengthening the revolution and its conquests.

The propertied classes are trying to create anarchy and ruin in production, provoking violence among the workmen, excesses and attacks upon master workmen, technicians, and engineers. They hope in this way to bring about a complete and final dislocation of all enterprises and then to shut the doors of the factories and industries. The Revolutionary Commis-

№ 210.
Воскресенье.
29 октября 1917 г.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

ЦѢНА:
въ Петроградѣ 15 коп.
на ст. жел. д. 18 коп.

Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета и Петроградскаго совѣта РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Адресъ конторы: Луговка, Садовая пер., д. № 6. Телефонъ № 218-41.
Адресъ редакціи: Столыпинъ Институтъ, 2-й этажъ комнаты № 142. Телефонъ № 38-89.

ТОВАРИЩИ РАБОЧІЕ!

Волей Всероссійскаго Съѣзда Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ и Солдатскихъ Депутатовъ создано Временное Крестьянское и Рабочее Правительство. По его порученію, Комиссія Труда обращается къ Вамъ, Товарищи Рабочіе, съ горячимъ призывомъ помочь дѣлу укрѣпленія революціи и ея завоеваніямъ.

PART OF FIRST PAGE OF IZVESTIA, THE BOLSHEVIST OFFICIAL ORGAN IN
PETROGRAD, CONTAINING A HISTORIC PROCLAMATION
OF THE MAXIMALIST GOVERNMENT

sion of Labor turns to you, Workmen Comrades, asking you to abstain from violences and excesses.

By the fraternal and creative work of the popular working masses and the proletarian organizations, the Commission of Labor will be able to remove all obstacles standing in its way.

To all producers and to all who continue sabotage, and thereby place obstacles in the way of the problems and aims of the great proletarian-peasant revolution, the new Revolutionary Government will apply the severest measures. Lynch law and every violence can only injure the work of the revolution. The Commission of Labor summons you to self-control and revolutionary discipline.

(Signed)

The People's Commissioner of Labor,
ALEXANDER SHLYAPNIKOFF.

In the same number the elimination of Alexander Kerensky is thus announced:

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE!

Former Minister Kerensky, overthrown by the people, refuses to accept the decision of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and is making criminal attempts to resist the lawful Government, elected by

the All-Russian Congress of the Soviet of People's Commissaries. The army has refused to support Kerensky. Moscow has united itself to the new Government. A whole series of other cities (Minsk, Mohilev, Kharkov) has passed under the power of the Soviets. Not one infantry element opposes the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, which, in harmony with the firm will of the army and people, has entered upon peace negotiations, and has transferred the land to the peasants.

Like General Korniloff, a few squadrons of misguided Cossacks were collected by this criminal enemy of the people, who is trying to deceive the population of Petrograd with lying manifestoes.

We announce for the information of all: If the Cossacks do not arrest Kerensky, who is deceiving them, and if they move against Petrograd, the army of the revolution, with all the force of its arms, will defend the precious conquests of the revolution: Peace and land.

Citizens of Petrograd, Kerensky has fled from the city, leaving you in the hands of Kishkin, who advocates the surrender of Petrograd to the Germans; in the hands of Ruttenberg, organizer of the Black Hundred, who has disorganized

the production of the city in the hands of Palchinski, who heartily detests all democracy. Kerensky has run away, giving you up to surrender to the Germans, to famine, to a bath of blood. The people rising in its might has arrested the Ministers of Kerensky, and you have seen that the order and production of Petrograd have simply gained by this. Kerensky, on the demand of the nobles, landowners, capitalists, speculators, is going against you, in order to return the land to the landowners, in order once more to prolong the ruinous, detested war.

Citizens of Petrograd, we know that the vast majority of you are for the power of the revolutionary people, against the Korniloffists, led by Kerensky. Do not let yourself be deceived by lying proclamations of impotent bourgeois talkers, who will be crushed without pity.

Workmen, soldiers, peasants, we demand of you revolutionary readiness and revolutionary discipline.

The many-millioned peasantry, the many-millioned army, are on our side.

The victory of the people's revolution is inevitable.

THE WAR-REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF
THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKMEN'S
AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES.

Petrograd, Oct 28, (Old Style,) 1917.

The peace program of the Bolshevik Government is set forth in another proclamation in the same number:

Immediate democratic peace, this is one of the great world problems of the Russian revolution.

But only a Workmen's and Peasants' Government is capable of realizing this problem, since only such a Government expresses the will of the whole Russian people and will inflexibly carry out that will. Thus, for the first time in the course of the seven months of the revolution, the fate of the masses of the people is in their own hands.

Until the uprising of Oct. 24-25, (Nov. 6-7, New Style,) the Provisional Government did nothing to solve this mighty problem, because it was a Government of Russian serfs and allied capitalists.

Step by step it receded from the program of peace of the Russian revolutionary democracy. It betrayed it in the interest of allied capitalists. To the detriment of peace, it carried on secret negotiations with these capitalists behind the back of the Russian revolutionary democracy. By organizing the July offensive, it drove Russia into the path of destruction and knocked from the hands of the German proletariat a weapon pointed at the breast of the Government of Wilhelm II.

Therefore, being the Government of the serfs of the bourgeoisie, it feared the

proletariat masses, and to the fulfillment of their will preferred even the triumph of the German bourgeoisie. And the Socialist supporters, all the Tseretellis, Liebers, Avskentieffs, upheld it, sharing with it the betrayal of the interest of the Russian revolution, the interest of peace, the interest of the Russian and European working masses. Only the present Workmen's and Peasants' Government can guarantee peace to the tortured Russian and other peoples, steeped in their brothers' blood.

It has established the question of peace on simple, unshakable ground. It raises on high the red flag of international socialism, and demands peace without annexations or contributions, in principle condemning all annexations, no matter when they were made.

But, being faithful to the principles of international socialism, it understands the full justice of the words of Karl Liebknecht: That the worst enemy of every proletariat is in its own country, and that only a revolution of the proletariat of Europe has the power finally to liberate all lands held in slavery until the present war.

And it states the real question of peace. It demands an immediate truce on all fronts, announces its willingness to consider calmly and objectively all peace proposals, and sets a period of three months for the consideration of these proposals.

Already demanding a truce on all fronts, the Workmen's and Peasants' Government spurns the base insinuation that it is striving after a separate peace. It is not at all seeking to break with its allies, but it has taken a defensive position, thanks to which in all allied countries the true workmen's democracy will have the decisive voice.

And the fact that, in Russia, power and the negotiation of peace are in the hands, not of a traitor, but of the real representatives of the workmen, soldiers, and peasants, will strengthen the movement in favor of peace in allied countries also, as well as in Germany and Austria. This open advance with the demand for peace, with its condemnation of secret diplomacy, will find an echo not only in the world's proletariat but also among the great masses of the countries forced and dragged into the war—Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Belgium, the colonies.

By this means the Governments of the warring imperialistic countries are placed in a position in which the beginning of immediate peace negotiations will be irresistibly forced upon them.

Thanks to the uprising of Oct. 25, the question of peace is on simple, unshakable ground. It is in the hands of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, in the hands of the Russian masses of the people themselves. And he who does not support

it is against peace, is an enemy of the proletariat, an enemy of the Russian people, an enemy of all mankind tortured by this war. Whoever is in favor of immediate truce on all fronts, whoever is in favor of peace, whoever is in favor of the

triumph of democracy and the brotherhood of the toiling masses of all lands and peoples, will support the Workmen's and Peasants' Government. Down with secret diplomacy and counter-revolution! Long live peace!

German Methods of Decoying Russians

Text of an Official Order

THE following document reveals in detail the methods by which the Germans introduced their propaganda among the Russian troops and started the "fraternization" and disaffection which ended in Russia's downfall and the loss of Russian liberty. The same methods were used later upon the Italians. The document is an official order sent by the German General Staff to each of the divisions near the eastern front. It bears no date, but the sixth article shows that it was issued some time after May, 1917. The translation given below was made for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the text printed in the Moscow daily Russkoye Slovo of Dec. 1, 1917; but the document had previously appeared in the Petrograd papers. Throughout the Summer the cleverly manipulated virus of enemy propaganda was introduced into the simple minds of the Russian soldiers by the methods here prescribed with German thoroughness.

218TH ARMY DIVISION.

1st Section, No. 266.

SECRET.

Not to be taken to front positions.

ORDER TO THE DIVISION.

1. In conformance with the order transmitted over the telephone of the group Gerock No. 2098, it is necessary to develop the propaganda among the enemy armies with particular intensity.

2. The aim of the propaganda is to disorganize the foe's army and to obtain necessary information about it.

3. The propaganda must be conducted

(a) By throwing into the enemy trenches a large number of newspapers and manifestoes for the intellectual elements of the army;

(b) By persuading the masses orally and selecting credulous officers and Sergeants in the enemy troops.

4. The front communication posts (*Front-vernehmungsstellen*) are subject to the authority of the commanders of the corresponding companies.

The duty of the latter is as follows:

(a) In his section he must seek out favorably situated points from which newspapers, manifestoes, &c., might be transmitted to the enemy.

(b) At these points he must endeavor to enter into direct communication with the enemy through our interpreters and, if the enemy is disposed to do so, appoint a definite hour for meetings.

5. Every agreement in this direction must be immediately communicated over the telephone to the head of the divisional bureau of information.

The head of the bureau of information alone has the right to parley with the enemy, according to definite instructions given to him.

The communication posts, directed by company commanders, must merely prepare the ground for such parleys.

6. Our soldiers are strictly forbidden to enter into communication with the enemy, except as ordered above, for this would facilitate enemy espionage. In any event, the enemy will try to take advantage of the kindly disposition of our soldiers. The strict order (No. 39 of May 28, 1917) regarding this matter remains in full power.

Written and printed matter brought by the enemy must be accepted and immediately forwarded to the head of the bureau of information. It is strictly forbidden to open them and, in general, to touch them.

7. Company commanders will begin their activities most successfully by locating, first of all, the points where the enemy accepted the papers placed for him, and where he proved hostile to our propaganda, where he moves freely and without fear in his trenches, and, finally, where his behavior is decidedly hostile and forbidding. Positions where artillery observation posts are discovered should be avoided, for French officers and instructors may be there.

8. The success of opening communications with the enemy by the above-described method depends on the adroitness with which the first steps are made.

Shouts will only frighten the enemy, who is timid by nature, and throw the whole post into alarm. Good results are obtained by words delivered in a quiet tone of voice and full of feelings of comradeship, by a frequent repetition of these attempts at the

A BRITISH TANK IN AN AWKWARD POSITION



This photograph conveys a vivid idea of the kind of ground in France over which tanks operate and of the difficult positions in which they sometimes find themselves

(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

A BRITISH ARMORED CAR STUCK DEEP IN FLANDERS MUD



The morasses amid which the British offensive in Flanders has been conducted cause many of the greatest difficulties in transportation. This car, suitably camouflaged, has sunk so deep that horses are required to haul it out

(British official photo from Underwood & Underwood)

same point, by promising not to shoot, offering tobacco, &c.

Tobacco may be obtained from the company commander.

9. Each day at 20 o'clock (8 P. M.) the company commanders are obliged to report directly to the head of the bureau of information about the day's events relating to the propaganda. The reports must contain the following information:

(a) When and where newspapers were thrown into trenches or transmitted;

(b) Whether the newspapers were accepted by the enemy;

(c) Whether attempts were made to enter into communication with the enemy; who came from the enemy's side, (soldiers, Sergeants, officers;) with what regiment (judging by objective signs, not by inquiries) negotiations were begun;

(d) Other observations regarding the behavior of the enemy.

At the same time the interpreters attached to the communication posts must send to the head of the bureau of information the contents, word for word, of the conversations which took place during the previous twenty-four hours.

The place and hour of meetings fixed for the next day must be immediately communicated to the head of the bureau of information over the telephone.

10. The enemy sections in which the propaganda is conducted must be shielded from our

artillery fire. We must shoot only if an attack is launched by the enemy. The company commanders will point out the places to be left unharmed to the corresponding batteries. The artillery commander will be warned by the division.

11. The enemy is crafty and faithless. It must, therefore, be borne in mind that he will no doubt try to set traps for our propaganda detachment for the purpose of capturing or killing them. We must act with the utmost care.

Soldiers carrying newspapers and letters must be informed about the conventional (destined to deceive the enemy) disposition of our troops, (I, a, No. 261.)

For the protection of these soldiers special protective detachments must always be organized in our trenches, utmost care being taken that they should not be noticed by the enemy. These detachments must only fire at the order of the Captains who command the communication posts.

12. On the 12th of the month the 62d Army Brigade must submit the names of the company commanders recommended for the position of head of communication post.

J. V. D. B. D. K.

The Chief of the Division, (on leave of absence,) per KREINBERG, (Signature,) General Major and Chief of the 62d Brigade.

Read by RUNK, (Signature,) Chief of the Company.

Fraternizing Under the Armistice

A German Description

The following description of conditions along the Russo-German front during the armistice that preceded the resumption of the invasion of Russia by the Germans on Feb. 18, 1918, was written by Wilhelm Hegeler, correspondent of the Deutsche Tageszeitung:

WE advance further over a snow-covered meadow. Here and there along the roadside stand bits of camouflage made of trees set in the ground. The storm has torn them loose and blown the snow from their dead branches. Here they stand in heaps, there they have wearily sunk to earth. At slight intervals pieces of fir branches woven together are hung above the road. These, too, are torn and tattered. And both of them, the masks along the road and those above it, seem like the damaged scenery of a play that has been eliminated from the repertory.

"We did not dare show ourselves here a couple of weeks ago," said the Cap-

tain. "The Russians had too able observers and all the camouflage was of no avail, and the artillery fired upon every single man. Right there where the road branches off I had a bad experience. I was going along unsuspectingly when all at once bullets from machine guns began to fall like a shower. Luckily I had good horses, so the sport lasted only a few minutes. And today we go along here as unmolested as in the Grünwald in Berlin."

We get out and I walk through the trenches. At the first glance there is no change. The ground is well swept and the slight traces of snow are tramped down by countless soldier boots.

Smoke curls from all the bombproof shelters. A soldier stands in the kitchen soaking some dried codfish. Only one thing strikes my eye: the trenches are empty. And the first sentry that I encounter is not standing at the observation post, but is sitting comfortably on the breastworks, his rifle on his arm, his frost reddened face wreathed in approving smiles.

I want to share his amusement, so I get up on the breastworks and see that over on the Russian side of the barbed wire entanglements a regular battle is going on. It is waged with snowballs, but it is so strenuous that one might easily believe that our new friends had not yet had enough of war. Now two soldiers are wrestling, a tall fellow and a nimble little chap who charges his opponent like a billy goat, until the big fellow suddenly seizes him by the trousers leg and repeatedly ducks the wriggling figure in the snow. The sentry laughs and acts as if he would like to join the game.

I continue to wander along and wonder where the soldiers are hidden. Now I hear a marching song from the fields of snow. Two companies are coming in. Short pipes hang from under the frosty mustaches of the older men; the young fellows are singing. They have been drilling. It is all over with the sloppy life of active war.

I hunt up the shelter of the regiment's officer in charge of the truce negotiations. He is a young Lieutenant, a teacher in civil life, who has added a little Russian learned out of a grammar to the Polish which he already knew. He told me, however, that he hardly ever had to use it, as there were enough Russians over there who could speak German.

Two officers and several soldiers accompany us on our way to the rendezvous indicated by a white flag. The Lieutenant tells about his previous negotiations with the Russians. For several days they had been meeting almost daily at this or that place and discussing the possibility of peace. There had never been any disagreeable incidents among the German or the Russian infantrymen.

Just once a blustering Russian Major had made his appearance and forbidden these meetings in front of the wire entanglements. But other officers and soldiers had surrounded the Major and had begged the Lieutenant not to be disturbed.

We had scarcely reached the place indicated, which was near the ruins of the royal castle, the walls and watch towers of which consist of only a few scanty fragments since the last battles, when two Russian officers appeared. According to the latest regulation, their uniforms were in nowise different from those of the soldiers. The truce officer introduced us; we shook hands and it was no mere polite phrase when we assured each other that we were glad to make each other's acquaintance.

One of the two officers came from Riga, the other from the Caucasus. Strange to say, the latter spoke much better German than his comrade from Riga. I was anxious to see what sort of conversation it would be and if it would begin rapidly or haltingly. It took place in the most natural way in the world and concerned the very thing that had separated both sides in life and death, but that, now that it was over, as a common experience excluded any feeling of strangeness.

They talked about the last great attack by the Russians on July 23. Thanks to their superiority in force, they had succeeded in breaking through a narrow strip of our line and in penetrating as far as our first line of artillery before they were ejected by a counterattack. "You charged d—d fast that time," said one of the German Lieutenants. "Before the artillery was able to shift its barrage fire forward, you stood in front of our trenches. For the rest, your drum fire didn't do us any damage. We sat in the bombproofs and made music."

"Your artillery fire didn't do us much damage, either," replied the Russian. "The shots were well aimed enough, but the shells didn't do much in the swamp. Your machine guns, on the other hand, kept us pretty busy. * * *

The conversation halted for a while until the Lieutenant with the scar said:

"It's a funny thing, eh? Three months ago we were exchanging hand grenades and now we are exchanging cigarettes.

But, after all, we are merely like duelists after a round at arms. Why should we be ill-tempered?"

Poland Asserts Herself

A Vigorous Protest Against a Further Partition Is Effective

THE Polish Regency Council, which was set up by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments, asserted its independence in a striking manner when it was announced that a portion of the Polish domain—the Kholm district—had been ceded to the Ukrainian People's Republic in the peace treaty signed by the Ukrainian delegation and the Teutonic Powers on Feb. 9, 1918. When the cession became known there was great excitement throughout Poland. In many cities black flags were displayed, and there were angry manifestations of protest. The excitement became so intense that in several districts martial law was proclaimed. The indignation was shared by Polish, Czech, Slavic, and Socialist Deputies of the Austrian Reichsrat, who threatened to unite against voting any further budgets unless the treaty was changed.

The opposition became so threatening that the Austrian and German Foreign Ministers modified the objectionable clauses of the treaty. A supplementary declaration, which was given an obscure interpretation in the Reichstag and Reichsrat simultaneously by the German and Austrian Foreign Ministers, respectively, provides that the region is not to be ceded forthwith to the Ukraine, but that its future is to be determined later by a mixed commission of Poles and Ukrainians, empowered to draw the frontier to the east of the line named in the treaty. The passage in the supplementary treaty relating to this point reads:

For the purpose of avoiding all misunderstandings in the interpretation of Clause 2 of Article 2 of the peace treaty concluded at Brest-Litovsk on Feb. 9, 1918, between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one part and the Ukraine People's Republic on the other, it is hereby declared that the

mixed commission provided for in Paragraph 2 of this article of the treaty shall, in fixing the frontier, not be bound to draw the frontier line through the places of Biegoraj, Szczeczeszyn, Krasnostaw, Puchaczow, Radzyn, Mezyrecze, and Sarnaki, but shall have the right on the ground of Article 2, Clause 2, of this peace treaty to draw the frontier which may result from ethnographical conditions and from the desires of the local population east of the line named.

The supplementary treaty thus altering the destiny of the Polish region of Kholm was signed on Feb. 18 by representatives of the Ukrainian Rada and the Austro-Hungarian Government. The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seydler, in announcing the fact the next day before the Austrian Reichsrat, stated that the mixed commission to determine the new boundary would be "composed of representatives of the contracting parties and representatives of Poland," each sending an equal number of delegates to the commission. He added: "No other solution of the Kholm question—the subject of national dispute—was possible without upsetting the prospects of peace."

The compromise saved the Austrian Government from defeat of the budget, but the excitement which swept over Poland did not subside. The act of the Austrian Government in permitting the protest of the Polish Club and the Polish Regency Council to be published and circulated was bitterly criticised and hotly condemned by influential German newspapers and prominent members of the German Junker party.

These two manifestoes are of historic interest, making a new phase of Poland's progress toward real independence.

The manifesto of the Regency was signed by the three members of the council, Prince Lubomirski, Archbishop Kakowski, and Count Ostrowski. Prince Lubomirski is a Conservative, hitherto

opposed to all revolutionary movements. When the Russians withdrew from Warsaw in 1915 he remained as President of the city. The Archbishop, who is the head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Poland, was regarded heretofore as being entirely under German and Austrian influence. Count Ostrowski was a prominent Conservative Polish statesman before the war, and in 1907 was Chairman of the Polish Club in the Russian Council of the Empire.

The text of the manifesto follows:

When the armies of the Central Powers entered the Polish Kingdom we heard from under their victorious flags the solemn assurances that they brought Poland liberation from a long and heavy yoke. Later came the patents that guaranteed to our country her independence. Lastly, a few months ago, the existence of a sovereign authority of the Polish State was recognized and it was promised help, friendship, and collaboration.

But when the Czar's reign in Russia came to an end and Russia's new rulers began peace negotiations with the Central Powers Poland was not admitted to these negotiations. We demanded our participation in these negotiations earnestly and incessantly. We were promised this participation. Then the answer was delayed, and we were deluded until the plenipotentiaries of Germany and Austria-Hungary decided alone about our frontiers contrary to our rights. We were not admitted, in order that peace might be made at our cost, and in order that the desired safety in the East might be obtained at the price of our nation's living body a piece of Polish land was carved out and given to the Ukrainians.

The wrong of the Czar's Government has been repeated. The nonexistent Government of Kholm has been re-established and enlarged, aggravating the wrong that was done at that time to the Polish Nation. This land transferred to the Ukraine is for the most part Polish and Roman Catholic. Its population proved with its own blood during the infamous religious persecution of 1884 its right to belong to Poland. The population has not been asked to which State it wants to belong. With one stroke of the pen its lot has been decided, and so the self-determination of the nations so often and so solemnly proclaimed by the German and Austrian diplomatists has been in Poland's case violated.

Thereby the real significance has been taken from the independence patents, and from the promises of friendship. Poland's independence, her political and economic existence as a State, has become an empty

word, for not only are the interests and rights of Poland overlooked, but her national territory is not respected.

We have taken the oath before God to guard Poland's happiness, liberty, and strength, and today, remembering our oath, we raise our voices before God and the world, before the face of men and the judgment of history, before the German Nation and the nations of Austria-Hungary, in protest against this partition, refusing it our acknowledgment, branding it as an act of brute force.

Declaring once more the violation of the spirit and the real meaning of the independence patent, we will crave the right of exercising the highest authority from the will of the nation, believing that the nation desires to own a symbol of its independence and wants to stand by this symbol.

On this will of the nation we wish to base our mission and our efforts. We will preserve what has been obtained. We will guard our courts of justice, that render their sentence in the name of the Polish Crown; our schools, that are beginning a new life in a Polish spirit. And if we do not obtain the whole of the nation's aspirations we will hand down to our descendants what we have taken from the blood of our forefathers and we will not acknowledge the diminution of our own country.

KAKOWSKI,
OSTROWSKI,
LUBOMIRSKI.

Warsaw, Feb. 14.

POLISH CLUB'S PROTEST

The German newspapers took especial offense at the act of Austria in permitting the following protest of the Polish Club to be published:

The reports of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk published in the press show that the German delegates have formed ideas in regard to the territories occupied by them, that is to say, in regard to the Kingdom of Poland, which Polish public opinion cannot accept. The German delegates hold, among other things, the theory that "the political bodies authorized to represent the various nationalities in the occupied territories can express the will of the nation," and that, for this reason, they are "from henceforth competent to conclude conventions."

This theory proceeds evidently from a serious and dangerous misunderstanding, which, as regards the parts of Poland in military occupation, ought to be definitely and at once cleared up.

The "temporary and occasional character," to use the expression of the German delegates, of these bodies authorized to represent the population of the Kingdom of Poland has never been doubted by Polish

public opinion. The manner itself in which they were created shows clearly that they cannot pretend to represent the real will of the nation. This fact has not been modified either by the bestowal upon them of pompous titles, which do not, moreover, correspond in any way to the powers actually granted, or by the social position or individual value of the persons intrusted with this provisional mandate.

The assertion of the German delegates that the Polish Nation, in its aspiration to form an independent Polish State, has already declared categorically and as a whole for the separation of the Kingdom of Poland from Russia is perfectly correct. Upon this point there is no dispute. Moreover, Polish public opinion, basing itself upon the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination, a principle now generally admitted by the whole world, is convinced that only the unification of Polish territories will satisfy the nation and enable it to develop in every sense.

These principles are so clearly universal

that they can be represented by any political body, even if only provisional and temporary. But, on the other hand, the legal and political consequences of this national program must of necessity be subject to the consent of a proper national representation, elected on a democratic basis, such as would insure the expression of the national will.

Any exclusion of this condition, any engagement made in the name of the nation, any conclusion of facts of any kind by provisional bodies, would certainly call forth throughout Poland a unanimous protest, a protest against a violation of national rights and interests, which would prove to the world the flagrant contradiction between the principles solemnly proclaimed and the acts wrung from the nation by mere force.

REALIST PARTY.	NATIONAL UNION.
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY.	DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
PROGRESSIST PARTY.	PARTY FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.
Warsaw.	

Gorky's View of the Lenine Group

Maxim Gorky, though a Russian Socialist, has shown increasing opposition to the radicalism of the Bolsheviki. The following extract is from an article entitled "I Love Russia," which he published in his magazine, the *New Life*, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations:

We Russians make up a people that has never yet worked in freedom, that has never yet had a chance to develop all its powers and its talents. And when I think that the revolution gives us the possibility of free work, of a many-sided joy in creating, my heart is filled with great hope and joy, even in these cursed days that are besmirched with blood and alcohol.

There is where begins the line of my decided and irreconcilable separation from the insane actions of the People's Commissaries. I consider Maximalism in ideas very useful for the boundless Russian soul; its task is to develop in this soul great and bold needs, to call forth the so necessary fighting spirit and activity, to promote initiative in this indolent soul and to give it shape and life in general.

But the practical Maximalism of the Anarcho-Communists and visionaries from the

Smolny is ruinous for Russia and, above all, for the Russian working class.

The People's Commissaries handle Russia like material for an experiment. The Russian people is for them what the horse is for learned bacteriologists who inoculate the horse with typhus so that the anti-typhus lymph may develop in its blood. Now the Commissaries are trying such a predestined-to-failure experiment upon the Russian people without thinking that the tormented, half-starved horse may die.

The reformers from the Smolny do not worry about Russia. They are cold-bloodedly sacrificing Russia in the name of their dream of the worldwide and European revolution. And just as long as I can, I shall impress this upon the Russian proletariat: "Thou art being led to destruction! Thou art being used as material for an inhuman experiment!"



The Causes of Russia's Downfall

Address by Joseph Reinach

French Historian and Publicist

[Delivered in the Sorbonne, Paris, Dec. 13, 1917, at a meeting for the benefit of the wounded.
Translated from the *Revue Bleue* for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

After discussing the psychological causes of the error made by France and the Allies in believing to the last that Russia would not desert them, M. Reinach undertook to assess dispassionately the good and the evil in Russia's case:

LET us look squarely at Russia's part in events during the four years that we have been at war. I am one of those who have given special study to the long and laborious campaigns of the Russian Army. Let us speak of that army today with the same sincerity, the same frankness, the same regard for truth as in the past; for there was such an army in 1914, and in 1915, and in 1916!

In 1914 France was attacked by Germany simultaneously in Lorraine and in Belgium. Recall the battle of the Marne and ask yourself what would have happened in that battle if the divisions which Hindenburg and Ludendorff called to aid them against the Russians in East Prussia—if those divisions, in place of being on the Vistula, had been on the Ourcq and the Marne.

Unity of action on a united front! We are talking of it today, and may well talk of it, for it cannot be realized too soon. But it was realized that day when we were attacked on the Marne and Ourcq, from Paris to Verdun, and when we won the most brilliant of our victories over the enemy, who, on the eve of that battle, anxious for his dear East Prussia, had sent thither twenty of his best divisions. Did not Russia that day give us the help she owed to us, help which she did not haggle over for an hour, and which was perhaps one of the determining causes of our victory, a victory that is one of the landmarks of history and of civilization? So much for 1914. I pass on to 1915 and 1916. Those armies of the Grand Duke Nicholas,

which in Poland fought that immense battle of the four rivers, whose magnificent history has not yet been written—did not those armies fight nobly and bravely for the common cause? Recall the invasion of Galicia, the fall of Lemberg, the fall of Przemyśl, the menace to Warsaw, the armies that fought their way through the snow of the Carpathians in dead of Winter and began to descend into the plains of Hungary!

THE FIRST FATAL TREASON

Ah! yes, it is true that at that very moment the woes of Russia and the worries of the Entente began. Those admirable soldiers were suddenly left without arms and munitions. We know now, through the Soukhomlinoff trial, why that brave army, in an hour that would perhaps have been decisive, lacked the arms and munitions which it needed; why only one out of every three soldiers had a rifle, the other two being armed with sticks, waiting until a comrade fell to pick up his weapon, and meanwhile offering their bare breasts to the German bullets and shells!

Ah! we historians have no right to forget that martyr army in Galicia and Poland. We cannot forget the millions of the dead and wounded. Do you know the total of Russian losses at the end of 1916? Two million dead, five million wounded, permanently crippled. Yes, I am recalling the memory of those millions of dead today, because in their graves they would have a right to say, if they could know what is going on in Russia now—fraternization in the trenches, voluntary defeats, widespread robbery—they would say that they had died in vain. But they did not die in vain, because we have only to remember those two million graves in order to keep ourselves from being unjust in our re-

proaches today, and to keep alive our own hope for the future.

Now sombre tragedy reigns—anarchy, disorder everywhere, revolt in the trenches. Discipline, the strength of armies, has been abolished. What remains of the Russian armies? You know the long series of defections, treasons, hideous desertions. The narratives told by Russians, the articles in Russian papers, are more tragic, more cruel than any we could invent here.

But I have brought you a document, hitherto unpublished—the appeal of General Korniloff, in the text of which, as well as between the lines, you may read what a Russian soldier can suffer in the presence of such catastrophes. Korniloff is a simple soldier, a self-made man who came up from the ranks, and who, in that land of favoritism, mounted from grade to grade until he reached that of General; who, in the retreat from Galicia, surrounded by enemies, fought to his last cartridge, and who, when captured by the Austrians and carried off to a distant prison, escaped and returned, with the aid of the Rumanians in Transylvania, in order to resume his service immediately and cover himself with new glory in Brusiloff's magnificent offensive of 1916.

KORNILOFF'S APPEAL

When revolution broke out and degenerated into anarchy—we shall see why in due time—Korniloff made the attempt of which you have heard, an attempt that failed for causes, some of which are still shrouded in mystery. And here is the eloquent appeal he addressed to his troops, an utterance that deserves to be known to the western world; it is little known even in Russia, for the successive Governments have not permitted its publication:

Cossacks, brothers, beloved companions, was it not over the graves of your forefathers that the Russian Empire expanded and enlarged its boundaries? Was it not through your strong courage, your high deeds, your sacrifices and heroism, that Great Russia was strong?

You, free and independent sons of the quiet River Don, of the beautiful Kuban, of the impetuous Terek, puissant eagles migrating from the plains and mountains of the Ural, of Orenburg, of Astrakhan,

of Semiretchensk, and from Siberia and the far Transbaikai, from the Amur and the Ussur—to you belongs the glory of having always guarded the honor of your flag, filling the Russian land with the fame of your own and your fathers' deeds.

Today the hour has struck when you must come to the aid of your native land!

I accuse the Provisional Government of indecision in action, of ignorance and incapacity, and of admitting the Germans into the administration, into the interior of our country, in proof of which I cite the explosion at Kasan, where nearly 1,000,000 shells and 12,000 howitzers were destroyed. Moreover, I accuse certain members of the Government of actual treason, and I bring the proofs. When I attended a session of the Provisional Government in the Winter Palace on Aug. 3 Ministers Kerensky and Savinkoff told me that "one could not talk about everything, because there were among the Ministers men of whom one could not be sure." It is clear that such a Government is leading our country to destruction, that under it there can be no safety for unhappy Russia.

Therefore, when the Provisional Government, to please our enemies, yesterday [Sept. 9, 1917] demanded my resignation as Commander in Chief, I, as a Cossack, through duty of conscience and honor, was obliged to refuse the demand, preferring death on the battlefield to opprobrium and treason against my country.

Cossacks! Knights of the Russian land, you promised to rise with me for the safety of the Fatherland when I should judge it necessary. The hour has struck, the Fatherland is on the eve of death! I will not submit to the orders of the Provisional Government, and for the safety of free Russia I will march against it and against those of its counselors who are selling our native land.

Ah, gentlemen, before such a man as Korniloff, in an appeal to his soldiers, could speak such words of his fellow-citizens and rulers—"They are selling our native land"—how he must have suffered! What cruel truths must have forced themselves upon him before he could utter so terrible an accusation in the presence of the world and of history!

THE POISON AT WORK

I have shown you what the Russian Army of 1914 was, and that of 1915 and 1916. What it had become in 1917 you will see from this appeal of Korniloff. How was the gold changed into base lead? I am going to try to tell you, or at least to sketch the history of that metamorphosis. There were two prin-

cipal causes of that sad phenomenon. Germany is not very expert in the psychology of nations. She deceived herself regarding Belgium, regarding France, regarding Great Britain and America; but she knew Russia. Or, rather, she did not know all the grandeur and beauty of the Slavic soul; but what she had studied and was resolved to exploit were the two great weaknesses of Russia, the two great causes of its ruin—the long habit of corruption and the ingrained spirit of anarchy.

Corruption in Russia dates from far back. It is not a new phase of Russian history. At the furthest point that we can go back in Russia's historical literature—perhaps it is the earliest Russian document that has been preserved—we find the exhortation of a Bishop, the famous "Instruction" of Bishop Laka Fidiata, who, addressing his flock in 1036, said: "Do not take bribes." In order that a Bishop in 1036 should say publicly in a manuscript that was preserved until the day when print could make it imperishable, "Do not take bribes," the practice must have been already an ancient usage all over that vast Russian land. Perhaps Herodotus, if he had known more about the ancestors of the Russians, could have shown us among the Scythians the origins of the corruptibility of the Russian Governments.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORMATION

In truth, the Russians themselves have often tried hard to combat this official corruption. There is a Russian literary masterpiece that recalls our immortal Figaro (of the eve of 1789): it is "The Inspector General" of Gogol. In the course of four acts of pitiless public denunciation of corruption "The Inspector General" contains a famous scene in which an Inspector, in auditing the accounts of an employe, finds evident traces of bribery; the petty officer admits that he shaved the merchant rather close; the Inspector then says to him: "Look out for yourself, you are not taking according to your rank."

It is this corruption which, little by little, has destroyed the local and national

administrations of Russia, and, still more serious, the morals of the people. Germany has been well aware of the fact, learning of it the more easily because the greater part of the Russian bureaucracy has long been half German. Under the empire, therefore, and then under the new régime, German corruption has never ceased to "work" Russia for Germany's profit.

We who for nearly four years have been fighting the German armies cannot without belittling our own achievements deny their military ability, their discipline, the intelligence of their commanders; but I believe—and history will support me—that German intrigue, German gold, the ancient Rheingold, is what has given Germany her decisive victories in Russia. It was with her gold, her bribery, that she also tried to corrupt other nations—nations which, fortunately, woke up in time.

TREASON RAMPANT

There was corruption under the empire, and there was treason: the treason of Massoïedoff, who, when discovered and denounced by Grand Duke Nicholas, was hanged high and swiftly with some of his accomplices; the treason of the Minister of War. One fine day there were no more guns in the arsenals. And why were there none? Rifles had been offered from all sides—London had offered five million of them. The emissaries of the War Department had not found a large enough bribe in sight, so they had refused the five million rifles. There was political corruption: Protopopoff, the goat from Siberia, Rasputin, Stürmer. One day in the Duma a Deputy, Puriskievich, mounted the tribune and said: "It is forbidden, I know, to speak German in Russia; I will speak only three German words from this tribune: Herr von Stürmer."

And what had gone on under the Czar began again under the Provisional Government. German gold was again at work. The empire had been secretly strangling the war; it inclined toward the grand treason of a separate peace. The empire fell. It was a serious defeat for Germany. Immediately Germany be-

gan pouring fresh funds into her campaign of corruption and infamous propaganda. She carried on this campaign among petty officials and in the Government itself. You have just heard the terrible charge made by Korniloff, based on information from Kerensky. The gangrene spread to the army. Soldiers and civilians, all patriots, fought against the loathsome taint, spending themselves in desperate efforts to check it. But there were more speeches, alas! than acts, and the German propaganda won the day. It was even more successful under the new régime than under the old. Why?

THE BANE OF ANARCHISM

Here we come upon the second cause which I indicated a moment ago: The anarchical spirit of Russia. I do not say that Russia is an artificial structure, but it is without foundations, and terribly fragile. It required all the brutality and all the genius of Peter the Great, with fire and sword, to amalgamate that Russia which we knew yesterday and which is being dismembered today. A country, half European, half Asiatic, on the borders of Western civilization; a country in which the Middle Ages, with their obscure traditions and their dense and sordid ignorance, are mingled with the limitless dreams of our new time, with its mad graspings at the future, its obstinate and morbid taste for illusion, for chimeras, for the most impossible Utopias. It is also the world's most extraordinary conglomeration of nationalities and religions: Old Russians and Little Russians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Turcomans, Finns, Siberians, Caucasians, Georgians, Jews, Letts, Tartars. Was there, even in the past, one Russia—in the sense that there is one France—a Russia that was "one and inseparable"? The French language of the eighteenth century was more correct and exact: We said then "the Germans" and "the Russians."

There was a Russia, but it existed only through the Czar, the Emperor of all the Russias. The moment the Czar fell the empire crumbled, disappearing in a few hours, by means of a riot that was perhaps instigated, and by means of a bar-

rack revolution without one arm being raised in defense—the swiftest and most extraordinary collapse probably in all history. The next day what was there in Russia?

LIBERTY WITHOUT LAW

True, there arose a great cry of liberty, a violent desire for reforms. The French Revolution was to be only child's play in comparison with what the Russian revolution was to be. The most advanced legislation of France, England, and America was mere reaction when compared with the Russian Constitution that was to be created. Yes; but the backbone was lacking; that vast body had no skeleton; because that weak Emperor, who desired the good and allowed the evil to be done—because he had disappeared there was no longer a skeleton, a backbone.

The empire crumbled, and on its ruins anarchy arose spontaneously, a week or ten days after the revolution that had brought liberty. And this anarchy contained nothing repugnant to the Russian spirit, because that spirit itself is anarchistic. It is a spirit that is simple with an infantile and touching simplicity, and that is at the same time unbridled. Order is equilibrium, but the very idea of equilibrium is foreign to the Russian mind. It adores softness, humility, kindness; it is full of human pity. But it has respect only for the most brutal force, for "Nagaika." The Latin spirit is constructive, the Russian spirit is destructive. It lives on dreams, whether these be beautiful, mad, or atrocious; reality leaves it indifferent or arouses its scorn. If you cite realities in an argument against their wildest Utopias, they cling to their day-dreams, saying: "So much the worse for reality!"

GERMANY'S EASY PREY

In consequence, Germany's game was only too simple and easy; she fed, fostered, fomented anarchy. From fall to fall, from revolution to revolution, from shame to shame, Russia has thus reached the sinister hour which we now witness, with its traitorous fraternization in the trenches, the cowardly flight of regiments when victory is in their grasp, the

destruction of all authority, the abolition of work, the reign of the mob, the enthronement of a band of theorists and traitors. Between one day and the next the whole face of the earth is to be changed by official order; no more property, no more courts, no more laws. This gang of Calibans caught the peasants with the bait of free land, the working-men with the bait of pay without work, the soldiers with the bait of security far from bullets and shells. No more treaties! The most sacred were torn up here, too, as scraps of paper. Treason to the revolution! Treason to the Fatherland! The most abominable crime in history is called "peace." There you have the spectacle of the present hour. Yes, it is the dark side.

But perhaps there are still a few rays of light. In the midst of all this frightful anarchy * * * I see Korniloff escaping from his prison, rejoining Kale-dine and Alexeieff. I see the Cossacks

resolved to live free and pure. I see the Ukraine separating itself from Muscovy gone insane. Under the Bolshevik terror, suddenly the Cadet Party begins to bring together its millions. * * *

If today there should escape from our lips irrevocable words against unhappy Russia—the guilty are unhappy—do you know whose game we should be playing? Germany's! Germany sees in Russia a vast land for colonization at her very doors, a land with inexhaustible granaries; Russia, with its mines on the Donetz, its great rivers, its nations, still young, which may some day be great. All these riches Germany is watching. Therefore, let us not, here or elsewhere, speak words that can open a gulf between us and Russia, or that might turn Russia toward Germany.

There is something still more detestable than Russian anarchy, and that is the prospect of order re-established in Russia by Germany.

The Menace of the Modern Thug

Address by Rudyard Kipling

[Delivered at Folkestone, England, Feb. 15, 1918]

ONCE upon a time, a hundred years ago, there was a large and highly organized community in India who lived by assassination and robbery. They were educated to it from their infancy; they followed it as a profession, and it was also their religion. They were called Thugs. Their method was to disguise themselves as pilgrims, or travelers, or merchants, and to join with parties of pilgrims, travelers, and merchants moving about India. They got into the confidence of their victims, found out what they had on them, and in due time—after weeks or months of acquaintance—they killed them by giving them poisoned foods—sweetmeats for choice—or by strangling them from behind, as they sat over the fire of an evening, with a knotted towel or a specially prepared piece of rope. They then stripped the corpse of all valuables, threw it down a well or buried it, and went on to the next job.

At last things got so bad that the Government of India had to interfere. Like all Governments, it created a department—the Department of Thuggee—to deal with the situation. Unlike most departments, this department worked well, and after many years of tracking down and hanging up the actual murderers, and imprisoning their spies and confederates, who included all ranks of society, it put an end to the whole business of Thuggee.

The world has progressed since that day. By present standards of crime those Thugs were ineffective amateurs. They did not mutilate or defile the bodies of the dead; they did not torture, or rape, or enslave people; they did not kill children for fun, and they did not burn villages. They merely killed and robbed in an unobtrusive way as a matter of education, duty, and religion, under the patronage of their goddess, Kali the Destroyer. Very good. At the present moment all

the powers of the world that have not been bullied or bribed to keep out of it have been forced to join in one international department to make an end of German international Thuggee—for the reason that, if it is not ended, life on this planet becomes insupportable for human beings. Even now there are people in England who find it hard to realize that the Hun has been educated by the State from his birth to look upon assassination and robbery, embellished with every treachery and abomination that the mind of man can laboriously think out, as a perfectly legitimate means to the national ends of his country. He is not shocked by these things. He has been taught that it is his business to perform them, his duty to support them, and his religion to justify them. They are, and for a long time past they have been, as legitimate in his eyes as the ballot in ours. This, remember, was as true of the Germans in 1914 as it is now.

People who have been brought up to make organized evil in every form their supreme good because they believe that evil will pay them are not going to change their belief till it is proved that evil does not pay. So far, the Hun believes that evil has paid him in the past and will pay him better in the future. He has had a good start. Like the Thug, the Hun knew exactly what he meant to do before he opened his campaign against mankind. As we have proof now, his poisoned sweetmeats and knotted towels were prepared years beforehand, and his spies had given him the fullest information about all the people he intended to attack. So he is doing what is right in his own eyes. He thought out the hell he wished to create; he built it up seriously and scientifically with his best hands and brains; he breathed into it his own spirit, that it might grow with his needs; and at the hour that he judged best he let it loose on a world that till then had believed there were limits beyond which men born of women dared not sin.

Nine-tenths of the atrocities Germany has committed have not been made public. I think this a mistake. But one gets hint of them here and there—Folkestone

has had more than a hint. For instance, we were told the other day that more than 14,000 English noncombatants, men, women, and children, had been drowned, burned, or blown to pieces since the war began. But we have no conception—and till the veil is lifted after the war we shall have no conception—of the range and system of these atrocities. Least of all shall we realize, as they realize in Belgium and occupied France just across the water, the cold organized miseries which Germany has laid upon the populations that have fallen into her hands, that she might break their bodies and defile their souls. That is part of the German creed. What understanding is possible with a breed that have worked for and brought about these things? And so long as the Germans are left with any excuse for thinking that such things pay, can any peace be made with them in which men can trust? None. For it is the peculiar essence of German Kultur, which is the German religion, that it is Germany's moral duty to break every tie, every restriction, that binds man to fellow-man if she thinks it will pay. Therefore, all mankind are against her. Therefore, all mankind must be against her till she learns that no race can make its way or break its way outside the borders of humanity.

The more we have suffered in this war the more clearly do we see this necessity. Our hearts, our reason, every instinct in us that lifts us above the mere brute shows us that the war must go on. Otherwise, earth becomes a hell without hope. The men, the ships, the munitions must go forward to the war, and behind them must come the money, without which nothing can move. Where our hearts are there must our treasure be also. There has been a great deal of money spent in England lately, several millions a day for the last twelve hundred days. That means that many people have had the chance of earning more money—in some cases very much more money—than they could have earned in peace time. But all the money in the world is no use to a man or his country if he spends it as fast as he gets it. All he has left is his bills and the reputation of

being a fool, which he can get much more cheaply in other ways. There's nothing fine or funny in throwing away cash on things you don't want merely because the cash is there. We've all done it in our time, and we've all had to pay for it. The man who says he never worries about money is the man who has to worry about it most in the long run, and goodness knows there's enough worry in the world already without our going out of our way to add to it. Just now we all have the opportunity of protecting ourselves against private and public anxieties by investing as much as ever we can in war loans.

Money is a curious article. Have you ever thought that invested money is the only thing in the world, outside the army, the navy, and the mercantile marine, that will work for you while you sleep? Everything else knocks off, or goes to bed, or takes a holiday at intervals, but our money sits up all through the year, working to fetch in the 5 per cent. interest that the Government gives on every pound it borrows from us. I am not a financier. But I do know that much, and I do know that a man who has an income, however small, from money he has saved is free of worry and anxiety for himself, his wife, and his children, up to the extent of that income.

It gives him self-respect, a more even temper, a reason for looking at the future with calm and confidence. A man who has wasted or muddled all his pay at the end of the week is the servant of the whole world for his next week's pay. The man who has his bit in hand is independent of the world as far as that bit goes, and that knowledge at the back of one's head must make life a different affair to every thinking man or woman. Savings represent much more than their mere money value. They are proof that the saver is worth something in himself. Any fool can waste. Any fool can muddle, but it takes something of a man to save, and the more he saves the more of a man does it make him. Waste and extravagance unsettle a man's mind for every crisis; thrift, which means some form of self-restraint and continence,

steadies it. And we need steady minds just now.

Remember, too, that everything we waste in the way of manufactured goods, from a match upward, as well as everything we buy that isn't absolutely necessary to get on with, means diverting some man's or woman's time and energy from doing work connected with the war. And war work, which means supplies, food, munitions, ships, is the only thing that is of the least importance now. Everything outside that necessity is danger and waste. So you see we are all in a splendid position to invest. Not only is there more money going about and fewer things to buy with it, but it is also wrong to spend money on what there is available. The road has been cleared of all obstacles to saving. The interest on what we save helps to make us personally independent; the money we lend to the Government helps to set our land and our world free. Our security for our loan is not only the whole of the British Empire, but also the whole of civilization, which has pooled its resources in men, money, and material to carry on this war to victory. Nothing else under heaven matters today except that the war shall go on to that end.

From time to time the representatives of the Allies meet together and lay down what the war aims of the Allies are. From time to time our statesmen repeat them. They all agree we are fighting for freedom and liberty, for the right of small States to exist, and for nations to decide for themselves how they are to be governed. All this we understand and perfectly believe. That is the large view of the situation. What is the personal aspect of the case for you and me? We are fighting for our lives, the lives of every man, woman, and child here and everywhere else. We are fighting that we may not be herded into actual slavery such as the Germans have established by force of their arms in large parts of Europe. We are fighting against eighteen hours a day forced labor under the lash or at the point of the bayonet, with a dog's death and a dog's burial at the end of it. We are fighting that men, women, and children may not be tortured,

burned, and mutilated in the public streets, as has happened in this town and in hundreds of others. And we will go on fighting till the race who have done these things are in no position to continue or repeat their offense.

If for any reason whatever we fall short of victory—and there is no halfway house between victory and defeat—what happens to us? This. Every relation, every understanding, every decency upon which civilization has been so anxiously built up will go—will be washed out, because it will have been proved unable to endure. The whole idea of democracy—which at bottom is what the Hun fights against—will be dismissed from men's minds, because it will have been shown incapable of maintaining itself against the Hun. It will die; and it will die discredited, together with every belief and practice that is based on it. The Hun ideal, the Hun's root notions of life, will take its place throughout the world. Under that dispensation man will become once more the natural prey, body and goods, of his better-

armed neighbor. Women will be the mere instrument for continuing the breed; the vessel of man's lust and man's cruelty; and labor will become a thing to be knocked on the head if it dares to give trouble and worked to death if it does not. And from this order of life there will be no appeal, no possibility of any escape. This is what the Hun means when he says he intends to impose German Kultur—which is the German religion—upon the world. This is precisely what the world has banded itself together to resist. It will take every ounce in us; it will try us out to the naked soul. Our trial will not be made less by the earnest advice and suggestions that we should accept some sort of compromise, which means defeat, put forward by Hun agents and confederates among us. They are busy in that direction already.

But be sure of this: Nothing—nothing we may have to endure now will weigh one featherweight compared with what we shall most certainly have to suffer if for any cause we fail of victory.

Germany's Plan to Divide Belgium

Organization of a So-Called "Council of Flanders" to Separate the Flemings From the Walloons

THE measures recently completed by the German Government for splitting Belgium into two distinct States, dividing the French-speaking Walloons from the Dutch-speaking Flemings, have aroused protests as vigorous as those provoked by the forcible deportations of workmen. About the beginning of 1917 the world began to learn of a carefully managed propaganda which the German conquerors were using to create a schism between the Walloons and Flemings. A few years before the war there had been some agitation to have the Flemish language used along with French in public notices, but both languages already had full legal rights under the Belgian Government, and there was no support for a separatist move-

ment by any faction, however inconsiderable. The movement for separation is wholly a German product.

The late Baron von Bissing, while Governor General of Belgium in 1915-16, sent to the Berlin Government a secret memorandum, the text of which was printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for February, 1918. In it appeared the following significant passage:

It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism.

The German authorities proceeded cautiously but persistently in the direction thus indicated. Early in 1917 they

organized what they called the Council of Flanders. They got together some 250 so-called "trustworthy delegates" (Vertrauensleute) for a meeting at Brussels, which, on Feb. 4, 1917, constituted the council. The council seems to have consisted, in the first place, of seven persons, and the number was gradually increased to "about seventy." The original council was promptly received by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, then Imperial Chancellor, at Berlin, and he promised to promote the Flemish movement in every way possible "at the moment of negotiations for peace and afterward." In March, 1917, the German Government split the administration of Belgium in two, making Brussels the headquarters of a "Flanders" which includes the provinces of Antwerp, Limburg, East Flanders, and West Flanders, and the districts of Brussels and Louvain, and making Namur the headquarters of the provinces of Hainaut, Liège, Luxemburg, and Namur, and the district of Nivelles.

The names of the members of the council have never been published by the Germans, and it is understood that they are persons of no representative standing, being obscure lawyers, teachers, and clerks who have surrendered to German influence.

In the Autumn of 1917 the Germans circulated an official review of the so-called Flemish movement, placing at the top these words:

He who without necessity speaks French in Flanders is guilty of the gravest dereliction of his duty as a German and as a soldier.

The circular went on to give the German Army suitable information concerning Flanders and the Flemings, the history of Flanders since the death of Charlemagne, the Flemish movement before the war, and the measures now taken by the Germans to exploit the movement. The document added: "The German accord with the Flemish movement is approved and ordered by H. M. the German Emperor, so that it is a duty for every German to support it with all his strength."

On Jan. 20, 1918, it was suddenly announced that the Council of Flanders

had, on Dec. 22, "solemnly and unanimously resolved upon the complete independence of Flanders." Moreover, the council has decided "to lay down its mandate," and to present itself for "a new election, which is to give the Flemish people the opportunity to proclaim its will concerning the declaration of independence."

The proclamation of "the complete independence of Flanders" was preceded by the reception at Brussels, on Jan. 15, by a "delegation" of the Council of Flanders, of the German Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, Herr Wallraf, who said:

In expressing my thanks for your trusting words, I am not addressing strangers, but the representatives of a race which is closely related to us Germans. The people that has seen a Memling and a Rubens, and whose thirst for freedom and heroic courage have been described to us by Conscience, is very close to our minds and our hearts. Therefore we are filled with exalted joy at the fact that it is the victory of German arms that is opening the road to freedom for the Flemish people. You, gentlemen, have been the first among your people to release the lion of Flanders from his chains. From the mouth of the German Chancellor you have learned of our sympathy with your self-elected autonomy. You are about to build up this independence, and to bring further sections of Flanders flocking to your banner of freedom. The work which was begun, at the will of our Imperial master, by the unforgotten Baron von Bissing, is being carried on, with clearness of aim and vigor of execution, by the new Governor General, Baron von Falkenhausen.

Sham elections were conducted during February. The facts of this and subsequent events are difficult to obtain, as the German authorities have adopted the policy of multiplying the figures and magnifying a small gathering of 200 or 300 activists, as the separatists are called, into an assemblage of 2,000 to 3,000.

The movement was at first regarded by the Belgians as merely a stupid effort that would soon be abandoned, but the purpose to drive a wedge between the two elements of the people had received the indorsement of the highest German authorities, and the oppressed Belgian patriots found themselves facing a new and serious peril for the future of

their country. They were compelled, therefore, to take such countermeasures as were within their power.

THE PLOT EXPOSED

Eugene Standaert, Deputy for Bruges in the Belgian Parliament, who is in exile in London, exposed the plot in the following address:

The German press announces that on Jan. 15 the members of the so-called Council of Flanders held a meeting in Brussels, where a resolution was passed in favor of "Flemish independence."

Will you allow me, as a Deputy of Flanders who has held his mandate for twenty years without interruption, to give my opinion on this incident? It is of very little importance to us, who know the people thoroughly, but it might cause some harm abroad if it creates the wrong impression that even a certain number of these wish for a settlement which should break up Belgian unity.

What happens at the present moment in Flanders is merely the development of the policy pursued by the German Government on the eastern front. The idea is to create a small body of men, without any following, and induce them, through the distribution of honors and remunerative positions, to adopt and propagate doctrines dictated from Berlin. Such declarations will afterward be represented abroad and in Germany as expressing popular aspirations.

Concerning these recent incidents there are two points which I should like to make plain: First, that this so-called "Landdag van Vlanderen" is really the "Rat von Flanderen," that is to say, an obedient tool made in Germany for German use, and, secondly, that these "representatives of Flemish opinion" do not represent anybody but themselves, and do not include any Fleming of standing or authority.

Any careful reader of the German press and of German official declarations must be convinced that, if the council has not been definitely originated by the German authorities, it has been so much favored and encouraged by them that it has lost every vestige of independence. On March 3, 1917, a delegation of seven members of the council were received by the Chancellor and presented an humble petition asking for a separate administration for Flanders. On March 21 this separation was granted by von Bissing. On Jan. 15, 1918, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Secretary of State Wallraf came to Brussels and received a delegation of the activists, who begged him to declare them free from "the French yoke," and to "protect Flemish auton-

omy." The comedy will no doubt be repeated, and we may rest assured that the activists' request will be granted in due time.

A very interesting document has been published lately by the Belgian Government. It is a series of confidential instructions to the German soldiers billeted in Belgium in which the German authorities declare openly that the separatist movement is prompted and encouraged by the Kaiser, and that it is the duty of every German to support it. After these material and conclusive proofs, it seems evident that the Council of Flanders is just as anxious to put Flanders under effective German protectorate as to withdraw it from an imaginary French yoke.

But what exactly is this Council of Flanders? How is it that when every political liberty has been taken away from their compatriots these men are free to hold meetings, pass resolutions, and present petitions? Have they any following? Have they any right to speak for the Flemings?

Many members of the Belgian Parliament are pure Flemings. Not one of them has consented to join the Council of Flanders. If I consider the situation in my own constituency of Bruges, the Germans have been obliged to accept the help of a general practitioner without standing. While this man has been chosen to represent West Flanders, Count Visart, a venerable man of 80 years of age for fifty years a Deputy of Bruges, for thirty-five Burgomaster of the town, has been dismissed, expelled by the soldiery from his Town Hall, and remains practically a prisoner in his own house. This is how the 850,000 Flemings of West Flanders are represented in the Council of Flanders.

If I turn toward the neighboring province, East Flanders, which counts 1,050,000 inhabitants, the situation is exactly the same. Not one true and responsible representative of the Flemish people has joined the council.

STRIKE OF BELGIAN JUDGES

No patriotic Belgian would have anything to do with the sham elections and packed meetings arranged by the Germans and their agents in furtherance of this project. At one of the trumped-up "demonstrations" in Brussels the people broke through the cordon of troops and hissed a small band of the demonstrators. Arrests were made, and when the prisoners were brought before a Belgian court they were dismissed. Thereupon the German Governor General suspended the court, deported some of its

members, and inflicted fines of 10,000 francs on others.

Early in February, 1918, a gathering of Belgian Ministers of State, Senators, and Deputies resident in the country drew up a resolution requesting the Court of Appeal in Brussels to institute prosecutions against certain specified persons belonging to the Council of Flanders. The resolution recited the circumstances attending the council's proclamation of the complete autonomy of Flanders, and the sham elections held under its auspices, and asserted that these specified persons, by arrogating to themselves legislative and royal powers, constituted a revolutionary committee guilty of infringing certain articles of the Criminal Code.

As a result of this action the Chambers of the Court of Appeal met and unanimously decided upon the prosecution of the council members named. The arrest of two members, Borms and Tack, followed, but the former managed to notify one of the German sentries outside the Law Courts. Governor General von Falkenhausen ordered the immediate release of the arrested members and forbade all further criminal proceedings against them. At the same time three out of the four Presidents of the Court of Appeal were put under arrest and taken to Germany, charged with having received orders from the Belgian Government at Havre.

A strike of the Brussels courts was the reply to this action, and this was followed by strikes of the courts in other Belgian cities, until it was predicted by a Dutch newspaper correspondent that the country would be entirely without courts of justice. The Dutch Minister in Brussels protested to the German authorities against the situation that had arisen.

ACTION OF CITY COUNCILS

Protests against the proclamation of the "independence" of Flanders were drawn up by hundreds of City Councils throughout Belgium, and long lists of these were published in the Amsterdam newspapers. A Council of Belgian Ministers voted the following declaration,

reported by the Wireless Press under date of Feb. 16:

Taking cognizance of the touching protest of Flemish and Walloon Senators and Deputies who have remained in occupied Belgium, as well as of the communal administrators and the judicial body, against the usurpatory pretensions of the so-called Flanders Council, which is protected by the invader, the Government of the King congratulates the constitutionally elected representatives of the Belgian people on having proudly made a stand against foreign interference with the undeniable rights of the national sovereignty.

It applauds the courageous attitude of the Magistracy in not hesitating to demand the application of the laws against bad citizens who are guilty of collusion with the enemy with the criminal design of dismembering the country. It renders solemn homage to the civic heroism of the Belgian people, which is attested by three and a half years of terrible sufferings, during which they have been immutably faithful to King, Constitution, and fatherland. It affirms the unshakable will of the nation to maintain unity and to continue without faltering until the end of the struggle for the freeing of our territory and the integral restoration of independent Belgium.

OFFICIAL PROTEST

On March 4, 1918, the Belgian Legation at Washington made public the following protest, which had been cabled by the Belgian Government:

The German Governor General in Belgium, General von Falkenhausen, in a letter which has been made public, has replied to the order of the Court of Cassation of the 11th of February, by which the court suspended its sittings without abdicating its powers as a protest against the illegal action of the German authorities in arresting Judges of the Belgian court.

He shamelessly accuses the court of failure to do its duty and of lack of patriotism. He attempts to justify the arrest and deportation of the Judges of the Court of Appeal and the suspension of members of the court by saying that the court proceedings instituted against the activists (the German tools who are trying to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium) constitute an act of hostility against the occupying power. Falkenhausen thus admits naively and officially that the activists are simply the agents of German policy.

Much satisfaction has been shown in Belgium on account of the fact that the action of the Belgian Judges in performing their legal duty has forced the German authorities to unmask their designs.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S VISIT TO THE CAMBRAI BATTLEFIELD



Soon after the Germans regained the ground they lost at Cambria the Kaiser visited the battlefield to inspect the tangible results of the operations

(Photo International Film Service)

BOLO PACHA SENTENCED TO DEATH AS A TRAITOR



The scene when Paul Bolo, or Bolo Pacha, was sentenced to death by the court-martial in Paris as a traitor to France.
He is standing at the back with folded arms

(Photo Pays de France)

It is confirmed that the Germans have deported Judge Levy, the Presiding Judge, and Judges Ernest and Carez, Presidents of the Court of Appeal. They also arrested Judge Jamar in order to deport him, but he was released on account of illness.

The movement of protest by the Belgian people against the intrigues of the activists has taken on large proportions. The voluntary suspension of all judiciary activity, as a protest against the outrage committed against the Court of Appeal of Brussels, has caused a tremendous impression even upon the German authorities. New lists of Communal Councils and of important personalities who have made protests continue to reach Havre, being brought nightly by devoted patriots, who have passed through the electrified front wires in spite of redoubled vigilance on the part of the Germans.

The protest movement is especially active in Flanders. It has been learned that all the Belgian Bishops, being prevented from meeting, have protested separately. Cardinal Mercier has protested in a letter to be read at the beginning of his Lenten letter to his clergy. A collective letter to the German Chancellor has been signed by the principal representatives of commerce at Antwerp and a similar protest has been sent by the Provincial Council of Antwerp.

The Free University of Brussels has sent to the Communal Council of Brussels an energetic letter joining in the protest made by that body. The protest of the Free University is signed by every member of the Faculty.

The Deputies and Senators of East Flanders have sent a separate protest to Chancellor von Hertling.

All these documents are spontaneously copied in handwriting or printed by the clandestine press and circulated from hand to hand in thousands of copies, thereby exciting everywhere the greatest enthusiasm, which has for the moment caused the people to forget the miseries caused by the occupation.

The German authorities, overwhelmed by the patriotic outburst, have officially forbidden all deliberation or discussion in regard to questions of general politics, such as the autonomy of Flanders, and have also forbidden discussion in regard to petitions of protest to the German authorities. Every one who disregards this new German order is menaced with severe punishment in accordance with martial law. This action of the German authorities is a convincing admission that the German administration fears to let the voice of the country be heard in its unanimous protests against the Activists.

The Bishop of Ghent protested against

the intrigue to separate Flanders from the rest of Belgium, saying:

The clergy of our diocese, having been ever noted for their fidelity to the Belgian fatherland, and firmly believing that the love of our country is a duty and a Christian virtue, I deem it my duty to declare in my own name and in the name of the clergy of the Diocese of Ghent, that we are absolutely not in accord with the actions of the committee which calls itself the Council of Flanders, and that we consider it a duty to remain faithful to the ties which bind us to the Belgian fatherland, to its King, and to its Government.

MEASURES OF REPRESSION

The protests of Belgian City Councils against the activists multiplied to such an extent that early in February the German authorities issued orders forbidding Municipal Governments, under severe penalties, to deliberate upon any phase of the question of Belgian partition. Following are translations of two of these circulars. The first, addressed to the communal administrations of the Province of Limburg, is dated Hasselt, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

It has been brought to my knowledge that in certain communes it has been proposed to submit to deliberation by the communal administrations certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the petitions of the Burgomasters and Aldermen to the German authorities.

It is for this reason that I call the attention of the communal administrations, and especially of persons acting in the names of communes, that they should limit themselves to dealing with affairs regarding communal administration, and that it is forbidden for them to occupy themselves with affairs regarding the general administration of the country.

Infractions of these regulations will be punished in conformity with martial law. *The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Limburg.*

(Signed) BAZILLE.

The circular to the Communal Governments in Brabant is dated Brussels, Feb. 7, 1918, and reads as follows:

According to what I have learned it is the intention in certain communes to submit to deliberation by the Common Council certain questions of general politics; for example, the autonomy of Flanders or the requests of the Burgomasters and Aldermen, addressed to the German authorities.

I take this opportunity to call your attention to the fact that the communal

administrations and the representatives of the communes should limit their activity solely to the affairs of the communal administrations and that it is forbidden for them to mix themselves in affairs which interest the country in general.

Contraventions of the present regulation will be repressed with the greatest severity.

The President of the Civil Administration for the Province of Brabant.

(Signed) KRANSEBULER.

FINED 10,000 MARKS

Louis Franck, an Alderman of Antwerp—a Flemish Deputy and leader—at a meeting of the National Committee on Revictualment of Belgium, held early in February, paid a tribute to the patriotic firmness of the Belgians. He was arrested by the German authorities, threatened with deportation, and finally fined 10,000 marks.

A correspondent under date of Feb. 24 wrote to the Belgian Legation at Washington as follows:

The movement on the part of the Flemish population and the municipal authorities in the Flemish districts against the usurpation of power by the self-styled Council of Flanders is gaining ground in occupied Belgium. The Imperial Chancellor is overwhelmed with circular letters of protest and with petitions from Municipal Councils, not only of the cities, but even from the smallest villages of Flanders. For instance, word was received at Havre of new letters of this kind sent by Municipal Councils and notables of twenty-nine communes of the neighborhood of Antwerp, Turnhout, Herenthals, of the north of Brabant, and of the eastern part of Flanders. It is said that many more are on their way. All these protests ardently declare not only the traditional attachment of the signers to the language and the peculiar characteristics of the Flemish people, but likewise their indignation against the farcical movement—entirely unauthorized and unjustified—of the activists, and so give proof, by the moving force of their simplicity and straightforward expression, of their immutable patriotism and wholehearted love for their Belgian fatherland.

History of the Belgian People

How the Modern State Came Into Being

THE Southern Netherlands, populated by the Walloons and Flemings, (the Belgians of today,) were first severed from the Northern Netherlands, (now Holland,) on Jan. 5, 1579. The League of Arras was signed that day, whereby the Walloons, who occupied the southern districts of what were then the Dutch States, declared their adherence to Catholicism and their loyalty to the Spanish King. Brabant and Flanders remained loyal to the Prince of Orange, but in 1582 accepted the Duke of Anjou as the sovereign. This French Prince was inaugurated as Duke of Brabant at Antwerp in February, and as Count of Flanders at Bruges in July, 1582, but he soon withdrew from the country, and the authority of Spain was at once extended over these two provinces as well as the others. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was Governor General of the provinces until his death in 1592, when Archduke Ernest of Austria was appointed Governor

General; he died soon afterward and was succeeded by his brother, Cardinal Archduke Albert, who in 1598 married Isabel, eldest daughter of Philip II. of Spain.

Philip erected the entire Netherlands into a sovereign State under the joint rule of Albert and Isabel. The Dutch refused to surrender their independence, and after a struggle the King of Spain on April 9, 1609, agreed to a twelve-year truce with the United Provinces, at the same time acknowledging them as free States. The Archduke died without issue, and the provinces reverted to the Crown of Spain and were known as the Spanish Netherlands. In 1648 Spain renounced its claims to the United Provinces and made concessions to the Dutch which provided for the closing of the River Scheldt to all ships, thus practically destroying the commerce of the Belgic provinces.

These provinces during the decades that followed were constantly exposed

to attack as outlying Spanish dependencies, and as the fortunes of Spain declined suffered frequent loss of territory. In 1692 the Spanish King nominated Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, to be Governor General, and a brighter future seemed to be opening for the country. The dynastic jealousies between the European powers, however, soon again made the unhappy provinces a battle ground, and after years of warfare a general peace was concluded at Utrecht April 11, 1713, whereby the long connection of the provinces with Spain was severed and they came under the sovereignty of Austria, being known for a full century thereafter as the Austrian Netherlands.

BELGIAN NAME ADOPTED

In 1789 the people of Brussels rose against the Austrian garrison and compelled it to capitulate, and on the 27th the States of Brabant declared their independence. The other provinces followed, and on Jan. 11, 1790, they all united and formed themselves into an independent State under the name of the "Belgian United States." In November, 1790, the new Government collapsed before the advance of the Austrians, and Austrian rule was re-established. It was short lived, however, for France now assailed Austria, and the battle of Fleurus, June 26, 1794, put an end to Austrian domination in the Netherlands.

Belgium became an integral part of France, being governed on the same footing as the French people. After the fall of Napoleon, May 30, 1814, Belgium was for some months restored to Austria, but shortly afterward was united with Holland to form the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The sovereignty of the new State was given to the Prince of Orange, who ascended the throne March 23, 1815, with the title of William I. The Congress of Vienna, May 31, 1815, determined the boundaries of the new kingdom. The Constitution was promulgated on Aug. 24 following, and the King took the oath of office at Brussels Sept. 7.

The relations between Holland and Belgium from the outset were strained.

The Dutch and the Belgian provinces were totally unlike in religion, habits, and ideas, and had drifted apart during the 130 years of their separation. The Belgians were nearly 100 per cent. Catholics, and the two decades of French sovereignty had left deep traces on a considerable portion of the population, the French language being commonly spoken and exclusively used in law courts and public proceedings.

The Dutch control was not exercised in a conciliatory spirit, and though the Belgian provinces had 3,400,000 inhabitants to a little more than 2,000,000 in Holland, the great majority of Government offices were held by the Northerners. In 1830, of seven Ministers, only one was Belgian; in the Home Department, of 117 officials only 11 were Belgians; in the Ministry only 3 were Belgians out of 102; in the army there were 288 Belgian officers to 1,967 Hollanders. All the public establishments, the banks, and the military schools were Dutch. The King endeavored to make the Flemish language (the Dutch) the official language for all public and judicial acts except in the Walloon (extreme southern) districts.

The strife between sections grew more bitter when in 1830 the spirit of unrest was fanned by the successful revolution in Paris. A mob took possession of Brussels and disorders immediately followed throughout the Belgian provinces. The Dutch Government was dilatory and indecisive, and after a failure by Dutch troops to obtain control of Brussels, a Provisional Government was quickly formed and separation demanded. The King of the Netherlands requested the five European powers to intervene, and a convention was held at London early in November.

MODERN BELGIUM CREATED

Meanwhile on Nov. 10, 1830, the new Belgian National Congress met at Brussels with 200 Deputies and reached the following decisions: First, the independence of the country carried unanimously; second, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, 174 votes against 13; third, the perpetual exclusion of the Orange-Nassau

family, 161 votes against 28. On Dec. 20 the London conference proclaimed the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. On Jan. 28, 1831, the Belgian Congress elected its King, the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Phillippe, but he declined. Baron Surlet de Chokier was elected to the temporary post of Regent, and a Constitution was drawn up on the British Parliamentary pattern. The Constitution expressly declared that the King had no powers except those formally assigned to him; Ministers were to be appointed by him, but were to be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. On June 4, 1831, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of Princess Charlotte of Great Britain, was elected King by a vote of 152 to 44, it being ascertained that his selection would be approved by the powers, and he formally accepted the throne and made his public entry into Brussels June 21, 1831.

Holland made a show of force to resist the enthronement of the new sovereign, but, on the approach of a French army, withdrew from Belgium.

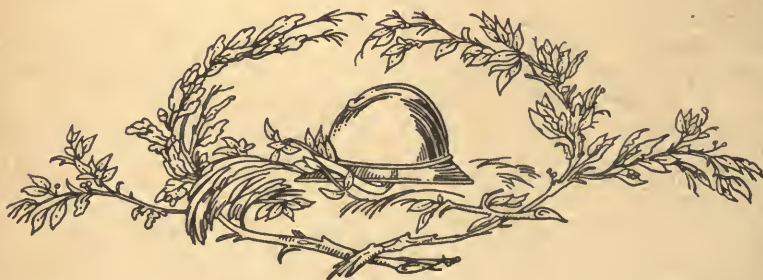
Meanwhile, the conference at London drew up a treaty for the separation of Holland and Belgium, which was declared final and irrevocable. It was signed Nov. 15, 1831, and the powers recognized the independence of Belgium "as a neutral State." The Belgian and French sovereigns ratified it on Nov. 20

and 24, the British on Dec. 6, and Austria, Prussia, and Russia five months later; the latter three delayed because their sympathies were with the King of Holland. King William of Holland was obdurate and refused to sign or to surrender Antwerp. The French and British resolved at length to force his acceptance, and a French army of 60,000 men under Marshal Gerard crossed the Belgian frontier to besiege Antwerp on Nov. 5, 1831. The Dutch garrison capitulated Dec. 23, and the Belgians took possession Dec. 31. It was not until March 14, 1838, that Holland signified its readiness to accept the treaty, and it was signed April 19, 1839.

The following interesting table gives the languages spoken by the Belgians at the periods named:

	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
French only . . .	2,230,316	2,485,072	2,574,805	2,833,334
Flemish only . . .	2,485,384	2,744,271	2,822,005	3,220,662
German only . . .	39,550	32,206	28,314	31,415
French & Flemish.	423,752	700,997	801,587	871,288
French & German.	35,250	58,590	66,447	74,993
Flemish & German.	2,956	7,028	7,238	8,652
The three languages	13,331	13,185	42,889	52,547

The population of Belgium in 1912 was 7,571,387.



The Long-Distance Peace Parley

Address by the German Chancellor in Reply to
President Wilson—Mr. Balfour's Rejoinder

The March issue of Current History Magazine printed the long-distance exchange of peace views between the warring powers as embodied in the addresses of the German Chancellor on Jan. 24, the Austrian Foreign Minister on the same date, President Wilson's reply on Feb. 11, and Premier Lloyd George's reply on Feb. 12. The German Imperial Chancellor made a new declaration of the war policy of his Government on Feb. 25; Arthur Balfour, British Foreign Minister, answered him on Feb. 27. These two addresses appear in their sequence in the following pages. As reference is made to President Wilson's four fundamentals, they are reprinted herewith:

[From the President's Address of Feb. 11 Before Congress.]

First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,

Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,

Fourth—That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

Chancellor von Hertling's Address

[Delivered Before the Reichstag Feb. 25, 1918.]

THE Reichstag has a right to receive an explanatory statement in regard to the foreign situation and the attitude of the Government concerning it. I will meet the obligation arising therefrom, even though I entertain certain doubts as to the utility and success of dialogues carried on by Ministers and statesmen of belligerent countries.

Mr. Runciman in the House of Commons recently expressed the opinion that we would get much nearer peace if, instead of this, responsible representatives of the belligerent powers would come together in an intimate meeting for discussion. I can only agree with him that that would be the way to remove numerous intentional and unintentional misun-

derstandings and compel our enemies to take our words as they are meant, and on their part also to show their colors.

I cannot at any rate discover that the words which I spoke here on two occasions were received in hostile countries objectively and without prejudice. Moreover, discussion in an intimate gathering alone could lead to understanding on many individual questions which can really be settled only by compromise.

It has been repeatedly said that we do not contemplate retaining Belgium, but that we must be safeguarded from the danger of a country with which we desire after the war to live in peace and friendship becoming the object or the jumping-off ground of enemy machinations. If, therefore, a proposal came

from the opposing side—for example, from the Government in Havre—we should not adopt an antagonistic attitude, even though the discussion at first might only be unbinding.

Meanwhile it does not appear as if Mr. Runciman's suggestion has a chance of assuming tangible shape, and I must adhere to the existing methods of dialogue across the Channel and ocean.

REPLY TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Adopting this method, I readily admit that President Wilson's message of Feb. 11 represents, perhaps, a small step toward a mutual rapprochement. I therefore pass over the preliminary and excessively long declarations in order to address myself immediately to the four principles which, in President Wilson's opinion, must be applied in a mutual exchange of views.

The first clause says that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Who would contradict this? The phrase, coined by the great father of the Church, Augustine, 1,500 years ago—"justitia fundamentum regnorum"—is still valid today. Certain it is that only peace based in all its parts on the principles of justice has a prospect of endurance.

The second clause expresses the desire that peoples and provinces shall not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power.

This clause, too, can be unconditionally assented to. Indeed, one wonders that the President of the United States considered it necessary to emphasize it anew. This clause contains a polemic against conditions long vanished, views against Cabinet politics and Cabinet wars, against mixing State territory and princely and private property, which belong to a past that is far behind us.

I do not want to be discourteous, but when one remembers the earlier utter-

ances of President Wilson, one might think that he is laboring under the illusion that there exists in Germany an antagonism between an autocratic Government and a mass of people without rights.

And yet President Wilson knows (as, at any rate, the German edition of his book on the State proves) German political literature, and he knows, therefore, that with us Princes and Governments are the highest members of the nation as a whole, organized in the form of a State, the highest members, with whom the final decision lies. But, seeing that they also, as the supreme organs, belong to the whole, the decision is of such a nature that only the welfare of the whole is the guiding line for a decision to be taken. It may be useful to point this out expressly to President Wilson's countrymen.

Then finally at the close of the second clause the game of the balance of power is declared to be forever discredited. We, too, can only gladly applaud. As is well known, it was England which invented the principle of the maintenance of the balance of power in order especially to apply it when one of the States on the European Continent threatened to become too powerful for her. It was only another expression for England's domination.

The third clause, according to which every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States, is the only application of the foregoing in a definite direction, or a deduction from it, and is therefore included in the assent given to that clause.

Now, in the fourth clause he demands that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world. Here, also, I can give assent in principle, and I declare, therefore, with President

Wilson, that a general peace on such a basis is discussable.

"IN ADVANCE OF REALITIES"

Only one reservation is to be made. These principles must not be proposed by the President of the United States alone, but they must also be recognized definitely by all States and nations. President Wilson, who reproaches the German Chancellor with a certain amount of backwardness, seems to me in his flight of ideas to have hurried far in advance of existing realities.

Certainly a League of Nations, erected upon justice and mutual unselfish appreciation, a condition of humanity in which war, together with all that remains of the earliest barbarism, should have completely disappeared and in which there should be no bloody sacrifices, no self-mutilation of peoples, no destruction of laboriously acquired cultural values—that would be an aim devoutly to be desired.

But that aim has not yet been reached. There does not yet exist a court of arbitration set up by all nations for the safeguarding of peace in the name of justice. When President Wilson incidentally says that the German Chancellor is speaking to the court of the entire world, I must, as things stand today, in the name of the German Empire and her allies, decline this court as prejudiced, joyfully as I would greet it if an impartial court of arbitration existed and gladly as I would co-operate to realize such ideals.

Unfortunately, however, there is no trace of a similar state of mind on the part of the leading powers in the Entente. England's war aims, as recently expressed in Lloyd George's speeches, are still thoroughly imperialistic and want to impose on the world a peace according to England's good pleasure. When England talks about peoples' right of self-determination, she does not think of applying the principle to Ireland, Egypt, or India.

DENIES AIM OF CONQUEST

Our war aims from the beginning were the defense of the Fatherland, the maintenance of our territorial integrity, and the freedom of our economic devel-

opment. Our warfare, even where it must be aggressive in action, is defensive in aim. I lay especial stress upon that just now in order that no misunderstandings shall arise about our operations in the east.

After the breaking off of peace negotiations by the Russian delegation on Feb. 10 we had a free hand as against Russia. The sole aim of the advance of our troops, which was begun seven days after the rupture, was to safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine. Aims of conquest were in no way a determining factor. We were strengthened in this by the Ukrainians' appeal for support in bringing about order in their young State against the disturbances carried out by the Bolsheviks.

If further military operations in other regions have taken place, the same applies to them. They in no way aim at conquest. They are solely taking place at the urgent appeals and representations of the populations for protection against atrocities and devastation by Red Guards and other bands. They have, therefore, been undertaken in the name of humanity. They are measures of assistance and have no other character. It is a question of creating peace and order in the interest of peaceable populations.

We do not intend to establish ourselves, for example, in Esthonia or Livonia. In Courland and Lithuania our chief object is to create organs of self-determination and self-administration. Our military action, however, has produced a success far exceeding the original aim.

News was received yesterday that Petrograd had accepted our conditions and had sent its representatives to Brest-Litovsk for further negotiations. Accordingly, our delegates traveled thither last evening. It is possible that there will still be dispute about the details, but the main thing has been achieved. The will to peace has been expressly announced from the Russian side, while the conditions have been accepted and the conclusion of peace must ensue within a very short time.

To safeguard the fruits of our peace with Ukraine, our army command drew the sword. Peace with Russia will be the happy result.

RUMANIA AND POLAND

Peace negotiations with Rumania began at Bucharest yesterday. It appeared necessary that Secretary von Kühlmann should be present there during the first days when the foundations were laid. Now, however, he will presumably soon go to Brest-Litovsk. It is to be remembered regarding negotiations with Rumania that we are not taking part in them alone, and are under obligation to champion the interests of our allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to see to it that a compromise is arranged there regarding any divergent desires that will possibly give rise to difficulties, but these difficulties will be overcome.

With regard to Rumania, too, the guiding principle will be that we must, and desired to, convert into friends the States with which on the basis of the success of our army we now conclude peace.

I will say a word regarding Poland, in behalf of which the Entente and President Wilson have recently appeared specially to interest themselves, as a country liberated from oppressive independence of Czarist Russia by the united forces of Germany and Austria-Hungary, for the purpose of establishing an independent State, which, in unrestricted development of its national culture, shall at the same time become a pillar of peace in Europe.

The constitutional problem—in the narrower sense the question what constitution the new State shall receive—could not, as is easily understood, be immediately decided, and is still in the stage of exhaustive discussions between the three countries concerned. A fresh difficulty has been added to the many difficulties which have in this connection to be overcome, difficulties especially in the economic domain in consequence of the collapse of old Russia. This difficulty results from the delimitation of the frontier between the new

State and adjacent Russian territory. For this reason the news of peace with the Ukraine at first evoked great uneasiness in Poland. I hope, however, that with good-will and proper regard to the ethnographical conditions a compromise on the claims will be reached. The announced intention to make a serious attempt in this direction has greatly calmed Polish circles.

In the regulation of the frontier question only what is indispensable on military grounds will be demanded on Germany's part.

"ENTENTE AGGRESSION"

The Entente is fighting for the acquisition of portions of Austro-Hungarian territory by Italy and for the severance of Palestine, Syria, and Arabia from the Turkish Empire.

England has particularly cast an eye on portions of Turkish territory. She has suddenly discovered an affection for the Arabians and she hopes by utilizing the Arabians to annex fresh territories to the British Empire, perhaps by the creation of a protectorate dependent upon British domination.

That the colonial wars of England are directed at increasing and rounding out the enormous British possessions, particularly in Africa, has been repeatedly stated by British statesmen.

In the face of this policy Entente statesmen dare to represent Germany as the disturber of peace, who, in the interest of world peace, must be confined within the narrowest bounds. By a system of lies and calumny they endeavor to instigate their own people and neutral countries against the Central Powers and to disturb neutral countries with the spectre of the violation of neutrality by Germany.

Regarding the intrigues recently carried on in Switzerland we never thought, nor will we think, of assailing Swiss neutrality. We are much indebted to Switzerland. We express gratitude to her, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Spain, which by her geographical position is exposed to especial difficulties, and no less to the extra-European countries which have not entered the war,

for their manly attitude in that, despite all temptations and oppressions, they preserve their neutrality.

The world yearns for peace and desires nothing more than that the sufferings of war under which it groans should come to an end. But the Governments of the enemy States contrive ever anew to stir the war fury among their peoples. A continuation of the war to the utmost was, so far as has transpired, the most recent watchword issued by the conference of Versailles, and in the English Premier's speeches it again finds loud echo. There are, however, other voices to be heard in England; it is to be hoped that these voices will multiply.

Our people will hold out further, but the blood of the fallen, the agonies of the mutilated and the distress and sufferings

of the peoples will fall on the heads of those who insistently refuse to listen to the voice of reason and humanity.

NOTE.—Count Hertling's speech of Jan. 24, 1918, printed in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* last month from a cabled report, contained the sentence: "So long as our opponents have unreservedly taken the standpoint that the integrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. The German text received later through the Wolff News Bureau of Berlin shows that this sentence should read: "So long as our opponents do not unreservedly take the standpoint that the integrity of the [Teutonic] allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion," &c. Regarding President Wilson's proposal on colonial questions, Count Hertling on that occasion should have been made to say: "I believe that for the present it may be left to the greatest colonial empire, England, to come to terms with her allies over this proposal."

Mr. Balfour's Reply to Count Hertling

[Delivered in Parliament Feb. 27, 1918]

THE British Foreign Secretary, Arthur J. Balfour, replying in the House of Commons to the German Chancellor regarding the doctrine of the balance of power, said that until German militarism had become a thing of the past, and there was in existence a hall or court armed with executive powers making the weak as safe as the strong, it would never be possible to ignore the principles underlying the struggle for the balance of power. Mr. Balfour told the House that he was unable to find in von Hertling's speech any basis for fruitful conversation or hope for peace. Replying to a question, Mr. Balfour said that the fate of the Russian provinces occupied by the Germans and of Rumania and Armenia must ultimately be decided at the peace conference. Mr. Balfour justified his attitude on the ground that von Hertling and Czernin spoke after a conference and agreement.

BELGIUM THE TOUCHSTONE

Mr. Balfour declared Count Hertling's reference to Belgium to be unsatisfactory to everybody—except Richard Holt, a Radical M. P.—and continued:

"Many questions must be settled at the peace conference, but the question of Belgium is the best touchstone of the honesty of purpose of Central European diplomacy, and especially of German diplomacy. There is only one course for the offending nation in this case, namely, unconditional restoration and reparation.

"When was Belgium the jumping off ground of enemy machinations and why should Germany suppose it is going to be? Belgium has been the victim, not the author, of these crimes, and why should she be punished because Germany is guilty? Germany always had in mind new territorial, commercial or military conditions which would prevent Belgium from taking an independent place among the nations, which Germany and ourselves were pledged to preserve.

"What we have to consider is how far von Hertling's lip service to President Wilson's four propositions really is exemplified by German practice."

The Foreign Secretary then analyzed the four Wilson propositions and von Hertling's attitude concerning them, as well as the Chancellor's frame of mind regarding Alsace-Lorraine. He said:

"I could understand a German taking a different view from the view of the French, British, Italian, or American Government, but not a German discussing the principles of essential justice and saying: 'There is no question of Alsace-Lorraine to go before a peace conference.'

"Regarding President Wilson's second proposition, we have had within the last few weeks a specimen of how von Hertling interprets in action the principle he so glibly approves in theory. To take one instance only, there is the cession of Polish territory to the Ukraine. We would like to know how the Germans came to make this gross violation of their principle.

TURKEY AND PALESTINE

"Coming to the third proposition, von Hertling says, with justice, that the doctrine of the balance of power is a more or less antiquated doctrine. He further accuses England of being the upholder of that doctrine for purposes of aggrandizement. That is a profoundly unhistorical method of looking at the question. Great Britain has fought time and again for the balance of power, because only by fighting could Europe be saved from the domination of one overbearing and aggressive nation.

"If von Hertling wants to make the balance of power antiquated, he can do it by inducing his countrymen to abandon that policy of ambitious domination which overshadows the world at this moment.

"As to President Wilson's third and fourth principles: Consider for a moment how von Hertling desires to apply the principle that the interest and benefit of the populations concerned should be considered in peace arrangements. He mentions three countries he wishes to see restored to Turkey, namely, Armenia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

"Does any one think that this would be to the interest and benefit of the populations concerned? Von Hertling accuses us of being animated with purely ambitious designs when we invaded Mesopotamia and captured Jerusalem. I suppose he would say that Russia was simi-

larly moved when she occupied Armenia. But when Turkey went to war she picked a quarrel with us for purely ambitious purposes. She was promised by Germany the possession of Egypt. Would the interest and happiness of the population of Egypt be best conserved by Turkish conquest of Egypt?

"The Germans in the search for the greatest happiness of these populations would have restored Egypt to the worst rule the world has ever known. They would have destroyed Arab independence and abandoned Palestine to those who had rendered it sterile all these centuries.

"How could any one preach seriously a profession of faith about the interests of populations after this evidence of the manner in which von Hertling desires to see it carried out? If the Reichstag had any sense of humor it must surely have smiled when it heard the Chancellor dealing in that spirit with the dominating doctrine of every important German statesman, soldier, and thinker for two generations at least.

"So much for the four principles which Mr. Holt says von Hertling accepts, and which he thinks the British Government is backward in not accepting. I hope my short analysis may have convinced him that there are two sides to that question.

GERMANY'S RUSSIAN POLICY

"I cannot, however, leave von Hertling without making some observation upon the Russian policy which he defines. That also is a demonstration of German methods. He tells us the recent arrangements with Russia were made on the urgent appeal of the populations for protection against the Red Guard and other bands, and, therefore, undertaken in the name of humanity.

"We know that the East is the East and the West is the West and that the German policy of the West is entirely different from the German policy of the East. The German policy in the East recently has been directed toward preventing atrocities and devastation in the interest of humanity, while German policy in the West is occupied entirely in

performing atrocities and devastations. Why this difference of treatment of Belgium on one side and other populations on the other? I know of no explanation, except that Germany pursues her methods with remorseless insistency and alters or varies the excuse she gives for her policy.

"If she invades Belgium, it is military necessity; if Courland, it is in the interest of humanity. It is impossible to rate very high the professions of humanity, international righteousness and equity in regard to those populations which figure so largely in the speeches. I am quite unable to understand how anybody can get up in the Reichstag and claim that Germany is waging a defensive war."

Mr. Balfour then contrasted the different methods pursued by Germany and Great Britain in the expansion of their empires, and asserted that Germany's policy had been more deliberately ambitious than that of any nation since the days of Louis XIV. He concluded:

"I am convinced that to begin negotiations, unless you see your way to carry them through successfully, would be to commit the greatest crime against the future peace of the world, and, therefore, while I long for the day when negotiations may really begin, negotiations which must have preparations for the bringing of ideas closer together, I do believe I should be doing an injury to the cause of peace if I encourage the idea that there is any use in beginning these verbal negotiations until something like a general agreement is apparent in the distance and until the statesmen of all the countries see their way to that broad settlement, which, it is my hope, will bring peace to this sorely troubled world."

LORD CECIL'S SPEECH

Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, said regarding Hertling's speech:

"It would be foolish to enter into negotiations unless there were a reasonable prospect of success. We do not desire to repeat the experiment of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations."

Lord Robert said that as Trustee for the empire the Government must take reasonable precautions to avoid enemy

traps. It must have a guarantee that the enemy was sincerely and genuinely trying to meet Great Britain's essential demands.

"There must be no humbug about Belgium," Lord Robert continued. "Certainly Belgium is not the only issue, but it is a test, and before we can consent to enter into negotiations we must be perfectly satisfied that the Central Powers mean to restore Belgium absolutely and do their best to repair the greatest international wrong committed for centuries."

"I can find no trace of that in von Hertling's speech. The Germans have never conveyed to us in any shape or form the fact that they are ready to restore Belgium."

BELGIUM'S ANSWER

The following official statement was made by the Belgian Government through Baron de Broqueville, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply to the German Chancellor's invitation:

The Belgian Government's views are known and have not changed. It affirmed them quite recently. In its answer to the Holy See on Dec. 24 the Belgian Government said:

"The integrity of the metropolitan and colonial territory; political, economic and military independence without condition or restriction; reparation for damages and guarantees against repetition of the aggression of 1914 are the indispensable conditions for a just peace as far as Belgium is concerned."

The Belgian Government has already declared and repeated that it will not discuss peace except in consort with the powers which guaranteed its independence and which have fulfilled their obligations toward Belgium.

The English, American, and French newspapers were practically unanimous in declaring the Chancellor's speech inconclusive and unsatisfactory, bringing an agreement no nearer. Lord Lansdowne, former British Foreign Minister, who had previously published a letter declaring that a peace conference was advisable, again declared in a public letter that, while he found the address in reference to Belgium vague, he felt that the acceptance of the four propositions gave encouragement.

LABOR'S WAR AIMS

Declaration of the Interallied Labor-Socialist Conference in London

*A conference of the Labor and Socialist Parties was held at London on Feb. 21, 22, and 23, 1918. It was attended by delegates from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and by consultative delegates from organizations in South Africa, Rumania, and the South Slavic States. A cablegram was received from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor declaring: "We cannot meet with representatives of those who are aligned against us in this world war for freedom, but we hope they will sweep away the barriers which they have raised between us. * * * We assure the conference that we are pledged, and will give our full man power and at least half our wealth power in the struggle to secure for the world justice, freedom, and democracy." The conference adopted a formal declaration of war aims. The clause with reference to Alsace-Lorraine was later indorsed by the French Socialists and Labor Party by practically a unanimous vote. The conference sent delegates to the United States to confer with the American Federation of Labor. The declaration of war aims is given in full herewith:*

I.—The Origin of the War

THE Interallied Conference declares that, whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the people of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the allied nations on Feb. 14, 1915:

This conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which international socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every

Government has its share of responsibility.

The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities, and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France, and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the Governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another State or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

While inflexibly resolved to fight until

victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances, and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the

members of the conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the allied powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence, and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world.

II.—Making the World Safe for Democracy

Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the Interallied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a supernational authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent State, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a league of nations implies the immediate establishment of an international high court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between States that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between States in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such States. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pres-

sure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized State would have their allotted share, and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several States.

By a solemn agreement all the States and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any State or States refusing to submit to the arbitration award or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the supernational authority implies the complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of Legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular Legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the Government, and more particularly of the Foreign Minister of each country to its Legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of im-

perialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea, and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened, as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The States must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control, either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for de-

fense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Interallied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforward become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

1. That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

2. That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

3. Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States.

4. That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequently of the world.

III.—Territorial Questions

The Interallied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which States calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by States, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist move-

ment to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various States which have led one Government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law, and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the Labor and Socialist

movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the supernational authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(a) Belgium

The conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an international commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that Government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong, and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign State, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) Alsace and Lorraine

The conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war

of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(c) The Balkans

The conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania, and all the territories occupied by military force should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialist pretensions of Austria-Hungary, Turkey, or other State.

Accepting this principle, the conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (a) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (b) the universal guarantee of freedom of religion and political equality for all races; (c) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan States, with free access for each to its natural seaport; (d) the entry of all the Balkan States into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned

to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy, or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance to all of them, on one side or the other, of full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

The conference declares further that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland, or Lithuania, would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(f) The Jews and Palestine

The conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence, and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish Government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The conference condemns the imperialist aims of Governments and

capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a commission acting under the Supernational Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

(h) Austria-Hungary

The conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian States for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist Governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Interallied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local Government.

The conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchanges or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the

communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials, prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist, or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the Governments.

With respect to these colonies, the conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, while respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

1. It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible to them.

2. The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.

3. The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

IV.--Economic Relations

The Interallied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war after peace has been secured either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class sees in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own

economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The conference accordingly urges upon the Labor and Socialist Parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the Government toward commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate Government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

V.—The Problems of Peace

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It

will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessa-

tion of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments.

The Interallied Conference insists that, in view of the probable worldwide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the Government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for any one until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several Governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of un-

employment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the conference holds that it is the duty of every Government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the Labor Parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their Governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways, and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor, and thus prevent there being any unemployed.

It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any Government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which, if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of Government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

VI.—Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparations of Wrongdoing

The Interallied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication wherever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public build-

ings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by

any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international commission.

The conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular Governments have ordered and particular officers have exercised acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention, in particular, to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other noncombatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should

be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or Government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or Government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several Governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

VII.—International Conference

The Interallied Conference is of opinion that an international conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would, at this stage, render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an international conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the conference should be fully representative of all the Labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an international conference, the commission is of the opinion that the organizers of the conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "No annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantees to apply these

principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the allied countries and the Central Powers, the commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a program of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas, (France,) M. Emile Vandervelde, (Belgium,) and Arthur Henderson, (Great Britain,) be appointed as a commission to secure from the Governments a promise that at least one representative of labor and socialism will be included in the official representation at any Government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and

socialism from the Interallied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy, and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans, (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau,) proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and

of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

American Labor Federation's Views

Address by Samuel Gompers

THE American Federation of Labor expressed its views on the war in an address by its President, Samuel Gompers, delivered in New York on Feb. 22, 1918, at a loyalty meeting held in celebration of Washington's Birthday. The meeting was held under the auspices of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, spoke from the same platform.

The President of the American Federation of Labor began his appeal to patriotism by saying that he, who was once an ultra-pacifist, was now a red-blooded fighting man, and that American workers were fighting men. Referring to the message he had sent to Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor Party, saying that American workers would send no delegates to the labor peace conference in London, Mr. Gompers said he wished to send word to all the world on Washington's Birthday as to the stand of America's workers. He reviewed the recent history of Russia and pictured that country's plight. He continued:

The radicals of the Bolsheviks have not given the people land, nor bread, nor peace; and instead of finding the great people of Russia standing erect and fighting for their homes and for their lives, we find them licking the boots of the Kaiser and praying for mercy.

Yes, this radical gang has done that,

and to it must be laid the charge of the undoing of Russia.

And they are showing their heads here. If the so-called radicals of America could have their way, you would find the people of the United States in the same position as the people of Russia are now.

And then they invite us to peace conferences with representatives of the workers of enemy countries. Why, men and women, the Kaiser wouldn't give a passport to German delegates who would not be bound to do his bidding. He would let no one go to those conferences who was not his minion.

I say to the Kaiser, I say to the Germans, in the name of the American labor movement: "You can't talk peace with American workers; you can't talk peace with us; you can't talk to us at all now. We are fighting now. Either you smash your Kaiser autocracy or we will smash it for you."

Yes, we say to the Germans: "Get you out of France, out of Serbia, out of Belgium, and back into Germany, and then perhaps we'll talk peace terms with you. But we won't before you do that."

Here the audience arose as one and cheered Mr. Gompers. Then he paid his respects to those radicals in America who criticise the country and wouldn't fight for it. He said they were serving "the great autocrat of all time, the modern buccaneer of the world, an intellectual, scientific murderer."

"America is not perfect," Mr. Gompers said. "The Republic of the United States is not perfect; it has the imper-

fections of the human—but it is the best country on the face of the earth, and those who do not love it enough to work for it, to fight for it, to die for it, are not worthy of the privilege of living in it.”

Mr. Gompers said that when the Congress of the United States declared war it handed down a decision from which there could be no appeal, and that no American today had the right to discuss whether or not we should be fighting Germany.

He again paid his respects to the Bolsheviki in America, and said that they had the same theories as the Russians who before any battle was undertaken would vote on whether or not to fight.

“In theory that might be fairly good,” he said. “As an academic proposition it sounds good, but when you have opposite you a well-organized gang of scientific murderers who have their guns leveled at you, that is not the time to vote on whether or not you will defend yourself—that is a time to fight.”

Mr. Gompers said that labor had gained in this war recognition by the Government of the principles for which it had so long fought, and pointed to the participation by labor leaders in the conferences of war at Washington. “When the war is over,” he said, “do you think those representatives of labor are to be thrown aside? Not on your

life!” Mr. Gompers went on to say that because labor had so much at stake it should remain steadfastly behind the Government until the end.

Resolutions adopted repeated the pledge of loyalty of American workers, and said:

Resolved, That we commend the determination of the American labor movement to have no contact or dealings with enemy nations so long as those nations remain autocratic, and that we send again to the people of those nations the word that the American working people can discuss no international or other questions with them so long as they consent to autocratic domination and fight the battles of autocracy; and be it further

Resolved, That we are one with the whole people of America in our resolve to exert every effort for a triumphant military effort on the battlefields of Europe to bring about the final overthrow of autocracy, meanwhile guarding jealously our democratic institutions at home as the foundations of a wider and fuller democracy to come; and be it further

Resolved, That we here again express our appreciation of the farsighted wisdom and singleness of purpose of President Wilson as manifested in his first statement of the aims of our nation in this war, which statement has furnished a rallying point for the advancing democratic thought of the world, and be it further

Resolved, That we forward this declaration of fidelity and loyalty to the President of the United States as our renewed pledge of fealty and true understanding at this most fitting time, the anniversary of the birth of our first Great Liberator.



The Battle of Cambrai

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig Tells Why Victory Was Lost

IN the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was printed the official report of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig on the British operations of 1917 in France up to the battle of Cambrai. His report on the latter engagement appeared a few weeks later. The battle of Cambrai began with a notable British victory on Nov. 20, 1917, and ended in a British reverse. It became the subject of much controversy and brought a Parliamentary inquiry. The report of the commission left the impression that the British had not been taken by surprise, but the chief commander's official report indicates otherwise.

Discussing the reasons for the decision to attack on the Cambrai front, Field Marshal Haig says that the repeated assaults in Flanders had caused a weakening of the enemy's line elsewhere, and that of these weakened sectors that of Cambrai was deemed the most suitable for the surprise operation contemplated, the ground being favorable for the employment of tanks, the plan being to dispense with previous artillery preparation, which would have prevented secrecy, and depend instead on the tanks to smash their way through the enemy's wire.

The enemy [writes the Field Marshal] was laying out fresh lines of defense behind those which he had already completed on the Cambrai front, and it was to be expected his troops would be redistributed as soon as our pressure in Flanders relaxed. He had already brought large forces from Russia in exchange for divisions exhausted in the struggle in the western theatre, and it was practically certain that heavy reinforcements would be brought from the east to the west during the Winter.

Against the arguments in favor of immediate action I had to weigh the fact that my own troops had been engaged many months in heavy fighting. The conditions of the struggle had greatly taxed their strength. Only a part of the losses of my divisions had been replaced, and many of the recently arrived draft were

still far from being fully trained and included in the ranks of the armies.

Eventually the British commander decided in favor of immediate action. He continues:

The infantry, the tanks, and the artillery, working in combination, were to endeavor to break through all the enemy's lines of defense on the first day. If this were successfully accomplished and the situation developed favorably, cavalry were then to be passed through to raid the enemy's communications, disorganize his system of command, damage his railways, and interfere as much as possible with the arrival of reinforcements.

The attack, the Field Marshal notes, was started at 6:30 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 20. The spectacular successes which first attended it have been told in the correspondents' reports written at the time. It was on the last day of November that the triumph began to give way to disaster.

At the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and in the Gonnelleu sector the swiftness with which the advance of the enemy's infantry followed the opening of his bombardment appears to have overwhelmed our troops, both in the line and the immediate support, almost before they had realized the attack had begun. The nature of the bombardment, which seems to have been heavy enough to keep our men under cover without at first seriously alarming them, contributed to the success of the enemy's plans.

No steadily advancing barrage gave warning of the approach of the German assault columns, whose secret assembly was assisted by the many deep folds and hollows typical of the chalk formation, and was shielded from observation from the air by the early morning mist. It was only when the attack was upon them that great numbers of low-flying German airplanes rained machine-gun fire upon our infantry, while the extensive use of smoke shells and bombs made it extremely difficult for our troops to see what was happening on other parts of the battlefield or to follow the movements of the enemy.

In short, there is little doubt that, although an attack was expected generally, yet in these areas of the battle, at the

moment of its delivery, the assault effected a local surprise.

The strength the enemy had shown himself able to develop in his attacks made it evident that only by prolonged and severe fighting could I hope to re-establish my right flank on Bonavis Ridge. Unless this was done the situation of my troops in the salient north of Flesquières would be difficult and dangerous, even if our hold on Bourlon Hill were extended. I had therefore to decide either to embark on another offensive battle on a large scale or to withdraw to a more compact line on Flesquières Ridge.

Although the decision involved the giving up of important positions most gallantly won, I had no doubt as to the correct course under the conditions.

Field Marshal Haig notes that the withdrawal was completed successfully without interference from the enemy on the morning of Dec. 7. Summarizing the results of the three weeks' fighting, he says:

There is little doubt that our operations were of considerable indirect assistance to the allied forces in Italy. Large demands were made upon the available German reserves at a time when a great concentration of German divisions was still being maintained in Flanders. There

is evidence that German divisions intended for the Italian theatre were diverted to the Cambrai front, and it is probable that a further concentration of German forces against Italy was suspended for at least two weeks at a most critical period, when our allies were making their first stand on the Piave line.

Had Field Marshal Haig not met with a check which compelled him to abandon part of the captured territory, what he might have accomplished he thus discloses:

My intentions as regards subsequent exploitation were to push westward and northwestward, taking the Hindenburg line in the reverse from Moeuvres to the River Scarpe and capturing all the enemy's defenses and probably most of his garrisons lying west of a line from Cambrai northward to the Sensee and south of that river and the Scarpe.

Time would have been required to enable us to develop and complete the operation, but the prospects of gaining the necessary time were, in my opinion, good enough to justify the attempt to execute the plan. I am of the opinion that on the 20th and 21st of November we went very near to success sufficiently complete to bring the realization of our full program within our power.

[OFFICIAL]

The Battle of Bourlon Wood

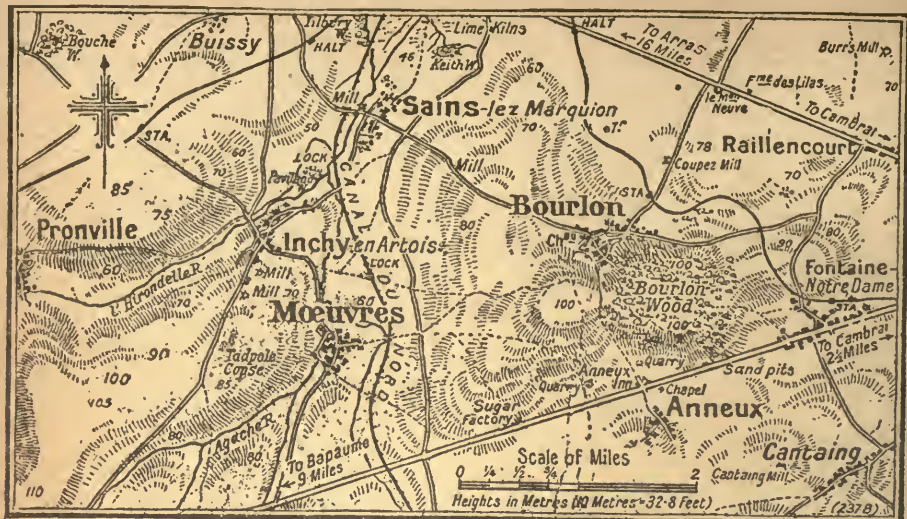
A Chapter of Thrilling Heroism

In connection with the official report of the battle of Cambrai the British military authorities made public late in February the story of a brilliant and heroic struggle at Bourlon Wood, Nov. 30, 1917, in which the 47th, 2d, and 56th Divisions of English troops were engaged. It is a narrative of fighting unsurpassed in individual feats of valor in any engagements of the war, and merits a place in history. The official account follows:

THE position on the morning of Nov. 30 was as follows: The 47th (London) Territorial Division, the 2d Division, and the right brigade of the 56th (London) Territorial Division were holding a front of about five miles, extending from the eastern edge of Bourlon Wood to Tadpole Copse in the Hindenburg line, west of Moeuvres. From Tadpole Copse the left brigade of the 56th Division formed a defensive flank across No Man's Land to our old front line. The day brought most determined

attacks by four German divisions, with three other divisions in support. All these attacks were utterly crushed by the three British divisions, the enemy sustaining enormous losses.

After considerable shelling during the night on Bourlon Wood the enemy's artillery barrage opened at about 8:45 A. M., being directed on our front line of posts and also with great intensity on the line of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, severing all connection with the two right battalions of the 2d Division.



SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF BOURLON WOOD

Soon after 9 A. M. large numbers of the enemy were seen coming over the ridge west of Bourlon Wood, against the junction of the 2d and 47th Divisions. Our artillery barrage, which at that time was intense, caught this advance; but, in spite of their losses, the German infantry pressed on. The left of the London Territorials was being forced back. Four posts on the right of the 2d Division were wiped out. The situation was critical.

As the enemy's infantry appeared over the crest of the hill, however, they were engaged with direct fire by our field artillery. Machine guns in position in a sunken road southwest of Bourlon Wood and in the sugar factory on the Bapaume-Cambrai road swept their advancing lines. The survivors of the 2d Division's posts succeeded in getting to shell holes further back and held on. While the artillery of both British divisions maintained a constant and accurate fire, rifle, Lewis-gun, and machine-gun fire inflicted enormous losses on the enemy, held up his advance, and eventually drove him back after three hours' hard fighting.

A REARGUARD'S SACRIFICE

Further west the enemy's advance broke upon the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, 2d Division, which was in the act of withdrawing from an advanced

sap and trench, judged too exposed to be maintained in the face of so powerful an attack.

Owing to the enemy being concealed in some dead ground, the attack developed with unexpected speed and the company holding the advanced position was ordered to leave a rearguard to cover the withdrawal of the remainder. Captain W. N. Stone, who was in command of the company, sent back three platoons, and himself elected to remain with the rearguard, together with Lieutenant Benzecry.

This rearguard, assisted by our machine guns, held off the whole of the German attack until the main position of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, was fully organized, and they died to a man with their faces to the enemy.

It is impossible to make comparisons in an action such as was fought on this day, in which so many glorious deeds were performed, but the report of the officer commanding the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, concerning this incident adds distinction to the history of the regiment, and will be remembered as a devoted example of the greatest of all sacrifices. It runs:

"Of the heroism of the rearguard it is 'difficult to speak. Captain Stone and 'Lieutenant Benzecry, although ordered 'to withdraw to the main line, elected 'to remain with the rearguard. The

"rearguard was seen fighting with bayonet, bullet, and bomb to the last. There was no survivor. Captain Stone by his invaluable information as to the movements of the enemy prior to the attack, and his subsequent sacrifice with the rearguard, saved the situation at cost of his life. Lieutenant Benzecry was seen to be wounded in the head. He continued to fight until he was killed."

STRAIGHT SHOOTING

The 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, on the left of the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, were in action throughout this period, and masses of the enemy moved against them; but by their well-directed and intense volume of fire, delivered from rifles, Lewis guns, and machine guns, the enemy were literally mown down in heaps after topping the rise some 200 or 300 yards from our front line. Throughout the day formed bodies of Germans never got nearer than this to our position; though many individuals endeavored to creep forward until disposed of by our snipers and Lewis-gun detachments.

After midday the enemy again attacked on the whole front of the right brigade of the 2d Division, but was once more hurled back with great slaughter, offering very favorable targets at from 50 to 200 yards' range to machine guns, Lewis guns, and rifles.

Early in the afternoon large masses of the enemy attacked on a front of nearly a mile west of Bourlon Wood. On the left of the front attacked he was once more driven off with heavy loss by the accuracy and volume of our fire; but three posts on the extreme right of the 2d Division were captured. The garrisons of the three posts on the front of the 2d Division fell fighting to the last, and, when the line at this point was restored, such a heap of German dead lay in and around the posts that it was impossible to find the bodies of our men.

In this locality five other posts held by a company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Berkshire Regiment, repulsed all the enemy's attacks and maintained themselves until our reinforcements had re-

stored the situation. This company showed the utmost valor and steadfastness in a most critical period, extending over some six hours. The enemy made attack after attack, always in vastly superior numbers, and time after time came right up to our posts, only to be mown down by our fire and driven back in disorder. The casualties of this company were forty-six of all ranks. They claim to have killed over 500 of the enemy.

AT POINTBLANK RANGE

The story of the gallant fight against odds put up by the garrisons of these posts, both those who survived and those who died valiantly, constitutes one out of the many examples furnished by the fighting of this day of the supreme importance of the resistance that can be offered by small parties of determined men who know how to use their weapons and are resolved to use them to the last.

As the result of their efforts on this occasion, the 17th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, reported at 1 P. M. that their line was intact, that they were in close touch with the units on either flank, and that the men were really enjoying the novel experience of killing Germans in large numbers at pointblank range.

During the afternoon a strong hostile attack was made upon the 141st Brigade on the right of the 47th Division. For some days the German artillery had been steadily pouring gas shell into Bourlon Wood, until the thick undergrowth was full of gas. Many casualties were caused to our troops; and gas masks had to be worn continuously for many hours. None the less, when the enemy attacked he was again hurled back with heavy loss. A distinctive feature of the defense was the gallantry of the Lewis gunners, who, when the attack was seen to be beginning, ran out with their guns in front of our line and, from positions of advantage in the open, mowed down the advancing German infantry.

Later in the afternoon the enemy made two other attacks against the right brigade of the 2d Division. In each case he was beaten off with great slaughter, his losses being materially increased by

the fire of an 18-pounder battery which got right on to his infantry in crowded trenches.

ATTACK AT MOEUVRES

Similar events were happening meanwhile on the left of the 2d Division and on the right of the 56th Division. At 9:20 A. M. the enemy had been seen advancing from the north toward the Canal du Nord, and subsequently attack after attack was delivered by him on both sides of the canal against the 6th and 169th Infantry Brigades.

South of Moeuvres the enemy succeeded in effecting an entry, but was driven back by a bombing attack after heavy fighting. In the fighting in this area Captain A. M. C. McReady-Diarmid of the 17th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, greatly distinguished himself. When the enemy had penetrated some distance into the position and the situation was extremely critical he led his company forward through a very heavy barrage, and engaged the enemy with such success that the Germans were driven back at least 500 yards with the loss of many casualties and a number of prisoners.

On the following day this officer again led a bombing attack against a party of Germans who had broken into our positions, and drove them back 300 yards, himself killing eighty of the enemy. Throughout this attack he led the way himself, and it was absolutely and entirely due to his marvelous throwing that the ground was regained. Captain McReady-Diarmid was eventually killed by a bomb when the Germans had been driven back to the place from which they had started.

At this time, from Moeuvres westward to Tadpole Copse, a desperate struggle was taking place for the possession of the Hindenburg line, in the course of which the enemy at one time reached the battalion headquarters of the 8th Battalion, Middlesex Regiment, attached to the 168th Brigade, 56th Division. Here the German infantry were stopped by the gallant defense of the officer commanding the battalion, who, with the assistance of his headquarters staff, held off the

enemy with bombs until further help was organized and the trench regained.

ANOTHER GALLANT EXPLOIT

Later in the evening another attack in force was made southeast of Moeuvres, and the enemy once more effected an entry. In doing so he isolated a company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment, 2d Division, which was holding a trench along the west side of the Canal du Nord. * * * The successful defense was greatly assisted by the heroic resistance of the isolated company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment. It would appear that at 4 P. M. this most gallant company, realizing the improbability of being extricated, held a council of war, at which the two surviving company officers, Lieutenant J. D. Robinson and Second Lieutenant E. L. Corps, the company Sergeant Major A. H. Edwards, and Platoon Sergeants C. Phillips, F. C. Parsons, W. Fairbrass, R. Lodge, and L. S. Legg were present. It was unanimously determined to fight to the last and have no surrender. Two runners, who succeeded in getting through, were sent back to notify battalion headquarters of this decision.

Throughout the night of Nov. 30 many efforts were made to effect the relief of these brave men, but all attempts failed against the overwhelming strength of the enemy. The last that is known of this gallant company is that it was heard fighting it out, and maintaining to the last a bulwark against the tide of attacking Germans. It is impossible to estimate the value of this magnificent fight to the death, which relieved the pressure on the main line of defense.

At the end of this day of high courage and glorious achievement, except for a few advanced positions, some of which were afterward regained, our line had been maintained intact. The men who had come triumphantly through this mighty contest felt, and rightly felt, that they had won a great victory, in which the enemy had come against them in his full strength, and had been defeated with losses at which even the victors stood aghast.

Heroic Deeds of British Soldiers

Official Records of Men Who Won the Victoria Cross by Conspicuous Bravery in Battle

THE much-coveted Victoria Cross, which is awarded by the British Government only in cases of exceptional daring and achievement, numbers among its records many thrilling deeds of heroism. It is the custom of the British War Office to publish lists of these awards, appending to each name a brief official account of the acts that won the "V. C." The following typical examples have been selected almost at random. These brief tales of heroism, when multiplied by hundreds of thousands, give some measure of what the British Army is doing at the front:

THE ROLL OF HONOR

MAJOR LEWIS PUGH EVANS, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) D. S. O., Royal Highlanders, commanding the Lincolnshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership. Lieut. Col. Evans took his battalion in perfect order through a terrific enemy barrage, personally formed up all units, and led them to the assault. While a strong machine-gun emplacement was causing casualties, and the troops were working round the flank, Lieut. Col. Evans rushed at it himself, and by firing his revolver through the loophole forced the garrison to capitulate. After capturing the first objective he was severely wounded in the shoulder, but refused to be bandaged, and re-formed the troops, pointed out all future objectives, and again led his battalion forward. Again badly wounded, he nevertheless continued to command until the second objective was won, and, after consolidation, collapsed from loss of blood. As there were numerous casualties, he refused assistance, and by his own efforts ultimately reached the dressing station. His example of cool bravery stimulated in all ranks the highest valor and determination to win.

SERGEANT JOSEPH LISTER, Lancashire Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack, when advancing to the first objective, his company came under machine-gun fire from the direction of two "pillboxes." Seeing that the galling fire would hold

up our advance and prevent our troops keeping up with the barrage, Sergeant Lister dashed ahead of his men and found a machine gun firing from a shell hole in front of the "pillbox." He shot two of the enemy gunners, and the remainder surrendered to him. He then went on to the "pillbox, and shouted to the occupants to surrender. They did so with the exception of one man, whom Sergeant Lister shot dead; whereupon about 100 of the enemy emerged from shell holes further to the rear and surrendered. This noncommissioned officer's prompt act of courage enabled our line to advance with hardly a check and to keep up with the barrage, the loss of which might have jeopardized the whole course of the local battle.

CORPORAL ERNEST ALBERT EGERTON, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when, during attack, owing to fog and smoke, visibility was obscured, and in consequence thereof the two leading waves of the attack passed over certain hostile dugouts without clearing them. Enemy rifles, assisted by a machine gun, were from these dugouts inflicting severe casualties on the advancing waves. When volunteers were called for to assist in clearing up the situation Corporal Egerton at once jumped up and dashed for the dugouts under heavy fire at short range. He shot in succession a rifleman, a bomber, and a gunner, by which time he was supported, and twenty-nine of the enemy surrendered. The reckless bravery of this noncommissioned officer relieved in less than thirty seconds an extremely difficult situation. His gallantry is beyond all praise.

CORPORAL FILIP KONOWAL, Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and leadership when in charge of a section in attack. His section had the difficult task of mopping up cellars, craters, and machine-gun emplacements. Under his able direction all resistance was overcome successfully, and heavy casualties inflicted on the enemy. In one cellar he himself bayoneted three of the enemy and attacked single-handed seven others in a crater, killing them all. On reaching the objective, a machine gun was holding

up the right flank, causing many casualties. Corporal Konowal rushed forward and entered the emplacement, killed the crew, and brought the gun back to our lines. The next day he again attacked single-handed another machine-gun emplacement, killed three of the crew, and destroyed the gun and emplacement with explosives. This noncommissioned officer alone killed at least sixteen of the enemy, and during the two days' actual fighting carried on continuously his good work until severely wounded.

CORPORAL WALTER PEELER, Australian Imperial Force.

For most conspicuous bravery when with a Lewis gun accompanying the first wave of the assault he encountered an enemy party sniping the advancing troops from a shell hole. Lance Corporal Peeler immediately rushed the position and accounted for nine of the enemy, and cleared the way for the advance. On two subsequent occasions he performed similar acts of valor, and each time accounted for a number of the enemy. During operations he was directed to a position from which an enemy machine gun was being fired on our troops. He located and killed the gunner, and the remainder of the enemy party ran into a dugout close by. From this shelter they were dislodged by a bomb, and ten of the enemy ran out. These he disposed of. This noncommissioned officer actually accounted for over thirty of the enemy. He displayed an absolute fearlessness in making his way ahead of the first wave of the assault, and the fine example which he set insured the success of the attack against most determined opposition.

COURAGEOUS PRIVATES

PRIVATE FREDERICK GEORGE DANCOX, Worcestershire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. After the first objective had been captured and consolidation had been started, work was considerably hampered, and numerous casualties were caused by an enemy machine gun firing from a concrete emplacement situated on the edge of our protective barrage. Private Dancox was one of a party of about ten men detailed as moppers-up. Owing to the position of the machine-gun emplacement, it was extremely difficult to work round a flank. However, this man with great gallantry worked his way round through the barrage and entered the "pillbox" from the rear, threatening the garrison with a Mills bomb. Shortly afterward he reappeared with a machine gun under his arm, followed by about forty enemy. The machine gun was brought back to our position by Private Dancox, and he kept

it in action throughout the day. By his resolution, absolute disregard of danger, and cheerful disposition, the morale of his comrades was maintained at a very high standard under extremely trying circumstances.

PRIVATE ARTHUR HUTT, Royal Warwickshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and initiative in attack, when all the officers and noncommissioned officers of No. 2 platoon having become casualties, Private Hutt took command of and led forward the platoon. He was held up by a strong post on his right, but immediately ran forward alone in front of the platoon and shot the officer and three men in the post, causing between forty and fifty others to surrender. Later, realizing that he had pushed too far, he withdrew his party. He personally covered the withdrawal by sniping the enemy, killing a number, and then carried back a badly wounded man and put him under shelter. Private Hutt then organized and consolidated his position, and learning that some wounded men were lying out and likely to become prisoners if left there, no stretcher bearers being available, he went out and carried in four wounded men under heavy fire.

PRIVATE CHARLES MELVIN, Royal Highlanders.

For most conspicuous bravery, coolness, and resource in action. Private Melvin's company had advanced to within fifty yards of the front-line trench of a redoubt, where, owing to the intensity of the enemy's fire, the men were obliged to lie down and wait for reinforcements. Private Melvin, however, rushed on by himself, over ground swept from end to end by rifle and machine-gun fire. On reaching the enemy trench, he halted and fired two or three shots into it, killing one or two enemy, but, as the others in the trench continued to fire at him, he jumped into it, and attacked them with his bayonet in his hand, as, owing to his rifle being damaged, it was not "fixed." On being attacked in this resolute manner most of the enemy fled to their second line, but not before Private Melvin had killed two more and succeeded in disarming eight unwounded and one wounded. Private Melvin bound up the wounds of the wounded man, and then, driving his eight unwounded prisoners before him and supporting the wounded one, he hustled them out of the trench, marched them in, and delivered them over to an officer. He then provided himself with a load of ammunition and returned to the firing line, where he reported himself to his platoon Sergeant. All this was done not only under intense rifle and machine-gun fire, but the whole way back Private

Melvin and his party were exposed to a very heavy artillery barrage fire. Throughout the day Private Melvin greatly inspired those near him with confidence and courage.

MAJOR JOHN SHERWOOD-KELLY, (Acting Lieutenant Colonel,) Machine Gun Corps, Norfolk Regiment, commanding a battalion of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery and fearless leading when a party of men of another unit detailed to cover the passage of the canal by his battalion were held up on the near side of the canal by heavy rifle fire directed on the bridge. Lieut. Col. Sherwood-Kelly at once ordered covering fire, personally led the leading company of his battalion across the canal, and, after crossing, reconnoitred under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire the high ground held by the enemy. The left flank of his battalion advancing to the assault of this objective was held up by a thick belt of wire, whereupon he crossed to that flank and, with a Lewis-gun team, forced his way under heavy fire through obstacles, got the gun into position on the far side, and covered the advance of his battalion through the wire, thereby enabling them to capture the position. Later, he personally led a charge against some pits from which a heavy fire was being directed on his men, captured the pits, together with five machine guns and forty-six prisoners, and killed a large number of the enemy. The great gallantry displayed by this officer throughout the day inspired the greatest confidence in his men, and it was mainly due to his example and devotion to duty that his battalion was enabled to capture and hold their objective.

LIEUTENANT ROBERT GEE, (temporary Captain,) M. C., Royal Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, initiative, and determination when an attack by a strong enemy force pierced our line and captured a brigade headquarters and ammunition dump. Captain Gee, finding himself a prisoner, killed one of the enemy with his spiked stick and succeeded in escaping. He then organized a party of the brigade staff, with which he attacked the enemy fiercely, closely followed and supported by two companies of infantry. By his own personal bravery and prompt action he, aided by his orderlies, cleared the locality. Captain Gee established a defensive flank on the outskirts of the village, then, finding that an enemy machine gun was still in action, with a revolver in each hand, and, followed by one man, he rushed and captured the gun, killing eight of the crew. At this time he was wounded, but re-

fused to have the wound dressed until he was satisfied that the defense was organized.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ARTHUR MOORE LASCELLES, (Acting Captain,) Durham Light Infantry.

For most devoted bravery, initiative, and devotion to duty when in command of his company in a very exposed position. After a very heavy bombardment during which Captain Lascelles was wounded, the enemy attacked in strong force, but was driven off, success being due in a great degree to the fine example set by this officer, who, refusing to allow his wound to be dressed, continued to encourage his men and organize the defense. Shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench, taking several of his men prisoners. Captain Lascelles at once jumped on to the parapet, and, followed by the remainder of his company, twelve men only, rushed across under very heavy machine-gun fire and drove over sixty of the enemy back, thereby saving a most critical situation. He was untiring in reorganizing the position, but shortly afterward the enemy again attacked and captured the trench and Captain Lascelles, who escaped later. The remarkable determination and gallantry of this officer in the course of operations, during which he received two further wounds, afforded an inspiring example to all.

PRIVATE HENRY JAMES NICHOLAS, New Zealand Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in attack. Private Nicholas, who was one of a Lewis-gun section, had orders to form a defensive flank to the right of the advance which was subsequently checked by heavy machine-gun and rifle fire from an enemy strong point. Whereupon, followed by the remainder of his section at an interval of about twenty-five yards, Private Nicholas rushed forward alone, shot the officer in command of the strong point, and overcame the remainder of the garrison of sixteen by means of bombs and bayonet, capturing four wounded prisoners and a machine gun. He captured this strong point practically single-handed, and thereby saved many casualties. Subsequently, when the advance had reached its limit, Private Nicholas collected ammunition under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. His exceptional valor and coolness throughout the operations afforded an inspiring example to all.

PRIVATE JAMES PETER ROBERTSON, late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and outstanding devotion to duty in attack. When his platoon was held up by uncut wire

and a machine-gun causing many casualties, Private Robertson dashed to an opening on the flank, rushed the machine gun, and, after a desperate struggle with the crew, killed four and then turned the gun on the remainder, who, overcome by the fierceness of his onslaught, were running toward their own lines. His gallant work enabled the platoon to advance. He inflicted may more casualties among the enemy, and then, carrying the captured machine gun, he led his platoon to the final objective. He there selected an excellent position and got the gun into action, firing on the retreating enemy, who by this time were quite demoralized by the fire brought to bear on them. During the consolidation Private Robertson's most determined use of the machine gun kept down the fire of the enemy snipers; his courage and his coolness cheered his comrades and inspired them to the finest efforts. Later, when two of our snipers were badly wounded in front of our trench, he went out and carried one of them in under very severe fire. He was killed just as he returned with the second man.

CORPORAL JOHN COLLINS, Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

For most conspicuous bravery, resource, and leadership, when, after deployment, prior to an attack, his battalion was forced to lie out in the open under heavy shell and machine-gun fire, which caused many casualties.

This gallant noncommissioned officer repeatedly went out under heavy fire and brought wounded back to cover, thus saving many lives. In subsequent operations throughout the day Corporal Collins was conspicuous in rallying and leading his command. He led the final assault with the utmost skill, in spite of heavy fire at close range and uncut wire. He bayoneted fifteen of the enemy, and with a Lewis-gun section pressed on beyond the objective and covered the reorganization and consolidation most effectively, although isolated and under fire from snipers and guns.

He showed throughout a magnificent example of initiative and fearlessness.

MAJOR ALEXANDER MALIUS LAFONE, late Yeoman.

For most conspicuous bravery, leadership, and self-sacrifice when holding a position for over seven hours against vastly superior enemy forces. All this time the enemy were shelling his position heavily, making it very difficult to see. In one attack, when the enemy cavalry charged his flank, he drove them back with heavy losses. In another charge they left fifteen casualties within twenty yards of his trench, one man, who reached

the trench, being bayoneted by Major Lafone himself.

When all his men, with the exception of three, had been hit and the trench which he was holding was so full of wounded that it was difficult to move and fire, he ordered those who could walk to move to a trench slightly in the rear, and from his own position maintained a most heroic resistance. When finally surrounded and charged by the enemy, he stepped into the open and continued to fight until he was mortally wounded and fell unconscious.

His cheerfulness and courage were a splendid inspiration to his men, and by his leadership and devotion he was enabled to maintain his position, which he had been ordered to hold at all costs.

CAPTAIN (ACTING MAJOR) OKILL MASEY LEARMOUTH, M. C., late Canadian Infantry.

For most conspicuous bravery and exceptional devotion to duty. During a determined counterattack on our new positions, this officer, when his company was momentarily surprised, instantly charged and personally disposed of the attackers. Later, he carried on a tremendous fight with the advancing enemy. Although under intense barrage fire and mortally wounded, he stood on the parapet of the trench, bombed the enemy continuously, and directed the defense in such a manner as to infuse a spirit of utmost resistance into his men.

On several occasions this very brave officer actually caught bombs thrown at him by the enemy and threw them back. When he was unable, by reason of his wounds, to carry on the fight he still refused to be carried out of the line, and continued to give instructions and invaluable advice to his junior officers, finally handing over all his duties before he was evacuated from the front line to the hospital where he died.

SECOND LIEUTENANT HUGH COLVIN, Cheshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in attack. When all the officers of his company except himself—and all but one in the leading company—had become casualties and losses were heavy, he assumed command of both companies and led them forward under heavy machine-gun fire with great dash and success. He saw the battalion on his right held up by machine-gun fire, and led a platoon to their assistance.

Second Lieutenant Colvin then went on with only two men to a dugout. Leaving the men on top, he entered it alone and brought up fourteen prisoners.

He then proceeded with his two men to another dugout, which had been holding

up the attack by rifle and machine-gun fire and bombs. This he reached, and, killing or making prisoners of the crew, captured the machine gun. Being then attacked from another dugout by fifteen of the enemy under an officer, one of his men was killed and the other wounded. Seizing a rifle, he shot five of the enemy, and, using another as a shield, he forced most of the survivors to surrender. This officer cleared several other dugouts alone or with one man, taking about fifty prisoners in all.

Later, he consolidated his position with great skill, and personally wired his front under heavy close-range sniping in broad daylight, when all others had failed to do so.

SECOND LIEUTENANT MONTAGU SHADWORTH SEYMOUR MOORE, Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery in operations necessitating a fresh attack on a final objective which had not been captured.

Second Lieutenant Moore at once volunteered for this duty and dashed forward at the head of some seventy men. They were met with heavy machine-gun fire from a flank which caused severe casualties, with the result that he arrived at his objective—some 500 yards on—with only a Sergeant and four men. Nothing daunted, he at once bombed a large dugout and took twenty-eight prisoners, two machine guns, and a light field gun.

Gradually more officers and men arrived, to the number of about sixty. His position was entirely isolated, as the troops on the right had not advanced, but he dug a trench and repelled bombing attacks throughout the night. The next morning he was forced to retire a short distance. When opportunity offered he at once reoccupied his position, rearmed his men with enemy rifles and bombs, most of theirs being smashed, and beat off more than one counterattack.

Second Lieutenant Moore held this post under continual shellfire for thirty-six hours until his force was reduced to ten men, out of six officers and 130 men who had started the operation. He eventually got away his wounded, and withdrew under cover of a thick mist.

As an example of dashing gallantry and cool determination this young officer's exploit would be difficult to surpass.

CAPTAIN HAROLD ACKROYD, M. D., late Royal Army Medical Corps.

For most conspicuous bravery. During recent operations Captain Ackroyd displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty. Utterly regardless of danger, he worked continuously for many hours up and down and in front of the line tending the wounded and saving the lives

of officers and men. In so doing he had to move across the open under heavy machine-gun, rifle, and shell fire. He carried a wounded officer to a place of safety under very heavy fire. On another occasion he went some way in front of our advanced line and brought in a wounded man under continuous sniping and machine-gun fire. His heroism was the means of saving many lives, and provided a magnificent example of courage, cheerfulness, and determination to the fighting men in whose midst he was carrying out his splendid work. This gallant officer has since been killed in action.

SECOND LIEUTENANT GEORGE WYLD-BORE HEWITT, late Hampshire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when in command of a company in attack. When his first objective had been captured he reorganized the company and moved forward toward his objective. While waiting for the barrage to lift he was hit by a piece of shell, which exploded the signal lights in his haversack and set fire to his equipment and clothes. Having extinguished the flames, in spite of his wound and the severe pain he was suffering, he led forward the remains of the company under very heavy machine-gun fire, and captured and consolidated his objective. He was subsequently killed by a sniper while inspecting the consolidation and encouraging his men. This gallant officer set a magnificent example of coolness and contempt of danger to the whole battalion, and it was due to his splendid leading that the final objective of his battalion was gained.

CORPORAL TOM FLETCHER MAYSON, (Acting Lance Sergeant,) Royal Lancashire Regiment.

For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when, with the leading wave of the attack, his platoon was held up by machine-gun fire from a flank. Without waiting for orders, Lance Sergeant Mayson at once made for the gun, which he put out of action with bombs, wounding four of the team. The remaining three of the team fled, pursued by Lance Sergeant Mayson, to a dugout, into which he followed them, and disposed of them with his bayonet. Later, when clearing up a strong point, this noncommissioned officer again tackled a machine gun single-handed, killing six of the team. Finally, during an enemy counterattack, he took charge of an isolated post, and successfully held it till ordered to withdraw, as his ammunition was exhausted. He displayed throughout the most remarkable valor and initiative.

War Widows of the Poor in Paris

By Anna Milo Upjohn

This extract from the journal of a war worker, like that by the same author in the January issue, portrays the courage with which the lonely war widows of France are trying to face their difficult problems. The author, an American, is the visiting inspector in Paris for the Fraternité Americaine, and the conditions that she here recorded in March, 1917, still prevail in the early months of 1918.

NO coal; but a hundred kilos of wood! It is stacked in a comfortable pile in the kitchen, and from it Angèle allows me five sticks an evening. At that rate it should be a long-drawn-out delight, like the sucking of a stick of candy. Angèle is our femme de chambre. She is a Bretonne, with a hard, flat figure like a man's, and sea-blue eyes that seem to look far beyond the confines of the room. She does not wear sabots, but she walks as though she did, and she has stern views as to the cleaning of a room.

I like the Bretons. Though they are unresponsive, inclined to suspicion and a race apart for obstinacy, yet there is a simplicity and strength about them which command respect. And they are proud and brave, with hidden depths of affection under their reticent bearing. I often come upon them on my rounds, and they are known to me at once by the shining coppers (a part of the marriage dower) which hang near the stove, no matter how poor the room. Only yesterday I stepped into such a kitchen, tiny and burnished as a ship's cabin. I found that Mme. Beguivin's home in Brittany was but a stone's throw from the village where I once spent an unforgettable Summer. We talked of shrimps and heather and of the pilgrimages to the holy springs which abound on the rocky peninsula. And then Mme. Beguivin brought her most sacred treasures and spread them before me.

HER SOLDIER'S BURLAP BAG

Millions of rough burlap sacks are sewn by the women of France, and every soldier takes one to the front with him. Into it are put those homely and intimate objects taken from his body when he is carried to a hospital or buried where he

has fallen. On the kitchen table Mme. Beguivin laid her poor little souvenirs with all the reverence and with infinitely more devotion than as if they had been the relics of a saint. Her man had gone away robust and courageous under the sloping cap of the Chasseurs d'Alpin, his strong legs strapped with blue puttees, and this was all that had come back to her. His shabby pocketbook, his watch, his pipe, a group photograph of the family, and, because he was a Breton, three silver amulets. Mme. Beguivin has sent her three children to her parents in Brittany, as she found that she could earn little or nothing while they were with her. Rather sagely she has thought out a place for the future and unhesitatingly faced toward it. Freed from the daily care of the children, she is able to enter a tobacco factory not far from the southern fortifications of Paris. The company owning the factory has another at Morlaix, and Mme. Beguivin has already applied for her transference there when the war is over. Until that time she can live more cheaply in Paris than elsewhere, because here she has no rent to pay. But after the war, when the moratorium is ended, she can probably manage on less at Morlaix, at the same time supporting her children and keeping them in the country.

Another little woman, also a Bretonne, has not been able to plan her way so clearly. She has reached the first stage only—the realization that her young life is ended. The rest is dark. I found the three little boys (all under 5) in the care of a neighbor while their mother was out searching for coal, and I waited for her to come in. The children were Bretons, I knew that instantly, strong limbed, fearless little men with that un-

SAMUEL GOMPERS



President of the American Federation of Labor, who as the head of
two and a half million organized workers is co-operating with
the Government in the prosecution of the war

(Photo Paul Thompson)

PRINCE LEOPOLD OF BAVARIA



Commander in Chief of the Austro-German armies on the eastern front
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

mistakable look of the sea, which lies not alone in the eye but in the lift of the chin, the straight line of the mouth, the whole attitude of facing the wind.

Mme. Guegan came in after a fruitless search for coal and potatoes, bringing only delicatessen fare for the three babies. She is small and thin almost to emaciation. "If I could get back to the sea," she said, with her head between her hands, "I might be able to think what to do!" I asked if she had any relatives living in Brittany. Only her mother. Of her three brothers, one had fallen and the others were at the front. Her mother lives alone in a little cottage in a village of the Côte du Nord. I know exactly the wee bit of a house it is, crouching behind the spur of granite, the wind tearing through the one ragged pine tree in front.

IN LINE FOR POTATOES

I have stood in line for potatoes myself today, near the Porte St. Ouen, and have borne them away in triumph in a newspaper cornucopia. It happened in this way: Intent upon finding the Widow Conpat and her two little girls, I stopped to ask on which floor they lodged, and discovered the concierge helpless with grip, and her paralyzed husband in bed in the one room which serves them as home. It was evident that she could not go out for food, so I offered, on coming down, to get what she needed for dinner. Potatoes, being very scarce, were the thing most desired, and she had heard that there were to be some for sale that morning for 50 centimes a kilo, (10 cents for two pounds.) She was agonized at the thought of the lost opportunity.

Fortunately I was early on the scene. A young soldier had just established himself on the sidewalk behind a long table heaped with potatoes, and was weighing them out in quantities of one and two kilos. No one was allowed more than two kilos. The line was forming rapidly and the potatoes were dropped into string bags without the ceremony of wrapping. I suddenly realized that I had nothing in which to carry off the spoils. Then remembering my newspaper, which happened to be of two

sheets, I handed it to the soldier and he deftly whisked it into an inverted cone, which with great care and agility could be made to accommodate a kilo of potatoes. The greenness of my procedure did not escape comment, and one old woman jeered audibly at me for taking advantage of an opportunity intended for the poor. Somewhat fussed, I escaped from the queue without capsizing the potatoes on the sidewalk. A small piece of meat, a handful of carrots and onions, so depleted my pocketbook that I was obliged to swing by means of the Metro from one side of Paris to the other in order to replenish it before I could get my own luncheon.

COLONIALS AND ONE-LEGGED MEN

The Kabyles (Mohammedan natives from the north of Africa) have been set to clean up the streets—picturesque figures, clad in regulation khaki from their waists down, their upper portions brilliant in embroidered jackets and turban or fez. Under their long brooms the melting snows swish through the gutters. Russian soldiers, too, are in evidence these days, looking a little mussed and like overgrown boys in their practical but abbreviated uniforms.

And now that the sidewalks are less incumbered a veritable army of one-legged men makes its appearance. They are mostly young men, broad-backed and ruddy-faced, swinging briskly along on crutch or stick, as though the mere loss of a limb were scarcely an impediment. How do they face a mutilated life with such unshaken courage? Perhaps it is the wonder that they should have escaped the full horror of the battlefield and have come back to find the world still beautiful and full of hope. They are welcomed, too, as heroes, and carry for life the badge of their courageous sacrifice.

There is another type of French soldier going about Paris who demands one's keenest sympathy. It is the middle-aged man with high cheek bones touched with feverish color, a long, thin nose and sparse beard, through which may be seen the convulsive movement of a prominent Adam's apple. He is con-

sumptive, and is termed Reformé No. 2. Wistfully he looks out from his sunken eyes, for unless he can go south or to the mountains the shattered life he has brought back from the trenches is of short duration. Usually he has a family dependent upon him, to whom his presence is a constant menace, and to whom his death will bring no pension, because he did not die at the front.

MUTILATED VICTIMS OF WAR

But perhaps the deepest pity is due those with strong limbs and bodies but whose faces are criss-crossed with bandages and bulging with pads; those whose dear and familiar features have been transformed into a repellent mask, who will never again be kissed with ecstasy and whose presence cannot fail to bring a shock to those they love best. But the women take back their battered heroes with a glorious devotion. The other day I saw a man who had lost both arms and both eyes being piloted across the space in front of the Madeleine by a slender young woman. Both looked radiantly happy.

In a London canteen a soldier with a cheek scarred from temple to chin, said brusquely: "Why don't you ask me where I got my wound, Ma'am?" and, without waiting for answer, continued: "Coming up in the bus just now an old lady looked at me with tears in her eyes till I leaned over and said, 'Don't you worry about my face, Ma'am; I got that in Peckham Heath at football.' You see, I couldn't bear her looking that sorry for me, and when you say nothing I am sure you are feeling the same." "Oh, no," I said, "I was thinking how proud some woman would be of that some day." "My word," he exclaimed, with a joyous laugh, "she's kissed every inch of it already!"

CARING FOR THE ORPHANS

As I go about the stormy streets, climbing dark stairways leading to stricken homes, I often wish that those who have given their \$36 a year for these French orphans might see for themselves the comfort and relief which their money brings and realize how wisely it is spent in the main.

And the children are such jolly little

specimens, in spite of the sinister atmosphere which, unknown to them, envelops their country and their babyhood.

* * * The best that we can do is to see that they have plenty of bread and milk—these very little boys and girls, who unconsciously make their appeal to us with their shy, merry, mischievous ways! Perhaps it is a round-eyed baby with downy hair and tiny reaching hands, or a little fellow with laughing blue eyes and square shoulders, or a typical little French girl, oval-faced and dark-eyed, refusing to play and grieving for her father, grieving most of all that she was not beside him in the trenches: "If I had been there I would not have let those boches hurt my little papa!"

The floor may be of polished wood, or of red tiles, but there is sure to be a cook stove about as big as a water bucket, and a sideboard out of all proportion to its surroundings, for that article of furniture seems as indispensable as is the bed or the round table. The little interior may be clean and attractive, no matter how poor, perhaps with a devoted grandmother in charge, while the mother works away from home. Sometimes it is dirty and chaotic, the children romping care-free about the place, the mother flattened against the window folding paper bags or feathering hat ornaments in the waning light.

The bourgeois apartment is not picturesque, but it often contains the more touching tragedy. Here strivings and aspirations had begun to be possibilities. Now the widowed mother, working indefatigably to keep the older children in school and the younger ones well nourished, cries out from the wreck of her hopes: "Do what I will, I can never make more than a home for my children. Their father would have given them a position in life!"

HOW WOMEN EARN A LIVING

There is, of course, a great difference in the earning capacity of the women, as well as in their ability to make four or five francs compass the daily needs of the family; but French thrift and good management are seldom lacking. Some mothers are young and equipped with a

modern training, which carries them into newspaper or recruiting offices or fits them for secretarial work in the various branches of the Ministry of War or of the Post. Some are dressmakers or modistes, searching anxiously for work now, and others go out by the day or half day to do cleaning and housework if they can find it. Then there are the more lucrative lines of employment, the making of uniforms, the tobacco factories, many of which employ only war widows having three or four children, and the munitions.

There are rumors of fabulous wages, 30 or 40 francs a day, paid in certain departments of the latter industry, but I have never met any one who was willing to own up to more than 4, [80 cents.] But if the pay is high, the hours are long and the work arduous. Often the women became broken in health or in morale in a short time. In almost every case in which the war widows have regular employment they have had to abandon their old pursuits and take up some new occupation. This they do with amazing courage and adaptability.

Not one but will tell you with wet eyes

that her *poilu* was the bravest, best-hearted *garçon* in the whole world, and at least one little woman with a wistful smile adds that he is not really dead—that it was some one else of the same name who died in the Florentine Hospital, and that after the war he will come back to her.

The tenderness of the French for children, particularly for little children, is very great. A touching sight is the *poilu* on leave taking his little girl for an outing. She comes into the Metro perched on his arm like a fluffy bird, is carefully settled on his knee—for the most hardened Parisian gives up his seat to any one carrying a child—her cloths are pulled down, her socks pulled up, her jacket loosened at the throat, and, possessing himself of a small hand, the heavy-footed warrior in the shabby uniform gazes enraptured at the tiny thing, with its satiny skin and limpid eyes, snuggling against him. When their station is reached she is stood on the seat, while one deft sweep of the blue sleeve straightens her little skirts and she makes her exit on a strong arm, her chubby fingers caressing the back of a seamy neck.

The Bombardment of Rheims

By Barr Ferree

THE bombardment of a single city that has lasted more than three years and is still in progress, [March, 1918,] would seem, even in this war of wars, an event certain to win universal attention. And when this bombardment has resulted in the practical destruction of one of the most important and beautiful architectural monuments in the world it scarcely seems necessary to draw attention to it. Yet the bombardment of Rheims, amounting, in some days, to the throwing of many thousands of shells on the beleaguered city and the attendant destruction of its great cathedral, has by no means received the attention from the world that it deserves; even in Paris the newspapers make reference to the daily bombardment only at long intervals.

The reason is not hard to find. There has been no neglect of Rheims, but its siege, terrible and terrifying as it is to its people, is but a minor episode in the great war. It has involved no great points of strategy; it has meant no huge accumulation of men and ammunition; it has not been a vital point. For the Germans it has been a work of destruction, and nothing else; even its surrender, after more than three years of effort, would yield them little prestige. Up to the present moment the accomplishment of their guns would seem scarcely to have compensated for the huge waste of ammunition.

It must be highly exasperating to the Germans to recall that they were once actually in Rheims. They occupied it for ten days in 1914, German officers en-

tering the city at 8:30 o'clock in the evening of Sept. 3; they evacuated it in the afternoon of Sept. 12, the actual time being thus less than ten full days. They were not ejected; they went—because the movement of troops on both sides was such that they could not remain. But they stayed long enough to prepare the way for the great disaster of Rheims, the burning of the cathedral. They filled the vast church with straw, intending to use it as a hospital for their wounded. The wounded Germans were placed in it only after the troops had left; but when an incendiary bomb set fire to the heavy wood scaffolding built several years before to restore the north tower, the straw within also caught fire and woefully aided in furthering the destruction of the cathedral.

But before this, so singularly works the German mind, the destruction of the city had been begun by a German bombardment on Sept. 4, while German officers were in charge of the city. On the morning before two aerial bombs had been dropped by an airplane; Rheims was then in French hands, and this might have been expected as an act of war. But the bombardment of Sept. 4, 1914, stands almost alone in the annals of war, for certainly there is no reason at all why a captured city should be bombarded by its captors. The Germans were unable to offer any explanation for this unheard-of proceeding. Great damage was done on that day, many buildings being ruined by shells and by fire.

The German evacuation of Sept. 12, 1914, was followed by the entrance of French officers at 6:30 P. M.; the French troops came in the next day, and the German bombardment began betimes the following morning, Sept. 14, at 5 A. M. The bombardment then started has never ceased. This is the tragedy of Rheims, this her martyrdom.

It is true that shells have not fallen every day. Occasionally a calm day, on which nothing happened, would be interspersed between periods of great artillery activity. This was particularly the case in 1915, when in several months the "calm" days actually outnumbered those of bombardment. On other days the

guns heard would be those on the front, Rheims itself being free from the fall of shells. But the possibility of shells was always present. No one could tell when the bombardment would be renewed, nor could one be certain that one's own house might not be the next to go. The bombardment hung over Rheims as an ever-present danger. A calm day would be followed by a calm night; or a peaceful night would be followed by a tempestuous day. The German airplanes became familiar visitors, coming generally in the early morning to spy out the land, or later in the day to take note of ruin accomplished.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that, with this terrible menace constantly hanging over them, the people of Rheims were reduced to all sorts of devices to protect their lives. Their property they could not save; that was at the mercy of the bombarders, but their lives they would not yield up without an effort. The wonder is that any were left in the city; many, of course, sought refuge elsewhere, but many still remained, and not until April, 1917, was the evacuation of the civil population finally ordered.

But the people of Rheims lost no time in reversing their modes of life. They betook themselves to the cellars and wine vaults. There they established their homes, such as they were; there schools were opened for the children; there the Mayor and other officials of the city had their offices and conducted public business; there the newspapers were edited, for Rheims boasted two daily papers until the Spring of 1917, and still retains one. Astonishing the vitality of the city, the courage and heroism of the people! The tenacity of the French to their home soil has nowhere been more amply illustrated than at Rheims, and its underground life, while the city above was being slowly shot to pieces, must rank among the wonders of the war.

Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse. December, 1916, was a comparatively calm month; only a few days with bombardments, and these with but a minor fall of shells. January, 1917, opened with utter calm. Shells fell on Jan. 2, and a few on the three succeeding

days. Events became more uncertain as time went on; there were days of bombardment and days of no bombardment. No one could tell what would happen next. On Feb. 2 the bombardment started in with some daily regularity; but since March 1, 1917, there have been barely half a dozen days in which Rheims has not been subjected to a bombardment.

The siege had assumed a new character. The bombardment of 1917 was almost continuous. Rheims was fairly drenched with shells. They were no longer to be counted by twos, threes, twenties, fifties, but by hundreds and thousands. On the two days of April 6 and 7 no less than 8,785 shells were counted. On April 12 the number for the single day rose to 7,000 or 8,000. Eighty fires were noted in Rheims from shells between April 7 and April 18. The beautiful Hotel de Ville took fire on May 3 and burned for two days. It was estimated that 15,000 shells fell between May 11 and 13, and the total for all months of 1917 reached gigantic figures.

July, 1917, was a dreadful month. Twelve hundred shells fell on July 3, 1,350 on July 12, more than 2,000 on July 13, from 2,500 to 3,000 on July 14, 800 on July 15, and 2,537 on July 16. July 17 was relatively calm, with 129 shells. Then a renewal on the 18th of 840 shells, dropping to 80 on the 19th, rising slightly to 119 on the 20th and then amounting to more than 900 on the 21st. Of these 30 fell between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, 30 from 8:30 to

11 A. M., 760 from 1 to 3 P. M., and 100 after 11 o'clock at night—a typical day of the great bombardment of Rheims.

Has anything been left of the city? That is the marvel of it. People are still in Rheims. Its heroic Mayor, Dr. Langlet, still carries on the business of his office. The Archbishop, Cardinal Luçon, still offers what succor he can to his sorely tried flock. The daily newspaper of Rheims, *L'Eclaireur de l'Est*, is still published. And while no detailed news has come out of Rheims for some months, it is known that the battered cathedral still stands. An enormous triumph for the French, a splendid tribute to their inexhaustible vitality and unconquerable heroism! That it is costing them dear goes without saying, but that they have kept on is superb. Even today, with the German shells carrying destruction into their midst, the blackened walls of Rheims are placarded with posters inviting subscriptions to the latest French loan! And this after more than three years of German battering!

It is quite impossible for any one not a German to elucidate the operations of the German mind. Even the Germans must find the job difficult at times. Judging from their great waste of ammunition—for their three years' gunfire has not yet eradicated Rheims from the surface of the earth—they have simply tried to make the destruction of the city as complete as possible. Their failure has been precisely as great as their effort. Rheims still lives. Vive Rheims!

Indians Among America's Fighters

Five thousand Indians have enlisted in the American Army and Navy for the present war, according to an estimate made early in 1918 by Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner also stated that Indians had subscribed to more than \$9,000,000 worth of Liberty bonds, besides assisting in Red Cross work and creating a great increase in the output of meat and agricultural products on Indian reservations. He added: "There is something epochal and eloquent in the patriotic fervor and martial spirit of the Indians everywhere in the recent months."

Food Shortage in Central Empires

Official Summary of Living Conditions During 1917 as Revealed Through German and Austrian Sources

THE United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Fall of 1917 made a minute survey of internal conditions in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, as revealed through published statements in those countries. The result was presented in an official report, which gave a clear understanding of the real economic status of the Central Powers at that time. As a historical record this possesses great value.

The report shows that Turkey was actually starving because of the corruption of her own officials and the greed of Germany; that Germany and Austria were not starving, but were having a hard struggle to feed themselves; that Hungary was in better shape than either Germany or Austria, and that Bulgaria, so far as food was concerned, was suffering the least of all the countries covered in the report. The report also showed that Germany failed by a wide margin to live up to her reputation for efficiency in her attempts at food administration, having been obliged to reverse her policies in an effort to remedy in part the fatal results of blundering. It showed, conclusively, that the civil populations of Germany and Austria were suffering permanent physical deterioration from lack of proper food, that the death rate from tuberculosis was rapidly increasing, that growing boys and girls were not getting more than half the nourishment they needed, and that manual laborers were being underfed to about the same extent.

Politically, the most interesting thing revealed by the report was the fact that the traditional hatred between the two parts of the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, was manifesting itself in an economic way in the refusal of Hungary to share her comparative abundance with Austria and in the official and public resentment of that fact in Vienna.

The report contains a statement from Dr. Schlittenbauer, Director of the Agricultural Central Co-operative Society of Ratisbon, asserting that the German food situation for 1917 was serious because of previous blunders in not making proper provision against the diminishing imports of fodder. The consequence is stated as follows:

Hundreds of thousands of thin animals, which might in the Summer have put on flesh finely for the Winter of 1917-18 in the green pastures, fell a sacrifice to the butcher's axe. Even the milch cows, the plow oxen, and, above all, the stock of calves and heifers which were to have prevented the milk famine, unfortunately have been slaughtered. The doubling of the meat ration was bound to have a bad effect on the stock of horned cattle as soon as the supply of pigs ready for slaughter gave out, which took place somewhere about May 20. The doubled meat ration necessitated from this time onward not a double amount of slaughtering from the stock of oxen, but a treble amount, owing to the fact that the civil population formerly supplied its meat needs principally from pork, and that in Summer the average killing weight of pigs had seriously diminished.

ALL GAME DISTRIBUTED

Even the game and the fish taken by sportsmen are under strict regulation in Germany. Civil and military hospitals must be supplied, and even war prisoners have game if there is not sufficient beef. A small number of deer and wild boars and the smaller animals and birds killed by huntsmen go to the owners of the preserves. The rest of the bag is divided into halves, one for the local supply, the other for the cities. In Bavaria, two out of three wild boars must be delivered to the commune, also four out of every five hares, pheasants, and partridges after the first five. Maximum prices are fixed for partridge and wild duck.

Another food card has been added to the rest, says the Leipziger Volkszeitung. It is the card for hares, issued in five

sections. For a whole hare the entire card must be delivered; for back and legs, four sections; back or legs separately, two each; forelegs, or head, liver, &c., one section each. Every household of one to three persons is entitled to one card.

Preserved porpoise has been added to the list of edible fish, and some experiments have been made in getting fish from Rumania to the German cities.

The Berliner Tageblatt says: "Like so many other foodstuffs, fish has also disappeared from the Greater Berlin market during the war."

The Deutsche Tageszeitung, commenting on the lack of poultry and eggs, urges that the small bantam breeds be tried in the cities, where there is not room for larger fowls.

In Berlin the prices for fowls in the Summer of 1917, according to the lists printed in the Tageblatt, were:

	Pound.
First quality.....	\$1.19
Second quality.....	.99
Third quality.....	.84
Ducks .....	.86

DISSECTING A GOOSE

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger for Oct. 5 gave the following schedule of prices for parts of a goose:

Parts.	Price Per Pound.
Head and neck.....	\$0.95
Wings .....	.95
Gizzard and heart.....	.95
Pickled giblets	2.16
Liver	1.95
Liver sausage	1.73
Leg	1.41
Leg, smoked	1.95
Breast, with bone.....	1.90
Breast, smoked, with bone.....	2.49
Breast, without bone.....	1.95
Breast, smoked, without bone.....	2.71
Frame, with legs but without inwards	1.35
Scraps of meat.....	.93
Back fat	2.16
Stomach fat	1.52
Internal fat	1.73
Drippings	3.03
Melted pieces of fat.....	2.16
Pieces, roasted	2.37
Pieces, smoked	2.81

The Hamburger Fremdenblatt asserted that for four weeks in the Fall of 1917 Hamburg received no eggs. In September the retail price of eggs was fixed at \$1.14 a dozen. The Frankfurter

Zeitung quoted butter at 65 cents a pound.

In Greater Berlin the local fat office has reduced the young children's ration of whole milk, says the Lokal-Anzeiger. Children born since October, 1913, now get only .79 of a quart per day. In some towns, Nuremberg, for example, the ration is less than that. In several places there has been an attempt at compensation for reduced milk rations for children by increase of sugar allowance and by infant food preparations. Also, persons over 75 years of age are allowed these food preparations at the rate of 500 grams a week.

BABIES' MILK SUPPLY

In Hanover, according to the Hanoverscher Kurier, the milk saved by cutting down the allowance for babies is used for invalids.

All Germany suffered greatly in health from the dearth of fresh vegetables and fruits. In the last growing season Vorwärts, in its issue of July 25, contained the following from the Berlin municipal administration: "The German Towns Congress has been conducting an inquiry among the forty-two German towns with over 100,000 population each (not including Greater Berlin) as to whether there has been a shortage of fruits and vegetables during the last few weeks. Thirty-nine replies have been received, which, with very few exceptions, establish that the supply has been entirely inadequate. Several towns complain that the supply obtained through the imperial office is insufficient."

All the reports indicate a practical failure in the vegetable crop on account of drought and vermin plague. The fruit crop was only fair. At Hamburg apples were quoted from 3.9 cents to 14.1 cents per pound, pears 13 cents, and plums 10.8 cents per pound.

No experiment was left untried that might add to the country's supply of fats and oils. Fruit pits were pressed and every inducement offered to farmers to save everything that might produce even an infinitesimal amount of oil. The Vossische Zeitung of Berlin (Sept. 27) said:

A new source of oil production is now

being drawn upon—tomato seeds. The analysis of tomato seeds by the War Committee for oils gave a result of 20 to 24 per cent. of oil, 9.1 per cent. of water, and 4 per cent. of nitrogen. Tomato seeds are being collected everywhere in Germany and in the occupied territories, especially Rumania.

The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger said:

Oil collectors for the Government are paying cash or soup cubes for fruit kernels and melon seed from which to extract oil for margarine. The soup cubes are delivered to collectors of kernels and are rated at the cash price of six-tenths of a cent per cube. Apple parings are being used as a substitute for tea.

The deaths from tuberculosis in Berlin in the three months ended with May, 1917, were 1,606, against 1,032 in the corresponding period of 1916; from pneumonia, 1,009, against 622. Infant mortality in Berlin, which was 9.62 in September, 1915, steadily rose and stood at 13.52 in June, 1917. The increased death rate was due to insufficient nourishment.

IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In Austria the food conditions were at their worst in the industrial districts on the northern border of Bohemia and the Sudetic lands, (Moravia and Silesia.) The common pressure of hunger seems to have united Czech and German workmen against the food situation. The Bohemia, published at Prague, Sept. 10, summarized the demands of the metal workers as follows: "The bread ration for heavy workers to be increased from 4.6 to 6.6 pounds weekly; for other workers, from 3.1 to 4.6 pounds. The sugar ration for heavy workers to be raised from 3.3 pounds to 4.4 pounds per month; for other workers, from 2.2 to 3.3 pounds per month. The potato rations must be 8.8 pounds per person per week. Profiteering must be suppressed."

The Arbeiter Zeitung of Vienna (Sept. 20) said that increases of wages for industrial workers in the Sudetic lands had not alleviated the suffering, that thousands of workmen had not had any increases. In food disturbances in Moravia it was proved that thousands were earning less than \$4.06 a week and only a very few as much as \$6.09. In North-

ern Moravia many weavers were earning only \$1.42 per week or less.

In the resolutions adopted by the workmen in a conference at Brunn was the following: "The industrial-workers of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, without distinction of language and nationality, are suffering intolerably in consequence of transport difficulties and the high cost of food. These conditions cannot be explained as due to scarcity of foodstuffs, but are founded on the two following causes: The passive resistance of the agrarian population to the regulations of the Food Administration and the faulty and senseless organization of the Food Administration itself."

PRICES OF HORSE MEAT

The prices of horseflesh for food in September, 1917, were quoted in the Volksblatt of Vienna as follows:

Parts of Horse.	Cents per Pound.	
Forequarter	41.3	
Hindquarter	51.7	
Roast pieces, sirloin, loin, haunch.....	59.9	
All other cuts.....	41.3	
Horst tongue	32.2	
Horse lung, raw.....	9.1	
Horse lung, cooked.....	10.9	
Horse liver, heart, brains, or kidney....	15.0	
Horse sausage	42.2	
Horse fat	59.9	

The retail price fixed for eggs at the same time was 7.2 cents each for Russian-Polish eggs and 9.8 cents each for Hungarian eggs.

The Vienna Fremdenblatt of Oct. 10, 1917, stated that Vienna's milk supply, which in peace times was 951,000 quarts a day, had fallen to 211,340 quarts a day. This was explained by the slaughter of cows for lack of fodder.

Highest retail prices for vegetables in Vienna on Sept. 29 were reported in Die Zeit of that date as follows:

	Cents per Pound.
French and butter beans.....	20.7
Pumpkins	10.1
Cucumbers	5.8
Viennese onions.....	17.0
Native onions.....	22.5
Garlic	25.8
Red cabbage.....	15.1
Leaf spinach.....	8.5
Stalk spinach.....	6.6
Brussels sprouts.....	21.2
Green cabbage.....	14.2

	Cents Each.
Hungarian peppers.....	3.0
Cooking lettuce.....	4.5
Cabbage lettuce.....	4.1
Fine crinkled lettuce.....	4.9
Kohlrabi	6.5
Hungarian maize in ear.....	5.3
Native maize in ear.....	5.7
Cauliflower	11.0
Large radishes.....	4.1
Small table radishes (per bunch).....	4.9

Until the war stress became serious pumpkins were never considered fit food for humans in Austria. They were used formerly only as fodder for swine.

THE POOR IN VIENNA

Public kitchens (volksküchen) were much used in Vienna during August, 1917. With the return of cold weather, the coal shortage, and the inconvenience of waiting in line, the number of persons patronizing these kitchens was further increased. In an interview with a representative of *Die Zeit*, Dr. Eisler, President of the Union of Public Kitchens, expressed himself as follows:

Ninety-nine public kitchens now belong to the union, in which 49,000 persons of Vienna are fed daily. The largest of these kitchens is that attached to Krupp's Metal Works at Berndorf, feeding 7,000 persons per day. In other kitchens the number of patrons ranges from 30 to 2,200.

No fresh milk is used in the kitchens. In certain dishes for which milk is an essential ingredient only powdered milk is used; this in very limited quantities, which often run short.

Much economy has to be observed in the use of flour. The managers of the individual kitchens have no easy task in apportioning their flour quota when preparing farinaceous dishes. A weekly ration of only $\frac{1}{4}$ kilogram (.55 pound) per capita is allowed on the food cards. According to the supplies on hand, a further very limited quantity of potato flour is sometimes allowed without cards to eke out the scanty supply of grain flour.

Nothing definite can at present be stated with respect to pulse. For the period from July 22 to Oct. 1 the kitchens were assigned three wagonloads by the Provisional Government. Naturally, considering present conditions, these had to be used very sparingly. A considerable portion, too, had to be stored up.

A midday meal costs the guests from 2 to 2.30 crowns, (40.6 to 46.7 cents.) In some kitchens it is as low as 1.50 to 1.80 crowns, (30.5 to 36.5 cents.) It is doubtful whether these extraordinarily cheap

prices can be maintained. For purely technical reasons, it has hitherto proved impossible to provide a cheap evening meal. People must regard the hot mid-day meal as their principal meal and content themselves with a cold supper.

The Hungarian Socialist paper *Nepszava* printed a percentage table showing the comparison of war food prices in Hungary and in England, taking as the periods for comparison the months of July, 1914, and June, 1917, for both countries:

PER CENT. OF INCREASE

	In England.	In Hungary.
Beef, ribs	96	700
Bacon	76	350
Flour	109	64
Sugar	188	65
Milk	60	180
Butter	65	200
Eggs	95	200
Potatoes	144	115

According to those figures the prices of flour, sugar, and potatoes had risen more in England than in Hungary, whereas the increases in beef, bacon, milk, butter, and eggs had been far greater in Hungary.

IN BULGARIA AND TURKEY

Bulgaria being a predominantly agricultural country, the food situation in the nation at large was by no means acute, according to the report. In the capital, Sofia, however, the population had increased to such an extent that distribution was difficult and all newcomers who had no war business to keep them in the city had been ordered to leave.

The prices of meats in Sofia last quoted were 28.9 cents a pound for lamb or kid; heads, 19 cents each, and livers, 38 cents each.

Slaughtering of pigs in Bulgaria was prohibited from Sept. 6 to Dec. 10. The weekly meat ration for Sofia, as reported in the *Narodni Prava* of Sept. 6, was .44 of a pound per person distributed over Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays. To supplement the meat supply there is an abundance of fish from the Danube marshes, the Lower Maritsa, and the Aegean Sea.

Milk prices fixed for Sofia on Oct. 10 were 20 cents a quart for fresh milk delivered, 24 cents for boiled milk at the

shops, and 27 cents for curdled milk. The price of butter was fixed at the same time at \$1.05 per pound.

French beans were only 8.8 cents a pound in Sofia when they were selling for 20.7 in Vienna and 11 cents in Budapest. Cabbage in Sofia sold for 2.2 cents per pound when it was 15.1 cents a pound in Vienna and 7.9 a pound in Budapest. Apples were selling in Bulgaria at 9 cents a pound when the price in Germany was 14 cents.

The suffering of the people in Turkey, the report says, is not and has not been due to shortage of food crops, for the crops on the whole have been good and the acreage increased, but to the corruption and graft of officials and to the fact that Germany has taken vast quantities of Turkey's supplies away from her. But this greed of Germany to supply her own lack and the extortion of Turkish officials combined have been more than sufficient to reduce the people of that country to a far worse condition than that obtaining in any of the other Central Empires, so-called. In Germany and Austria the word starvation is still something of a figure of speech. In Turkey it is a word to be taken literally. Profiteering is unrestricted.

Bread costs eleven times as much as before the war, sesame oil more than thirteen times as much, coal eight times as much, salt eight times as much, beans and tea fifteen times as much, wood six times as much, milk five times as much. Butter at Constantinople is \$2.33 a pound.

Weekly Foodstuff Rations in Twenty-four German Towns

The following table, compiled from local German papers, shows the average weekly rations of principal foodstuffs in twenty-four representative German towns during August, 1917. Blanks indicate merely that information was unobtainable:

	Bread.	Flour.	Groats.	Fresh Meat.
	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle ...	3 13.7	..	3.1	6.2
Altona	3 14.8	3.1	1.8	10.1
Berlin	3 14.6	.9	.9	13.2
Charlottenburg ...	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Schoeneberg ...	3 14.6	.9	2.2	13.2
Wilhelmsdorf ....	..	..	1.5	13.2
Bremen .....	..	2.2	..	13.2
Breslau	4 2.1	..	..	13.2
Brunswick	3 8.4	..	2.6	13.2
Dresden	3 13.7	..	2.2	13.2
Duren .....	..	..	1.8	10.6

	Bread.	Flour.	Groats.	Fresh Meat.
	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Duesseldorf .....	..	..	1.8	9.7
Frankfort-on-Main..	3 13.7	1.9	2.6	10.6
Gladbach	3 9.3	..	1.8	13.2
Hamburg (urban)...	3 14.1	7.4	2.4	6.2
Hamburg (rural)...	3 14.0	..	.9	13.2
Hanover	3 15.5	..	4.4	12.3
Kiel .....	..	..	..	13.2
Krefeld .....	..	..	8.8	12.3
Leipzig	3 13.7	2.6	1.1	10.6
Magdeburg	3 15.5	..	1.1	13.2
Munich	3 13.7	..	..	13.2
Strassburg	4 3.0	..	..	11.5
Stuttgart .....	..	..	..	..

	Eggs.	Butter.	Pota- toes.	Sugar.	Jam.
	Av. No.	Oz.	Lbs. Oz.	Oz.	Oz.
Aix-la-Chapelle ...	¼	2.2	3 4.9	6.2	3.5
Altona	1¾	2.8	6 1.0	5.7	4.2
Berlin	¼	1.8	5 8.2	..	..
Charlottenburg ...	¼	1.8	4 15.4	..	4.4
Schoeneberg .....	..	1.8	5 12.6	5.9	4.4
Wilhelmsdorf ....	..	1.8	4 6.5	..	8.8
Bremen	1	2.1	4 2.1	..	2.2
Breslau	¼	1.8	3 .5	..	..
Brunswick	1	2.6	5 8.2	6.6	..
Dresden	1	2.2	2 12.1	..	.9
Duren .....	..	1.9	4 13.7	..	5.5
Duesseldorf	½	2.2	4 15.4	..	2.2
Frankfort-on-Main .	¼	1.3	2 12.1	6.2	6.6
Gladbach	½	2.4	5 3.8	6.3	..
Hamburg (urban)...	½	1.1	5 8.2	5.7	4.0
Hamburg (rural)...	..	..	5 2.9	7.0	..
Hanover	1	..	2 12.1	..	..
Kiel .....	..	..	..	..	2.2
Krefeld	½	..	4 15.4	..	1.3
Leipzig	½	2.5	....	..	2.6
Magdeburg .....	..	1.1	6 1.0	..	..
Munich	1	2.6	3 .5	6.6	2.2
Strassburg	1	..	5 8.2	..	..
Stuttgart .....	..	..	8 4.2	..	..

Rise in Food Cost in First Three Years of War

Retail prices of meats, fish, fruits, and vegetables in the markets of Leipzig for the first weeks of August, 1914 and 1917. Table shows the percentages of war increases. Unless otherwise stated, the prices are per pound:

(Source: Leipziger Volkszeitung, Leipzig, Sept. 20, 1917.)

	Article.	1914.	1917.	P.C.
Beef, loin	\$0.302	\$0.751	149
Veal, leg215	.475	120
Pork, leg173	..	..
Liver pudding (leberwurst)...	..	.151	.432	186
Blood pudding (blutwurst)...	..	.151	.432	186
Pickled pork151	.345	129
Goose194	.918	372
Flounder130	.324	150
Haddock108	.238	120
Apples043	.136	215
Pears043	.130	200
Blubberies069	.108	56
Tomatoes043	.259	500
Rhubarb (bunch).....060	..
Cauliflower (head).....	..	.060	.190	220
Green peas022	.215	900
Kohlrabi (ten).....	..	.071	.476	367

Article.	August, August, P.C.			Article.	August, August, P.C.		
	1914.	1917.	Inc.		1914.	1917.	Inc.
Savoy (head).....	.024	.119	400	Beans .....	.045	.093	105
Red cabbage .....	.060	.119	100	Condensed milk, sweetened (can) .....	.131	.405	209
White cabbage .....	.048	.119	150	Eggs (each).....	.017	.076	357
Carrots (bunch).....	.024	.143	500	Soap, first quality.....	.155	.804	456
Radishes (each).....	.012	.060	400	Butter, first quality.....	.259	.626	142
Cucumbers .....	.048	.071	50	Wheat flour .....	.043	.056	30
Mushrooms .....	.215	.756	250	Margarine .....	.181	.432	138
Jam, first quality.....	.097	.302	211	Limburger cheese .....	.108	.194	80
Artificial honey, in boxes.....	.073	.119	57	Lard .....	.194	.915	371
Artificial honey, loose.....	.076	.119	57	Wheat grits .....	.043	.097	125
Syrup .....	.043	.076	75	Farinaceous food .....	.076	.110	46
Sauerkraut .....	.013	.085	167	Bread .....	.032	.035	7
Fifty per cent. coffee.....	...	.475	...	Hulled barley .....	.039	.065	67
Twenty-five per cent. coffee.....	...	.302	...	Prepared oats, loose.....	.076	.095	26
Ten per cent. coffee.....	...	.199	...	Prepared oats, in packages....	.107	.133	24
Onions .....	.013	.043	233	Potato flakes.....	.019	.086	344
Herrings .....	.048	.215	355	Potato starch flour.....	.039	.058	50
Bloaters (each).....	.012	.214	1,700	Potatoes .....	.006	.022	233
Smoked herrings (each).....	.036	.214	500	Salad oil .....	.215	.756	250

New Light on Polish History

The World War a Sequel to the American Civil War, Professor Lutoslawski's Interpretation*

THE war most similar to the present world war was the conflict of more than fifty years ago between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States of America. So says the eminent Polish philosopher, Professor Vincent Lutoslawski, in an article on the "Meaning of the World War," in the Chicago Dziennik Zwiazkowy. The Southern defenders of slavery had a better military organization than the Northerners, and in the fourth year of the war it still seemed that they would be able to gain the ascendancy.

They charged the Northern industrialists with being concerned not at all for the emancipation of the negroes, but only for the hindrance of the industry of the South, which was developing, thanks to the cheap labor of the slaves. In a like manner, the Germans now are charging the English with being concerned chiefly for the ruin of German competition in industry, which rests on cheap production, due to the fewness of German strikes and the greater political dependence of the workman.

But, such charges are false. The Germans are waging the war for material gains, just as the defenders of slavery in America waged it for that object. And

if the Northern States triumphed then it was because they were fighting for an ideal that exalted the spirit and the hearts, not only of the industrialists, but also of the whole people. Similarly in this war, it is a question of a great ideal—the abolition of the slavery of nations, which the Germans introduced into Europe and which they wish to maintain. The world war began with the invasion of two small countries, the German assault on Belgium and the Austrian assault on Serbia. It will be concluded with the gaining of the right for the weakest nation to live its own natural life without the need of standing in fear of violence and outrage from the strongest neighbors. Therefore, the present war is, as it were, a continuation of the American civil war. At that time it was a question of the abolition of the slavery of individuals; now, it is a question of making impossible the slavery of nations.

"During the first two years of the world war this was not realized," observes Professor Lutoslawski, "and there was proclaimed as one of the aims of the war the conquest of the whole of

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Poland for the Czar of Russia—the unification of Poland under one of her oppressors. This impaired the character of the world war, discredited it in the eyes of many Poles, and even led some of them to service in the ranks of Poland's worst and immemorial foes. But when the Czar fell, and when the socialism of the Muscovites manifested its military impotence, then all began to comprehend that a strong Poland is needful in Europe. This was proclaimed first by President Wilson, after him by the revolutionary Russian Government, and then by France, England, and Italy. Now the war is waged for the independence of a United Poland. This aim is recognized universally."

GAUL AND GERMANY

The present war not only constitutes the ending of the great conflicts of history, but it also decides the strifes of the Germans with their various neighbors, says this writer. Old is the rivalry between the peoples living west of the Rhine and those who had settled on the eastern bank of that river. Two thousand years ago, according to the testimony of Caesar, Gaul constituted a definite whole and reached to the Rhine. Later the land of the Celts yielded to the invasions of the Germanic Franks, and from them it received the name of France. But the Franks were absorbed by the children of the soil, and the French of today regard themselves as more Gallic than Frank. For the boundaries of the Rhine the rulers of France have carried on with their eastern neighbors an age-long contest. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon extended the limits of France to the Rhine and beyond the Rhine; but the French dominion in the Rhine provinces, though eagerly greeted by the population in those times, did not last long.

"Now France wants to regain her lost territories; and this restitution concerns not only France, but also the whole world. For if the Germans shall be able to keep their conquests, there will prevail in Europe the spirit of hate; while if the Germans shall have to return to their former boundaries, the

French spirit of political freedom—a nobler spirit than the German—will have the predominating influence on the future system of the world."

SLAVONIANS AND GERMANS

The Germans and Slavs also have been carrying on a contest for 2,000 years. In olden times the seats of the Slavonians reached to the Laba (German Elbe) River, and Professor Lutoslawski recalls the fact that Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, Rostock, Bremen, are cities founded by the Slavonians.

"Little by little the Germans, impelled by their pressure to the east, (Drang nach Osten,) seized on the Slavonic countries between the Laba and the Oder, then between the Oder and the Vistula, and now they have reached the Niemen. The Poles defeated the Germans as long ago as the reign of Miecislav I., in the tenth century; then in the reign of Boleslaus the Valiant, who, after a conflict of many years, fixed the western boundary of Poland by the peace of Budziszyn, (Bautzen,) in 1018. Ninety years later Boleslaus III. beat the Germans on the Dogs' Field, near Breslau, (in 1109,) and reconquered Pomerania, converting the Slavonic Pomeranians to Christianity. Poland at that time bordered on Denmark. Later, the Germans again gained the ascendancy; until, in 1331, Ladislaus the Ell-long routed them at Plowce, and thenceforward their pressure to the east was curbed for a time. The battle of Grünwald in 1410 and the ensuing conflicts with the Knights of the Cross, (Teutonic Knights,) waged with the participation of the Lithuanians and Ruthenians, exorcised the German danger for a long time and led to the peace of Thorn in 1466, after which the Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross became a vassal of the Polish King.

FATE OF POLISH EMPIRE

"The Poles did not at that time back King Casimir IV. in crushing the Knights of the Cross utterly, and they prepared a hard lot for themselves. The two German dynasties—the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns—prepared the downfall of Poland through their matrimonial

combinations. Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg, married Sophia, sister of Sigismund the Old, King of Poland. Frederick's son Albert, Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross, obtained Prussia in 1525 from his uncle, the King of Poland, as a secular fief. In this way, by obtaining the hand of a royal Princess of Poland, the Brandenburger possessed himself of territory that he could not have gained by arms. It reached to the heart of Poland. In a similar way, the Hapsburgs obtained from the Jagiellons Bohemia and Hungary. In these countries there reigned Ladislaus of the Polish dynasty of Jagiellons; and with him Emperor Maximilian in 1515 concluded a special agreement in Vienna betrothing—subject to later choice—his two grandsons to Anna, the daughter of Ladislaus. When Louis, the son of Ladislaus and his successor on the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, fell at Mohacs, in 1526, in defense of the freedom of the peoples of Europe against the Turkish invasion, Ferdinand of Austria, the husband of Anna, King Louis's sister, seized Bohemia and Hungary.

POLES UNDER TEUTONIC RULE

"In this way, the German dynasties, when they could not conquer Poland by arms, lessened the heritage of the Jagiellons through marriages with Polish Princesses. From that time the Prusso-Austrian intrigue for 250 years was preparing the downfall of Poland by artifice and treachery, rather than by military force; until by the partitions of Poland it annihilated the hearthstone of Slavonic freedom in the East, and by making a perverse German woman, Sophia von Anhalt-Zerbst, (the widow of Czar Peter von Holstein-Gottorp,) the Czarina of Muscovy under the name of Catherine II., it opened for itself the road to Asia.

"The cause of the Slavonians seemed lost forever. The most ancient Slavonic people, the Poles, was brought under the yoke of Prussia, of Muscovy ruled by Germans, and of Austria, oppressor of other Western Slavonians. The Muscovites, being not Slavonians themselves, but a Turanian people that had adopted the Slavonic tongue from its Princes and

priests, joined with the Germans to obliterate the traces of the existence of Poland.

"But this world war, discrediting Czarism and then the Russian Republic also in the sight of Europe, has evinced how needful is a strong Poland for the guarding of the world against the rapacity of the Germans. This war is the reprisal of the Slavonians; and one of its aims is the repulsion of the German wave pressing to the East, the deliverance of Bohemia, Serbia, and Poland—the three principal Slavonic nations—from the yoke of the German dynasties."

POLAND AND MUSCOVY

Besides their struggle with the Germans, the Poles for centuries protected Europe from the Turanian invaders—the Turks, Tartars, and Muscovites. When Muscovy passed under the dominion of the Germans, with the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty of Czars, the conflict of Poland with Muscovy became an episode of the general contest with the Germans. In these two neighboring countries—Poland and Russia—we see two worlds, different and diametrically opposite, says Professor Lutoslawski. The revolts of Poland after the partitions were directed chiefly against Muscovy. But the world war closes this struggle and reconciles Poland with Muscovy, just as it unites France and England, although those two neighbors likewise carried on age-long contests with each other.

"There has been accomplished the prediction of the Polish poet, Mickiewicz, which, in his 'Ancestors,' he puts in the mouth of the Priest Peter: 'The worst, the most barbarous, of the executioners has become a convert, and God will pardon him.' The Muscovites, since the banishment of the German dynasty of Czars, are renouncing their conquests; they do not want even Constantinople, which their rulers had coveted for centuries. The Muscovite State is splitting up of itself—it is losing Finland, Poland, Ukraina, and the Caucasus, and it will probably lose Siberia also. So there is no one there with whom the Poles need to fight. Poland will manage herself at home in the Polish way, and the Muscovites will govern their country in their own way.

Shortly it will appear with whom the Ruthenians will hold more closely."

The Poles and Muscovites have struggled for centuries for Ruthenia. A great part of Ruthenia manifested its solidarity with the Polish Nation by its participation in all the Polish revolts against the Czars in 1794, 1830, 1863, and 1905. The natural eastern frontier of Poland is the Dnieper, as that of France is the Rhine. German intrigue has excited the Ruthenians against the Poles, in order to dominate them more easily. However, when the Ruthenians are free they will feel the need of reunion with Poland, with which they have been united for more than 500 years. Then the age-long contest between the Poles and Russians will be terminated, and the Russians will have a vast field of expansion in Asia, where no one will dream of competition with them, except the Japanese.

DOWNFALL OF AUSTRIA

The present war, the writer continues, is also the end of the struggles waged by subjugated nations against the iniquitous rule of the Hapsburgs. The Italians, Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenians, Rumanians, are freeing themselves and are throwing off the yoke. The Hapsburgs are retaining only their German subjects. This is a conflict of the dynastic principle with the principle of the freedom of nations—a definitive retaliation for the crafty seizure of Bohemia and Hungary and for the participation in the partitions of Poland.

"This perverse, cruel dynasty must fall, and every nation oppressed by it will obtain independence," says Professor Lutoslawski in conclusion. "The world war is a war against the Asiatic principle of dynastic rule, which was introduced into Europe by the Germanic peoples, (or Indo-Germans, as they call themselves;) while the Celts, the Slavonians, the Romans, and the Greeks elected their chiefs for themselves. Austria is the work of the oldest and most perverse German dynasty, which has most cruelly oppressed the peoples subject to it, and which, by the seizure of Bohemia and Hungary from the Jagiellons, prepared the downfall of Poland.

One of the results of the war must be the downfall of Austria for the security of national liberty in Central Europe."

Regarding the process that changed the original Turanians into "Slavonians," the author says they completed this process toward the end of the eighteenth century by changing their ancient name of Muscovites to that of Russians, so that they could justify their pretensions to Rus, (Ruthenia,) the province of Poland inhabited by the Ruthenians, a Slavonic people. This province, united with Poland since the fourteenth century, comprised—to use the nomenclature introduced into geography by anti-Polish statesmen and historians—Black Russia, [the present Governments of Grodno and Minsk;] White Russia, [the Governments of Mohilev and Vitebsk;] Little Russia, [the Governments of Kiev, Czernichov, Poltava, and Charkov,] all under Russian dominion, and Red Russia, [Galicia, which is under Austrian dominion.] The old truth about the Turanian origin and character of the Muscovites was recalled in the works of Francis Duchinski, a Polish writer, especially in his "*Nécessité des reformes dans l'histoire des peuples Aryans, Européens et Tourans*," Paris, 1864, and by the Frenchman Henry Martin in his "*La Russie et l'Europe*," Paris, 1867. These works should be read, says Professor Lutoslawski, by all that wish to understand the present situation of Europe and especially the barrenness of the Russian revolution, accomplished mainly by foreign elements.

A characteristic mark of the history of Poland is the situation of the Poles between two denationalized peoples—on the east denationalized Turanians, called Muscovites; on the west denationalized Slavonians, called Prussians. The Prussians are renegade Slavonians—Slavonians that remained in their country between the Elb and the Oder after its subjugation by the Germans and became Germanized and adopted the name of the Lithuanian tribe that was exterminated by the Knights of the Cross; while those Slavonians who did not want to endure the German rule removed to Poland and became Poles.

Serbia's History in the Light of the War

By Woislav M. Petrovitch

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OUR American friends had hardly learned the name and spelling of "Serbia," as the correct substitute for the superannuated solecism, "Servia," when lo! we brought before them a new appellation, "Jugoslavia." In a footnote of my work, "Hero Tales and Legends of the Serbians," I explained the paramount significance of that "b" and the falsehood of the "v," and the suggestion was readily accepted both in Great Britain and this country, while an imperial ukase was necessary for the change of St. Petersburg to Petrograd. And now that we have advanced the name "Jugoslavia," I must explain that this word is combined from "Jug" (meaning in Serbian *South*) and "Slavia," (meaning *Slavdom*,) being a collective appellation of all Serbian-speaking lands, namely, Serbia, Montenegro, the greater part of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Batchka, Banat, Symria, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia, Slavonia, and part of Istria. Owing to the territorial situation and foreign influences there appear three names for one and the same people in those provinces, but all the three groups—Serbians, Croats, and Slovenians (or Slovenes)—speak the same language, with only slight dialectic differences, (what language has not its own?) again largely due to foreign influences. As for religions, the Serbians mostly profess the Eastern Orthodox, while Croats and Slovenians adhere to the Roman Catholic faith.

The entire history of the Serbians is a tragedy. Before the great migration of peoples the Serbians are supposed to have lived in Galicia, whence, in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, they descended to the shores of the Black Sea and moved westward along

the northern bank of the Danube, and, crossing the river, settled mostly in the territories which they inhabit at the present time. The Emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius, (610-641,) unable to oppose an effective resistance, ceded to the Serbians all the provinces thereto inhabited by the Latins, Illyrians, Thracians, Greeks, and Pelasgi.

The pagan and uncultured Serbians came now into constant intercourse with the civilized Byzantines, and gradually were converted to Christianity, especially (during the ninth century) by the so-called Slav apostles, Kyrillus and Methodius. As the Serbians were divided into many tribes, antagonistic to one another, they became, naturally, an easy prey to the repeated attacks of the Byzantines and Fino-Bulgars, though they were never completely subjugated. Several attempts were made by their Zhupans (Counts) to effect a union of the many tribes and to form a powerful State, but it was only in the course of the twelfth century that the Grand Zhupan Stephan Nemanja succeeded in uniting under his sceptre and in freeing from the Byzantine suzerainty all the Serbian lands, Rashka, Zeta, Trebinje, Hum, Scutari, Cattaro, &c., placing Ban Kulin, an ally, upon the throne of Bosnia.

Nemanja strengthened the Orthodox religion in his State by building numerous churches and monasteries (especially Hilendar, or Vilindar, at Mount Athos) and by banishing from his country the heretic Bogumils, who settled in Bosnia. He abdicated (1196) in favor of his able son, Stefan, who was the first crowned King of Serbia. But Nemanja's eldest son, Vukan, as the rightful heir to the throne, fiercely antagonized his brother Stefan by using the influence of Hungary and the Popes, who wished to spread

Catholicism in Serbia and put an end to the Bogumil sect in Bosnia. When the Crusaders vanquished Constantinople, St. Sava, Nemanja's youngest son, succeeded in emancipating the Serbian Church from the influence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and in securing a complete autonomy, (1219,) becoming himself the first Serbian Archbishop.

King Stefan Prvoventchani (i. e., the first crowned) was succeeded by his worthless son, Radoslav, (1227-1233,) and there followed a century and a half of dynastic wars and general confusion, until the tottering Serbian State was finally overrun, after the memorable battle of Kossovo, (1389,) by the growing power of the Turk. One after the other all the other Balkan provinces fell before the Ottoman invasion, and a horrible epoch of bondage and slavery advened for the Balkan Christians, which lasted for more than four centuries.

THROWING OFF THE TURKISH YOKE

But when the Turkish rule became quite unendurable a Serbian soil-tiller, Kara-George Petrovitch, started a revolution, (in 1804,) at first only with his four armed servants, but in the course of the two following years he succeeded in forming an army of about 80,000, with which he defeated in a series of battles the imperial Ottoman armies and freed the greater part of Serbia along the banks of the Danube and the Morava. However, the Turks profited by the engagement of Europe, and more especially of Russia in the struggle with Napoleon, and sent large armies against Serbia in three different directions. These again conquered the country.

Kara George left Serbia in 1813 to seek aid, first in Austria and later in Russia. In his absence Milosh Obrenovitch, one of Kara George's lieutenants, made a fresh attempt to liberate the Serbian people from the Turkish yoke, and in 1815 he was successful in re-establishing the autonomy of the Pashalik of Belgrade. During the progress of his operations Kara George, who had made an alliance with the Greeks and the Rumanians for joint action against the Turks, returned to Serbia, but was cruelly

assassinated at Smederevo (1817) by order of Milosh, who then proclaimed himself hereditary Prince of Serbia and was approved as such by the Sublime Porte. While very wise in home affairs, Milosh openly opposed himself to Russian influence in Serbia and incurred the bitter hostility of that power, which forced him to abdicate in 1839 in favor of his son, Michailo.

This young Prince was a very subtle diplomat with the Turks, from whom he rescued and annexed to his independent State several important Serbian towns without shedding a drop of blood. He was banished in 1842 and was succeeded by Alexander Kara-Georgevitch, (1842-1860,) son of Kara-George Petrovitch. Under the prudent though meek rule of that Prince Serbia obtained a modern Constitution, but an unfortunate foreign policy and the corruption of the Serbian statesmen forced him to abdicate and leave the country. The Skupshtina (National Assembly) restored Milosh in 1860, but he died in that same year and was succeeded again by his son, Michailo, (1860-1868,) who was most cruelly assassinated at Toptchider, near Belgrade. As his only successor, Milan, was not of age, a regency of three (Blaznavatz, Gavrilovitch, and Ristitch) was appointed, and they secured from the Porte an acknowledgment of the young Prince as hereditary ruler and framed (in 1869) a Constitution which gave some satisfaction to the conflicting political parties.

SERBIA WINS INDEPENDENCE

When Prince Milan Obrenovitch attained his majority he ascended the throne in 1872 and soon precipitated a war against the Turks, (1876-1878,) which resulted in annexation to Serbia of a few new districts. The Treaty of Berlin acknowledged Serbian independence, and in 1882 the principality of Serbia was proclaimed a kingdom. The unfortunate war against the Bulgarians, which was instigated by Austria, forced Milan to abdicate in favor of his 12-year-old son, Alexander, during whose minority the executive power was delegated to a regency under the leadership

VISCOUNT KIKUJIRO ISHII



The new Japanese Ambassador to the United States. He visited
America in 1917 and concluded the Ishii-Lansing
Agreement in regard to China
(Photo Paul Thompson)

VISCOUNT MOTONO



The Japanese Foreign Minister, who, with Premier Terauchi, conducted the negotiations leading to Japan's occupation of Siberia

of Ristitch. At the age of 16 Alexander deposed the regency by a well-premeditated and clever—though not honorable—coup d'état, (1893,) and in the following year he abrogated the Constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. In 1900, to the consternation of his friends, he married his former maîtresse, Draga Mashin, under whose influence he entered upon a period of tyranny almost Nero-nian in type, thus alienating his people and his friends and playing into the hands of his own enemies, who finally murdered him in 1903.

The National Skupshtina immediately elected to the throne Prince Peter Kara-Georgevitch, the grandson of Kara George, who had spent a long life in exile and whose rule will mark the most important epoch in the entire history of Serbia and other Southern Slavonic provinces. Strictly constitutional, he gave carte blanche to his Cabinet, headed most of the time by Nicholas Pashitch, whom Serbia has to thank for averting war with Austria on more than one occasion. With the growth of trade and industry, for which Pashitch established a new and solid basis, Serbia's position of complete economic dependence on the openly hostile or extortionate markets of Austria-Hungary became more and more impossible, and, in order to obtain some relief from this thralldom, Pashitch concluded in 1906 a customs treaty with Bulgaria. To this Austria replied by a war of tariffs, the so-called "Pig War," swine remaining to this day one of the most important items of Serbia's export trade. The resulting economic crisis, which, however, was soon overcome by new routes to Egypt, France, and England, greatly embittered the Serbian peasantry against Austria-Hungary and indirectly led to a closer rapprochement with Russia.

HOSTILITY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Still more hostile was the Dual Monarchy when she clearly saw that her policy of impoverishing her neighbors, for the purpose of crushing them with more ease, proved futile, as Serbia revised the old and concluded new treaties of commerce with almost all European countries and showed herself to be a fully grown member of the family of nations. Profiting

by the disorder caused in Turkey by the Young Turks, and bitterly opposed to the just aspirations of the Southern Slavs toward a union, Austria threw a bomb-shell among the European powers signatory of the Treaty of Berlin by annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, which provinces of the Ottoman Empire she had administered for thirty years.

Serbia was in no mood to acquiesce, for all the Yugoslav provinces, notably Bosnia-Herzegovina, were conscious of their fundamental unity of race, language, and hopes with the Serbians and were looking to the free Kingdom of Serbia to lead them all toward independence as Piedmont had led the other Italian States in 1860. In the Balplatz the "chastising of Serbia" was even then openly discussed, and the *casus belli* was found in the forged reports of the notorious Count Forgach, then Austrian Minister in Belgrade. Russia was unprepared for war, and the pacific Pashitch found means to quiet warlike spirits in Serbia. An armed conflict was avoided then, but it was obvious that it was coming.

In the meantime the attention of all the Balkan States was directed to Macedonia, for under the Young Turkish régime things went from bad to worse, and the scandalous manner in which their authorities, aided by the criminal Bulgarian comitadji, were disarming the Christian population, excited Serbia and Greece to the highest degree.

BALKAN LEAGUE FORCES WAR

In July, 1912, the troubles of Turkey, already involved in war with Italy, were increased by a fierce rising of the Albanians. It was then that Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and later Greece, formed a league, known as the Balkan Alliance, and delivered to the Sublime Porte an ultimatum embodying the demand that autonomy should be granted to the European provinces under Ottoman rule. At the same time, on Sept. 30, 1912, they began to mobilize their forces. Turkey replied with similar measures. The powers at once made an ineffective attempt to intervene and urged patience on the Balkan Alliance, while a joint note

was presented to the Porte inviting the immediate discussion of reforms in Macedonia. But the Balkan allies, having determined not to be played with any longer, pushed events beyond the control of diplomacy, and, on Sept. 17, 1912, Turkey declared war on the allies. This event set the first spark to the world's powder magazine.

The Serbian forces totaled 333,000 men and were divided into four armies. While the first three armies were directed toward Skopje (Uskub) the fourth was detailed to clear the Turks out of the Sanjak of Novibazar and to proceed to the assistance of Montenegro. The dominant battle of the entire campaign, in which the Ottoman forces were utterly crushed and the entire régime demoralized, took place on the field of Kumanovo before Uskub. In Albania the Serbians and the Montenegrins took Ljesh (Alessio) and Dratch, (Durazzo,) and in Macedonia the Serbian troops were successful in every battle, notably in those for Prilip, the birthplace of Serbia's national hero, Kraljevitsh Marko, and Bitolj, (Monastir,) while the Bulgarians invested Adrianople, which finally fell into the hands of the allies, thanks to the powerful help (50,000 men and 104 siege guns) rendered by the Serbians, which was beyond the stipulations of the treaty.

UNJUST DIVISION OF TERRITORY

The London conference, hard pressed by the Austro-German menace, improvised, to suit the Teutons, a new political State (which had never in history existed as such) under the name of Albania. The Montenegrins were ordered by the powers of Europe to quit Scutari, and the Serbians to evacuate the dearly bought ports in the Adriatic, allowing to the latter only a commercial route to that sea. The results of the campaign had exceeded all the expectations of the Balkan allies, and the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty, having dealt exclusively with the question of Macedonia, had not foreseen the conquest of Thrace and Albania.

By that treaty the Bulgarians had bound themselves to help Serbia with 200,000 men in case of an Austrian attack, but that aid was not needed or given; on the contrary, it was Serbia who

assisted Bulgaria to secure Adrianople and Thrace, and who, in order to preserve the peace of Europe, abandoned Albania and her ports. The necessity for a revision of that treaty, therefore, was strongly felt, but Bulgaria absolutely refused to entertain the suggestion, exacting from Serbia the abandonment of the southern part of Macedonia as far as Monastir and the lakes, which had fallen to the Serbian arms, and demanding possession of Saloniki, which had been conquered by the Greeks. The Bulgarian Government even refused to submit, in accordance with the third article of the Secret Appendix of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance of 1912, the case for a final decision to Russia, but ordered a secret advance in the vile effort to murder in their sleep the Serbian armies on the night of June 29, 1913. But the ingenious Serbian General Putnik utterly routed the Bulgarian forces in the memorable battle of Bregalnitz. The Greeks also defeated the Bulgarian forces at Kilich and Lahana, and finally the Rumanians made a parade-march, without firing a single shot, into the Bulgarian province of Dobrudja.

By the peace that was concluded in Bucharest, Serbia shared the Sanjak with Montenegro and retained Macedonia north of the Ochrida-Dorian line, with the promise of a railway outlet to the Adriatic. Civil rule and autonomy in local administration were granted to the Macedonian provinces by Pashitch. Having settled this point in a broad and generous spirit, Serbia gladly hung up her sword and prepared for a period of peace and recuperation.

But the defeat of the Sultan's forces in all parts of European Turkey had been a tremendous blow to Austria-Hungary, and still more to Germany, whose officers had reorganized and trained the Turkish Army, and who, for the success of her schemes of expansion in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, depended on her ascendancy in Constantinople. The defeat of Bulgaria, the Greek occupation of Saloniki—the possession of which was the ultimate aim of Austria—and the increased power of Serbia, the friend of Russia and the

apostle of South Slavic emancipation, constituted for the Teutons a still greater catastrophe.

GERMAN PLANS FRUSTRATED

Only prompt action could retrieve such a miscarrying of the Austro-German plans, and it is not surprising to hear that *already in the Summer of 1913 Austria was bent on declaring war on Serbia, and, massing secretly a huge army along the banks of the Danube and the Save,* she endeavored to secure the support of Italy. As this support was not forthcoming, action was deferred for the moment; but a large army bill was introduced in Germany to redress the balance of power and make ready for any eventuality.

Such was the position when on June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his consort were murdered under mysterious circumstances in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by two fanatic malcontents who were natives of Bosnia and Austrian subjects. Some hold that the perpetrators were in the pay of Belgrade, and others that the plan of the assassination was made in the Imperial Court in Vienna. On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Belgrade handed to Pashitch a note to which a conciliatory answer was neither expected nor wanted, and which was regarded by the European powers as an impossible ultimatum, charging Serbia with fomenting a revolutionary propaganda within the territory of the Dual Monarchy. It was asserted, though no proof was given, that the Serajevo assassinations were planned, and the murderers even equipped with bombs, in Belgrade.

Among other unacceptable demands the Austro-Hungarian Government called upon the Serbian Government (Paragraph 4) "to remove from the army and the civil service a number of officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda, whose names would be communicated by the Austrian Government"; furthermore, (Paragraph 6,) "to institute a judicial inquiry with regard to the accomplices in the plot of June 28, residing in Serbian territory, Austro-Hungarian delegates to take part in this in-

vestigation," &c. The French and the British Ambassadors and the Russian Chargé d'Affaires expressed indignation at the form, contents, and time limit (48 hours) of that note, and declared it to be unacceptable by any sovereign State in the world.

The Serbian Government unreservedly accepted all the demands of Austria-Hungary, except Paragraphs 5 and 6, and promised to revise those articles of the Serbian Constitution which stood in the way of these demands; at the same time it declared its readiness to refer any point either to The Hague Tribunal or to the powers that had taken part in the settlement of the controversy concerning the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Refusing the Serbian answer, the Austro-Hungarian Government declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914, and followed the act with a desultory bombardment of the defenseless City of Belgrade.

In spite of the assurances of the German Ambassador in Vienna that Russia, being unprepared, would remain passive, and that the war on Serbia would be a mere "punitive expedition," which would be ended before the powers could intervene, Austria awoke to the startling fact that Russia was beginning to move. On July 31 Vienna consented to eliminate from the ultimatum those demands which involved the violation of the sovereignty of Serbia. It was too late. Germany, having jockeyed Austria into a position from which there was no escape, declared war on Russia the next day.

SERBIA REPELS INVASION

The Serbian Army was entirely unprepared for this war, for little or none of the wastage in the Balkan wars had as yet been made good, and the orders placed abroad for cannon, rifles, munitions, clothes, and stores had not yet been filled. However, not before Aug. 12 did the Austro-Hungarian troops (80,000 strong) make a definite invasion at Loznitza and Leshnitza, but Voivoda Putnik met them in the Tzer Mountains and routed them completely at Belikamen. Aug. 19 was the decisive day of the struggle, and by the 23d the Serbian

armies hurled what was left of the Austrians, after the battle of Jadar, back across the Drina River. As a result of their attempt to "chastise" Serbia the Austrians had lost 8,000 dead, 4,000 prisoners, and about 30,000 wounded.

The cruelties which the Magyars and other Austrians committed on the non-combatant population in Serbia in this and their subsequent retreats are beyond description. Their shameful and vile treatment of the Serbian women can only be hinted at here; the final act of murder was regarded as a crowning mercy. This will undoubtedly form the blackest page of shame in the entire history of mankind.

Having made good their losses, the Austrians advanced again with a fresh army of 250 battalions of infantry and numerous guns, and took Suvobor Mountain by surprise. Retreat on the part of the Serbians was imperative on account of the lack of munitions, for there were whole batteries of guns which were reduced to six rounds apiece. But when the long-expected ammunition arrived, about Dec. 23, the Serbians rapidly retook the line Lazarevat-Valjevo-Uzhitze, and the enemy was hurled back across the Drina in the greatest disorder. Belgrade, which had been evacuated by the Serbians, soon fell a victim to the violent artillery fire from the surrounding hills. The Austrians left behind in Serbia 40,000 prisoners and hundreds of guns, together with the transports and stores of a vast army.

Almost the whole of the next year passed in comparative quietness. This gave a chance to the Serbians to make good their own losses and to rest for fresh struggles.

THE ENTENTE'S FATAL ERROR

After having sustained such heavy losses without achieving any results, Austria-Hungary stood for a long time pondering a fresh manner of "chastising" Serbia, but she realized that only with an army of close on half a million men could she hope to effect her presumptive plan. The Serbian General Staff was well aware of the fact that Austria would gravely compromise her military operations in Galicia if she were

to detach from that front such a considerable force, and, upon the receipt of information from Pashitch to the effect that the Bulgarians were eagerly making preparations for war, kept a watchful eye on the southern frontiers.

The Entente diplomats in Sofia, incredible as it may seem, failed to discover what was going on before their very eyes, and misinformed their respective Governments of certain possibilities for the formation of a new Balkan alliance. But Pashitch knew better. Accordingly, he informed Sir Edward Grey of the great danger of a Bulgarian surprise attack on the Serbian rear, and, so we are informed, a free and timely action of the Serbian forces against the Bulgarians was then urgently demanded. But the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was firmly convinced that the Bulgarians were preparing for a joint action with other Balkan powers against the Teutons, for he did not know that a secret treaty of alliance together with a military convention had been made between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria as early as 1908, on the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the declaration of Bulgarian independence. Still less did he know that, just at the time when Pashitch informed him of the Bulgarian duplicity, this Austro-Bulgarian treaty was being renewed and amended.

Had Serbia been allowed then to attack Bulgaria single-handed the Balkan situation would today be different from what it is. But Germany, intoxicated with Hindenburg's success in Russia during the Summer of 1915, turned all her attention to the important Balkan front, and, realizing the absolute incompetence of the Austro-Hungarian armies to achieve any results against the tough Serbians, dispatched one of her best Generals, Mackensen, at the head of a huge army, which opened, on Sept. 19, a fierce bombardment of the Serbian front, outranging the Serbian best artillery by several miles.

This was a signal for Bulgaria to stab Serbia in the back. Already in deadly grips on the north and fully realizing now the true objective of the Bulgarian mobili-



SERBIA IN ITS RELATION TO SURROUNDING STATES. THE HEAVY LINE INDICATES THE SOUTH SLAVIC PEOPLES WHO DESIRE TO UNITE, FORMING THE NEW STATE OF JUGOSLAVIA

zation, the Serbian General Staff saw itself in a dangerous position; for the Bulgar armies were threatening to cut off Serbia's only artery—the Nish-Saloniki railway line. Accordingly Vojvoda Putnik decided upon a prompt and energetic drive to the southern front; if not to defeat the well-rested and equipped Bulgarian armies, then at least to hamper and delay their advance until the long-promised relief should come from Britain, France, and Russia. To oppose the combined Austro-German forces, consisting of 164 battalions, Putnik could not afford to concentrate more than 116 battalions, composed partly of the third ban.

After seven days (from Oct. 6 to 13) of bloody battles which took place at Belgrade, Semendria, Obrenovatz, and Ostruzhnitza, and in which the enemy suffered enormous losses, the Bulgarian forces, consisting of 176 battalions of infantry, hurriedly began their favorite tactics of stabbing in the back. In this supreme moment Putnik met on the banks of the River Timok with only seventy-eight battalions the overwhelming Bulgarian forces, and offered such a stubborn resistance that for twelve days (Oct. 13-24 inclusive) the Bulgarians advanced only by steps, paying for each step with

the bloodiest losses ever known, so that, at the time when the Germans penetrated quite deeply to the south, and when an immediate evacuation of Negotin, Zayetchar, and Kniazhevatz became absolutely imperative, the Serbians and the Bulgarians had well-nigh equal forces.

THE DEFENDERS OVERWHELMED

Partly because the plans of the Serbian General Staff had been seriously affected by the promised but never forthcoming help from Saloniki and by the betrayal of Serbia's ally, Greece, and partly because the German advance became altogether irresistible, the main Serbian forces began beating a retreat toward Kossovo Polje. A detachment of those armies offered a desperate battle to the Bulgarians at the romantic Pass Katchanik, in which the outnumbering Bulgarian forces were all but crushed. However, the Serbian armies, too, suffered considerable losses and soon were reduced to one against ten. It was on the memorable field of Kossovo (where the Serbians had lost their empire in a bloody battle against the Turks in 1389) that they realized that history was repeating itself and that their doom was once more sealed.

The Serbians had to choose between a shameful separate peace and a monstrous retreat through the almost impenetrable Albanian mountains toward Scutari and Durazzo. They decided for the latter. This, however, could not be called the retreat of an army, but the last act of a tragedy involving a whole nation of honest and brave soil tillers. Heavy pieces of artillery were hurled down precipices from the mountain summits, other war material was destroyed, and the exodus of the people began amid indescribable horrors. There were absolutely no supplies. Only a few Serbians reached the Albanian ports, where British ships, loaded with conserved food, were awaiting them. Those who ate of the food naturally did so in a voracious manner, and, after such opulent meals, exhausted as they were, they went to sleep, but never to wake again. But the Serbian spirit was not crushed. Those who traversed the Adriatic to the Greek island of Corfu held high the national flags and the Serbian honor enveloped in them.

Many thousands of Serbian noncombatants took refuge in Greece; thence they were invited to France, England, and Italy. Serbian boys and girls found open doors of English and French schools in which they are preparing themselves to rebuild their devastated country and thank their hospitable hosts.

THE DECLARATION OF CORFU

The Serbian Government and the Skupshtina settled in Corfu and the Yugoslav Committee, consisting of Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian refugees, transferred its headquarters from Rome to London. On July 20, 1917, Mr. Pashitch, as the Premier of Serbia, and Mr. Trumbitch, as the President of the Yugoslav Committee, signed a document known as the "Declaration of Corfu," which was published in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for September, 1917, and whose first and last paragraphs are as follows:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the name of Southern Slavs or Yugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and parliamentary monarchy, with

the Kara-Georgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will, at its head. * * *

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King. Thus the united nation of Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenians will form a State of 12,000,000 inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Yet the recent speeches pronounced by Lloyd George and President Wilson differ, alas! diametrically from the above declaration. Serbia's mighty allies would allow the savages in Africa to choose the sovereignty to which they wish to submit, but not the Slavs under Austria's heel!

FIGHTING FOR JUGOSLAVIA

The Yugoslav Committee has its branches in the several capitals of Serbia's allies, and they are acting in agreement with the Serbian legations. Its main purpose is to acquaint the allied Governments and peoples with the just aspirations and hopes of the Serbians, Croatsians, and Slovenes, who are, in true essence, one and the same people with three names.

The remnants of the Serbian Army, after having been reorganized and equipped at Corfu, went to the Saloniki front toward the end of 1916, and in cooperation with the allied armies there took by storm the City of Bitol (Monastir) and the whole district surrounding

it. This victory cost the Serbians many thousands of lives, but it secured for them a nucleus for their future independent state. The Serbian officers displayed especially a reckless bravery, but many hundreds of them perished—the present writer's brother, Captain Borisav M. Petrovitch, being included in the number.

In the hospitable United States there

are about 700,000 Jugoslavs, and many of these have volunteered upon the invitation of Lieut. Col. Milan Pribitchevitch, whom the Serbian Government has sent here for that purpose. Many thousands have already gone to the Serbian training camps, whence they will supply the vacancies of those who fall in an eventual drive on the Balkan front.

Italy's Rescue of the Serbian Army

A Chapter in the War Record of the Italian Navy

[Semi-official narrative, translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from the Italian]

MR. BALFOUR said in the House of Commons on Feb. 23, 1916: "The best proof of the success of the maritime operations of the Allies in the Mediterranean is furnished by the transporting of a large army to Saloniki, the carrying of the expeditionary force to the Dardanelles, and the transporting of the Serbian Army. This success is due above all to the energetic efficiency of the Italian Navy." Mr. Balfour's statement was made on the very day of the announcement that the rescue of the shattered Serbian Army had been successfully completed by the naval forces of Italy.

The transformation of Brindisi into a military port of the first order and the creation of the naval base at Valona, on the other side of the Adriatic, afford a fair measure of the strenuous labors of those two years, thanks to which more than 300,000 persons were enabled to cross the Adriatic in safety between December, 1915, and February, 1916, notwithstanding the adverse conditions and the continuous menace of the enemy in the air and under the waves.

A brief official bulletin at that time announced that 300,000 men had been successfully transported together with an equal number of quintals [a quintal is 220 pounds] of war materials and many thousands of animals; it mentioned also a concerted movement of 100 steamships and nineteen attacks by hostile submarines. One must read between the lines to realize the enormous labor

of organization and preparation that made it possible for so great an enterprise to be carried out without a single grave accident and without the loss of one Serbian soldier at sea.

BALKAN FOOD CRISIS

It is not generally known that the Italian Navy's great work of assistance to the Serbian Army began when, under the pressure of Mackensen's devastating forces, the last divisions of King Peter in their retreat drove toward the Albanian coast the Austrian prisoners they had captured in happier days; and that even then for many months the Serbo-Montenegrin Army had owed its supplies of food and materials to the ability, tenacity, and enthusiasm of Italian sailors.

By the end of October, 1915, the food crisis in Serbia and Montenegro had become so grave as to cause serious concern to the Entente Powers. France, England, and Italy undertook to supply those countries with a large quantity of foodstuffs, and upon the Italian Navy devolved the whole task of transporting these supplies to the Montenegrin and Albanian coasts.

The Austro-Bulgarian-German campaign against Serbia and the successive invasions of Serbian and Montenegrin territory caused a material change in the military situation in the Adriatic. Effective resistance by the Serbian Army in Albania was seen to be impossible, and it became imperatively neces-

hands of Greek bands, was destined later to relieve so much suffering and heal so many wounds during the Serbian tragedy.

THE FIRST UNFORTUNATES

When the navy was still in the midst of its feverish preparations against enemy attacks from sky and sea, suddenly there arrived at the coast, from the interior of Serbia, across the Albanian Mountains, the first columns of Austrian prisoners, conducted in two directions—toward Valona and toward Durazzo. With the agony of that first pitiful vanguard there already hung over the Albanian coast the incubus of an unspeakable tragedy, one of the most frightful that history has known; and the great work of the Italian surgeons and nurses began with the succor given to the wretched enemy prisoners.

For the rescue of this first mass of unfortunates, still bleeding from their atrocious sufferings, as well as for the safety of the troops and of the Serbian refugees who were to follow, it was important that the still temporary defenses of the Bay of Durazzo should immediately be made secure. Therefore, to unify the task of the fleet, Italy undertook to send thither—along with another sanitary mission of the navy—5,000 soldiers intrusted with the protection of the Serbians' retreat.

Thus Durazzo and Valona were the points of concentration where, along with the humanitarian work for the Austrian prisoners, the embarkation of the Serbian Army took place; they were the arteries through which new blood could flow into the veins of thousands and thousands of fighters who, beaten down for the moment by the enemy's aggression, were to rise again to faith and effectiveness. Spread like a flood along the coast, exhausted and hungry, they all begged to be taken away on the Italian ships. But the vessels could not contain so great a cargo of humanity at one time, and many had to camp for days under the open sky, exposed to the cold and rain, living amid confusion of household goods, where costly fur coats and luxurious portmanteaus, now as dilapidated as a peasant's sack, rendered still

sadder with their irony the memory of lost comforts. The Italian officers and sailors distributed food and clothing among these people and superintended their embarkation with tireless care, often under airplane attacks; they lighted their first fires, built their first shelters, prepared boats to carry the seriously ill to hospital ships; and from Brindisi went convoys laden with food and medicines to be exchanged later for more precious cargoes of men full of new blood and ready to fight the battles of tomorrow.

HEROIC HOSPITAL WORKERS

But very many, too many, were the sick and wounded who had to be nursed back to life and health by the heroic Italian surgeons and nurses. Owing to the great number of sufferers, the work in that first period had to be limited to their more immediate needs—washing, disinfection, medical treatment—seeking to isolate the infected in order to protect the helpers from epidemic contagion. Dysentery, typhus, and cholera, which had raged among these derelicts during their flight, threatened to spread from the Durazzo coast to Valona and thence to Brindisi.

During January and the first half of February, 1916, most of the Serbian troops gathered at Durazzo, where the Sanitary Mission of the Italian Navy, landing with the troops, attended to the first treatments and disinfection. From there the weakest and most seriously ill were embarked on the smaller hospital ships and steamers, to be carried to Valona; the stronger soldiers went to Valona on foot, making the journey by stages, and leaving those who could not endure the strain at the various rest camps and hospitals along the route, especially at the passage of the Skumbi and Semeni Rivers.

At Valona those who arrived by sea were at once transferred to large steamers, which carried them to Corfu and Biserta; the rest were brought together in the camp at Arta, on a sandy plain north of the city, the best place for isolation, with plenty of water. Here many hospital barracks had already been built, and the whole place was gradually filled with a vast encampment. At the end of

February detachments of Serbians were still arriving at Valona from Durazzo and from Elbassan, where the last rear-guard had fought the enemy with its last cartridges, a desperate resistance, in which, with forty-four cannon, a few wagons, mules and horses, and a great number of sick and wounded, it had fairly surpassed itself. It was like the last wave of blood, the largest and worst. At that time there arrived at the Campo d'Arta in a few days more than 12,000 Serbians and as many horses, making the task of assistance still more arduous.

DEFINITE FIGURES

For the transport of the whole Serbian Army and of the refugees and prisoners from Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua to Valona and to Corfu, a vast movement of steamers of every tonnage—mostly Italian ships—under the protection of cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, and motor boats of the Italian Navy, was carried on for three successive months, principally on the triangular routes of Brindisi-Durazzo-Valona and Brindisi-Valona-Corfu.

From Dec. 12, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, a total of 11,651 Serbian sick, wounded, and refugees were embarked and transported to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta; 130,841 Serbian infantry soldiers to Corfu, and 4,100 to Biserta. In this work there were employed six large Italian transatlantic liners, two French auxiliary cruisers, six hospital ships, (five Italian, one French,) two small Italian ambulance ships, thirty-four medium or small sized steamers and auxiliary craft, (fifteen Italian, fifteen French, four English;) in all, twenty-eight Italian, seventeen French, and five English vessels. The voyages from San Giovanni di Medua, Durazzo, and Foci della Vojussa to Valona numbered 216, besides some directly to Corfu and others to Brindisi, Lipari, Marseilles, and Biserta. The Serbian cavalry—13,068 men and 10,153 horses—were transported from Valona to Corfu in March, 1916, by

six large steamers, each making seven-teen trips.

There were 22,928 Austrian prisoners, (there had been 70,000 when they started from Nish!) and the work of transporting these from Valona to the Asinara lasted from Dec. 16, 1915, to Feb. 12, 1916, and required thirteen trips of a fleet of fourteen steamers. There was a violent outbreak of cholera on the Italian steamships *Re Vittorio* and *Cordova*, each of which had on board 5,000 dead, including a large proportion of the ship's own crew.

For the victualing and care of the Serbian refugees and soldiers camped upon the Albanian coast awaiting embarkation from Jan. 19, 1915, to Feb. 22, 1916, there were employed twenty-four steamers, which made seventy-three trips and landed 22,000 tons of food, forage, and medicines.

These figures relate solely to the transport of the Serbians, and have nothing to do with the traffic to supply the navy or with the vast movement of men and materials for the Italian army of occupation in Albania, which was going on at the same time, and through the same ports.

The convoys were planned by the high command of the Italian Navy on the best modern lines. The successful transporting of the Serbians across the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, the waters most infested by Austrian submarines and German mines, was the first practical demonstration of the effectiveness of convoys against submarine attacks; this was confirmed later by the transport of the rehabilitated Serbian Army from Corfu to Saloniki, whence it went north to resume its place on the fighting front in Macedonia. The Austrian submarines made nineteen attacks in all against the convoyed fleet that carried the Serbians to Corfu, but in every case the torpedo missed its mark, and the escorting squadron of Italian warships, by going in swift pursuit with shells and bombs, prevented a renewal of the attack.

THE JERUSALEM CAMPAIGN

General Allenby's Official Account of Operations That Led to the Capture of the Holy City

General E. H. H. Allenby, commander of the Egyptian expeditionary force, submitted to the British War Secretary (Lord Derby) a dispatch published Jan. 25, 1918, in which he described in official detail the operations which had culminated in the surrender of Jerusalem on Dec. 9, 1917. In the appended text, here presented in full, General Allenby describes the picturesque and brilliant campaign that crowned the two years' labors of the Egyptian column with success.

Siege of Gaza to Fall of Jerusalem

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
Dec. 16, 1917.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit a report on the operations of the force serving in Egypt and Palestine since June 28, 1917, the date on which I assumed command.

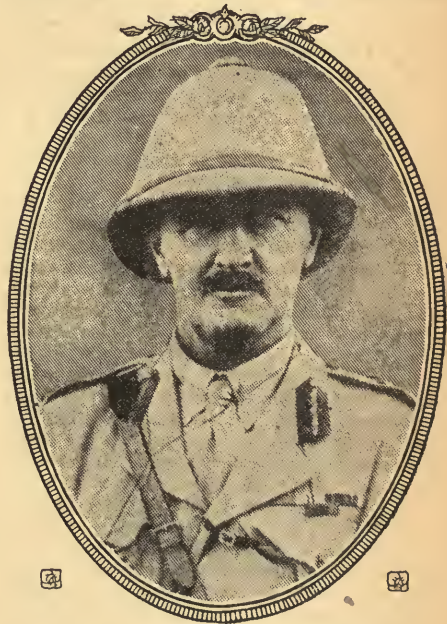
1. When I took over the command of the Egyptian expeditionary force at the end of June, 1917, I had received instructions to report on the conditions in which offensive operations against the Turkish Army on the Palestine front might be undertaken in the Autumn or Winter of 1917.

After visiting the front and consulting with the commander of the eastern force, I submitted my appreciation and proposals in a telegram dispatched in the second week of July.

2. The main features of the situation on the Palestine front were then as follows:

The Turkish Army in Southern Palestine held a strong position extending from the sea at Gaza, roughly along the main Gaza-Beersheba road to Beersheba. Gaza had been made into a strong modern fortress, heavily intrenched and wired, offering every facility for protracted defense. The remainder of the enemy's line consisted of a series of strong localities, viz., the Sihan group of works, the Atawineh group, the Baha group, the Abu Hareira-Arab el Teeaha

trench system, and, finally, the works covering Beersheba. These groups of works were generally from 1,500 to 2,000 yards apart, except that the distance



GEN. SIR EDMUND H. H. ALLENBY

from the Hareira group to Beersheba was about four and a half miles.

The enemy's force was on a wide front, the distance from Gaza to Beersheba being about thirty miles; but his lateral communications were good, and any threatened point of the line could be very quickly reinforced.

My force was extended on a front of twenty-two miles, from the sea, opposite Gaza, to Gamli.

Owing to lack of water I was unable, without preparations which would require some considerable time, to approach within striking distance of the enemy, except in the small sector near the seacoast opposite Gaza.

Preparatory Measures

3. My proposals received the approval of the War Cabinet, and preparations were undertaken to enable the plan I had formed to be put into execution.

I had decided to strike the main blow against the left flank of the main Turkish position, Hareira and Sheria. The capture of Beersheba was a necessary preliminary to this operation, in order to secure the water supplies at that place and to give room for the deployment of the attacking force on the high ground to the north and northwest of Beersheba, from which direction I intended to attack the Hareira-Sheria line.

This front of attack was chosen for the following reasons: The enemy's works in this sector were less formidable than elsewhere, and they were easier of approach than other parts of the enemy's defenses. When Beersheba was in our hands we should have an open flank against which to operate, and I could make full use of our superiority in mounted troops; and a success here offered prospects of pursuing our advantage and forcing the enemy to abandon the rest of his fortified positions, which no other line of attack would afford.

It was important, in order to keep the enemy in doubt up to the last moment as to the real point of attack, that an attack should also be made on the enemy's right at Gaza in conjunction with the main operations. One of my commanders was therefore ordered to prepare a scheme for operations against Gaza on as large a scale as the force at his disposal would permit. I also asked the Senior Naval Officer, Egypt, Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., to afford me naval co-operation by bombarding the Gaza defenses and the enemy's railway stations and depots north of Gaza. Rear Admiral Jackson afforded me cordial assistance, and during the period of preparation naval officers worked in the closest co-operation with my staff at General Headquarters and the staff of the G. O. C. troops operating in that region.

Difficulties to be Overcome

4. The difficulties to be overcome in the operations against Beersheba and the Sheria-Hareira line were considerable, and careful preparations and training were necessary. The chief difficulties were those of water and transport, and arrangements had to be made to insure that the troops could be kept supplied with water while operating at considerable distances from their original

water base for a period which might amount to a week or more; for, though it was known that an ample supply of water existed at Beersheba, it was uncertain how quickly it could be developed or to what extent the enemy would have damaged the wells before we succeeded in occupying the town. Except at Beersheba, no large supply of water would be found till Sheria and Hareira had been captured.

The transport problem was no less difficult; there were no good roads south of the line Gaza-Beersheba, and no reliance could therefore be placed on the use of motor transport. Owing to the steep banks of many of the wadis which intersected the area of operations, the routes passable by wheeled transport were limited, and the going was heavy and difficult in many places. Practically the whole of the transport available in the force, including 30,000 pack camels, had to be allotted to one portion of the eastern force to enable it to be kept supplied with food, water, and ammunition at a distance of fifteen to twenty miles in advance of railhead. Arrangements were also made for railhead to be pushed forward as rapidly as possible toward Karm, and for a line to be laid from Gamli toward Beersheba for the transport of ammunition.

A railway line was also laid from Deir el Belah to the Wadi Ghuzze, close behind the sector held by another portion of the eastern force.

Considerable strain was thrown on the military railway from Kantara to the front during the period of preparation. In addition to the normal requirements of the force, a number of siege and heavy batteries, besides other artillery and units, had to be moved to the front, and large depots of supplies, ammunition, and other stores accumulated at the various railheads. Preparations had also to be made and the necessary material accumulated to push forward the lines from Deir el Belah and Shellal.

Enemy's Strong Position

5. During the period from July to October the enemy's force on the Palestine front had been increased. It was evident, from the arrival of these reinforcements and the construction of railway extensions from El Tine, on the Ramleh-Beersheba railway, to Deir Sineid and Beit Hanun, north of Gaza, and from Deir Sineid to Huj, and from reports of the transport of large supplies of ammunition and other stores to the Palestine front, that the enemy was determined to make every effort to maintain his position on the Gaza-Beersheba line. He had considerably strengthened his defenses on this line, and the strong localities mentioned in Paragraph 2 had, by the end of October, been joined up to form a practically continuous line from the sea to a point south of Sheria, except for a gap between Ali Muntar and the Sihan group. The defensive works round



REGION OF PALESTINE TAKEN BY GENERAL ALLENBY'S FORCES IN THE MARCH FROM GAZA TO JERUSALEM AND BEYOND

Beersheba remained a detached system, but had been improved and extended.

6. The date of the attack on Beersheba, which was to commence the operations, was fixed as Oct. 31. Work had been begun on the railway from Shellal toward Karm, and on the line from Gamli to El Bugar. The development of water at Ecani, Khalasa, and Asluj proceeded satisfactorily. These last two places were to be the starting point for the mounted force detailed to make a wide flanking movement and attack Beersheba from the east and northeast.

On the morning of Oct. 27 the Turks made a strong reconnaissance toward Karm from the direction of Kauwukah, two regiments of cavalry and two or three thousand infantry, with guns, being employed. They attacked a line of outposts near El Ghrheir, held by some yeomanry, covering railway construction. One small post was rushed and

cut up, but not before inflicting heavy loss on the enemy; another post, though surrounded, held out all day, and also caused the enemy heavy loss. The gallant resistance made by the yeomanry enabled the 53d (Welsh) Division to come up in time, and on their advance the Turks withdrew.

The bombardment of the Gaza defenses commenced on Oct. 27, and on Oct. 30 warships of the royal navy, assisted by a French battleship, began co-operating in this bombardment.

Beersheba Captured

7. On the evening of Oct. 30 the portion of the eastern force which was to make the attack on Beersheba was concentrated in positions of readiness for the night march to its positions of deployment.

8. The night march to the positions of deployment was successfully carried out, all

units reaching their appointed positions up to time.

The plan was to attack the hostile works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba with two divisions, masking the works north of the Wadi Saba with the Imperial Camel Corps and some infantry, while a portion of the 53d (Welsh) Division further north covered the left of the corps. The right of the attack was covered by a cavalry regiment. Further east, mounted troops took up a line opposite the southern defenses of Beersheba.

As a preliminary to the main attack, in order to enable field guns to be brought within effective range for wire cutting, the enemy's advanced works at 1,070 were to be taken. This was successfully accomplished at 8:45 A. M., after a short preliminary bombardment, by London troops, with small loss, ninety prisoners being taken. The cutting of the wire on the main line then proceeded satisfactorily, though pauses had to be made to allow the dust to clear; and the final assault was ordered for 12:15 P. M. It was successful all along the front attacked, and by about 1 P. M. the whole of the works between the Khalasa road and the Wadi Saba were in our hands.

Some delay occurred in ascertaining whether the enemy still occupied the works north of the road; it was decided, as they were still held by small parties, to attack them from the south. After a preliminary bombardment the works were occupied with little opposition by about 7:30 P. M.

The casualties were light, considering the strength of the works attacked; a large proportion occurred during the advance toward the positions previous to the assault, the hostile guns being very accurate and very difficult to locate.

Meanwhile, the mounted troops, after a night march, for part of the force of twenty-five and for the remainder of thirty-five miles, arrived early in the morning of the 31st about Khasim Zanna, in the hills some five miles east of Beersheba. From the hills the advance into Beersheba from the east and northeast lies over an open and almost flat plain, commanded by the rising ground north of the town and flanked by an underfeature in the Wadi Saba called Tel el Saba.

A force was sent north to secure Bir es Sakaty, on the Hebron road, and protect the right flank. This force met with some opposition and was engaged with hostile cavalry at Bir es Sakaty and to the north during the day. Tel el Saba was found strongly held by the enemy and was not captured till late in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, attempts to advance in small parties across the plain toward the town made slow progress. In the evening, however, a mounted attack by Australian light horse, who rode straight at the town from the east, proved completely successful. They galloped over two deep trenches held by the

enemy just outside the town and entered the town at about 7 P. M., capturing numerous prisoners.

The Turks at Beersheba were undoubtedly taken completely by surprise, a surprise from which the dash of London troops and yeomanry, finely supported by their artillery, never gave them time to recover. The charge of the Australian light horse completed their defeat.

A very strong position was thus taken with slight loss, and the Turkish detachment at Beersheba almost completely put out of action. About 2,000 prisoners and thirteen guns were taken, and some 500 Turkish corpses were buried on the battlefield. This success laid open the left flank of the main Turkish position for a decisive blow.

Hard Fighting at Gaza

9. The actual date of the attack at Gaza had been left open till the result of the attack at Beersheba was known, as it was intended that the former attack, which was designed to draw hostile reserves toward the Gaza sector, should take place twenty-four to forty-eight hours previous to the attack on the Sheria position. After the complete success of the Beersheba operations, and as the early reports indicated that an ample supply of water would be available at that place, it was hoped that it would be possible to attack Sheria by Nov. 3 or 4. The attack on Gaza was accordingly ordered to take place on the morning of Nov. 2. Later reports showed that the water situation was less favorable than had been hoped, but it was decided not to postpone the attack.

The objectives of this attack were the hostile works from Umbrella Hill (2,000 yards southwest of the town) to Sheikh Hasan, on the sea, (about 2,500 yards northeast of the town.) The front of the attack was about 6,000 yards, and Sheikh Hasan, the furthest objective, was over 3,000 yards from our front line. The ground over which the attack took place consisted of sand dunes, rising in places up to 150 feet in height. This sand is very deep and heavy going. The enemy's defenses consisted of several lines of strongly built trenches and redoubts.

As Umbrella Hill flanked the advance against the Turkish works further west, it was decided to capture it by a preliminary operation, to take place four hours previous to the main attack. It was accordingly attacked and captured at 11 P. M. on Nov. 1 by a portion of the 52d (Lowland) Division. This attack drew a heavy bombardment of Umbrella Hill itself and our front lines, which lasted for two hours, but ceased in time to allow the main attack, which was timed for 3 A. M., to form up without interference.

It had been decided to make the attack before daylight, owing to the distance to be covered between our front trenches and the enemy's position.

Turks Suffer Heavy Losses

The attack was successful in reaching all objectives, except for a section of trench on the left and some of the final objectives in the centre. Four hundred and fifty prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. The enemy also suffered heavily from the preliminary bombardment, and subsequent reports from prisoners stated that one of the divisions holding the Gaza sector was withdrawn after losing 33 per cent. of its effectives, one of the divisions in general reserve being drawn into the Gaza sector to replace it. The attack thus succeeded in its primary object, which was to prevent any units being drawn from the Gaza defenses to meet the threat to the Turkish left flank, and to draw into Gaza as large a proportion as possible of the available Turkish reserves. Further, the capture of Sheik Hasan and the southwestern defenses constituted a very distinct threat to the whole of the Gaza position, which could be developed on any sign of a withdrawal on the part of the enemy.

Our losses, though considerable, were not in any way disproportionate to the result obtained.

10. Meanwhile, on our right flank the water and transport difficulties were found to be greater than anticipated, and the preparations for the second phase of the attack were somewhat delayed in consequence.

In the early morning of Nov. 1 the 53d (Welsh) Division, with the Imperial Camel Corps on its right, had moved out into the hills north of Beersheba, with the object of securing the flank of the attack on Sheria. Mounted troops were also sent north along the Hebron road to secure Dhaheriyeh if possible, as it was hoped that a good supply of water would be found in this area and that a motor road which the Turks were reported to have constructed from Dhaheriyeh to Sheria could be secured for our use.

The 53d (Welsh) Division, after a long march, took up a position from Towal Abu Jerwal (six miles north of Beersheba) to Muweileh, (four miles northeast of Abu Irgeig.) Irish troops occupied Abu Irgeig the same day.

On Nov. 3 we advanced north on Ain Kohleh and Tel Khuweilfeh, near which place the mounted troops had engaged considerable enemy forces on the previous day. This advance was strongly opposed, but was pushed on through difficult hill country to within a short distance of Ain Kohleh and Khuweilfeh. At these places the enemy was found holding a strong position with considerable and increasing forces. He was obviously determined not only to bar any further progress in this direction, but, if possible, to drive our flank guard back on Beersheba. During the 4th and 5th he made several determined attacks on the mounted troops. These attacks were repulsed.

By the evening of Nov. 5 the 19th Turkish Division, the remains of the 27th, and certain units of the 16th Division had been identified in the fighting round Tel el Khuweilfeh, and it was also fairly clear that the greater part of the hostile cavalry, supported apparently by some infantry ("depot" troops) from Hebron, were engaged between Khuweilfeh and the Hebron road.

Enemy's Counterstroke Defeated

The action of the enemy in thus employing the whole of his available reserves in an immediate counterstroke so far to the east was apparently a bold effort to induce me to make essential alterations in my offensive plan, thereby gaining time and disorganizing my arrangements. The country north of Beersheba was exceedingly rough and hilly, and very little water was to be found there. Had the enemy succeeded in drawing considerable forces against him in that area the result might easily have been an indecisive fight (for the terrain was very suitable to his methods of defense) and my own main striking force would probably have been made too weak effectively to break the enemy's centre in the neighborhood of Sheria-Hareira. This might have resulted in our gaining Beersheba, but failing to do more—in which case Beersheba would only have been an incubus of a most inconvenient kind. However, the enemy's action was not allowed to make any essential modification to the original plan, which it had been decided to carry out at dawn on Nov. 6.

By the evening of Nov. 5 all preparations had been made to attack the Kauwukah and Rushdi systems and to make every effort to reach Sheria before nightfall.

The mounted troops were to be prepared in the event of a success by the main force to collect, as they were somewhat widely scattered owing to water difficulties, and push north in pursuit of the enemy. Tel el Khuweilfeh was to be attacked at dawn on the 6th, and the troops were to endeavor to reach line Tel el Khuweilfeh-Rijm el Dhib.

11. At dawn on the 6th the attacking force had taken up positions of readiness to the southeast of the Kauwukah system of trenches. The attack was to be commenced by an assault on the group of works forming the extreme left of the enemy's defensive system, followed by an advance due west up the railway, capturing the line of detached works which lay east of the railway. During this attack London and Irish troops were to advance toward the Kauwukah system, bringing forward their guns to within wire-cutting range. They were to assault the southeastern face of the Kauwukah system as soon as the bombardment had proved effective, and thence take the remainder of the system in enfilade.

The attack progressed rapidly, the yeomanry storming the works on the enemy's extreme left with great dash; and soon after

noon the London and Irish troops commenced their attack. It was completely successful in capturing all its objectives, and the whole of the Rushdi system in addition. Sheria station was also captured before dark. The yeomanry reached the line of the Wadi Sheria to Wadi Unjon; and the troops on the left were close to Hareira redoubt, which was still occupied by the enemy. This attack was a fine performance, the troops advancing eight or nine miles during the day and capturing a series of very strong works covering a front of about seven miles, the greater part of which had been held and strengthened by the enemy for over six months. Some 600 prisoners were taken and some guns and machine guns captured. Our casualties were comparatively slight. The greatest opposition was encountered by the yeomanry in the early morning, the works covering the left of the enemy's line being strong and stubbornly defended.

During the afternoon, as soon as it was seen that the attack had succeeded, mounted troops were ordered to take up the pursuit and to occupy Huj and Jemmamah.

The 53d (Welsh) Division had again had very severe fighting on the 6th. Their attack at dawn on Tel el Khuwelfeh was successful, and, though they were driven off a hill by a counterattack, they retook it and captured another hill, which much improved their position. The Turkish losses in this area were very heavy indeed, and the stubborn fighting of the 53d (Welsh) Division, Imperial Camel Corps, and part of the mounted troops during Nov. 2 to 6 drew in and exhausted the Turkish reserves and paved the way for the success of the attack on Sheria. The 53d (Welsh) Division took several hundred prisoners and some guns during this fighting.

12. The bombardment of Gaza had meanwhile continued, and another attack was ordered to take place on the night of the 6th-7th.

The objectives were, on the right, Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill, (to be attacked at 11:30 P. M. on the 6th,) and on the left the line Belah Trench-Turtle Hill, (to be attacked at dawn on the 7th.)

During the 6th a certain amount of movement on the roads north of Gaza was observed by our airmen and fired on by our heavy artillery, but nothing indicating a general retirement from Gaza.

Gaza Evacuated by Turks

The attack on Outpost Hill and Middlesex Hill met with little opposition, and as soon, after they had been taken, as patrols could be pushed forward, the enemy was found to be gone. East Anglian troops on the left also found at dawn that the enemy had retired during the night, and early in the morning the main force occupied the northern and eastern defenses of Gaza. Rearguards were still occupying Beit Hanun and the Atawineh and Tank systems, whence Turk-

ish artillery continued to fire on Gaza and Ali Muntar till dusk.

As soon as it was seen that the Turks had evacuated Gaza a part of the force pushed along the coast to the mouth of the Wadi Hesi, so as to turn the Wadi Hesi line and prevent the enemy making any stand there. Cavalry had already pushed on round the north of Gaza, and became engaged with an enemy rearguard at Beit Hanun, which maintained its position till nightfall. The force advancing along the coast reached the Wadi Hesi by evening, and succeeded in establishing itself on the north bank in the face of considerable opposition, a Turkish rearguard making several determined counterattacks.

On our extreme right the situation remained practically unchanged during the 7th; the enemy made no further attempt to counter-attack, but maintained his positions opposite our right flank guard.

In the centre the Hareira Tepar redoubt was captured at dawn; some prisoners and guns were taken. The London troops, after a severe engagement at Tel el Sheria, which they captured by a bayonet charge at 4 A. M. on the 7th, subsequently repulsing several counterattacks, pushed forward their line about a mile to the north of Tel el Sheria; the mounted troops on the right moved toward Jemmamah and Huj, but met with considerable opposition from hostile rear-guards.

13. During the 8th the advance was continued, and interest was chiefly centred in an attempt to cut off, if possible, the Turkish rearguard which had held the Tank and Atawineh systems. The enemy had, however, retreated during the night 7th-8th, and though considerable captures of prisoners, guns, ammunition, and other stores were made during the day, chiefly in the vicinity of Huj, no large formed body of the enemy was cut off. The Turkish rearguards fought stubbornly and offered considerable opposition. Near Huj a fine charge by some squadrons of the Worcester and Warwick yeomanry captured twelve guns and broke the resistance of a hostile rearguard. It soon became obvious from the reports of the Royal Flying Corps, who throughout the 7th and 8th attacked the retreating columns with bombs and machine-gun fire, and from other evidence, that the enemy was retiring in considerable disorganization, and could offer no very serious resistance if pressed with determination.

Advancing Toward Hebron

Instructions were accordingly issued on the morning of the 9th to the mounted troops, directing them on the line El Tine-Beit Duras, with orders to press the enemy relentlessly. They were to be supported by a portion of the force, which was ordered to push forward to Julis and Mejdal.

The enemy opposite our right flank guard had commenced to retreat toward Hebron

on the morning of the 8th. He was pursued for a short distance by the yeomanry, and some prisoners and camels were captured, but the yeomanry were then recalled to rejoin the main body of the mounted troops for the more important task of the pursuit of the enemy's main body.

By the 9th, therefore, operations had reached the stage of a direct pursuit by as many troops as could be supplied so far in front of railhead. The problem, in fact, became one of supply rather than manoeuvre. The question of water and forage was a very difficult one. Even where water was found in sufficient quantities, it was usually in wells and not on the surface, and consequently if the machinery for working the wells was damaged, or a sufficient supply of troughs was not available, the process of watering a large quantity of animals was slow and difficult.

Stronger Resistance

14. On the evening of Nov. 9 there were indications that the enemy was organizing a counterattack toward Arak el Menshiv by all available units of the force which had retire toward Hebron, with the object of taking pressure off the main force, which was retiring along the coastal plain. It was obvious that the Hebron force, which was believed to be short of transport and ammunition, to have lost heavily and to be in a generally disorganized state, could make no effective diversion, and that this threat could practically be disregarded. Other information showed the seriousness of the enemy's losses and the disorganization of his forces.

Orders were accordingly issued to press the pursuit and to reach the Junction Station as early as possible, thus cutting off the Jerusalem army, while the Imperial Camel Corps was ordered to move to the neighborhood of Tel el Nejile, where it would be on the flank of any counterstroke from the hills.

Operations on the 10th and 11th showed a stiffening of the enemy's resistance on the general line of the Wadi Sukereir, with centre about El Kustineh; the Hebron group, after an ineffective demonstration in the direction of Arak el Menshiye on the 10th, retired northeast and prolonged the enemy's line toward Beit Jibrin. Royal Flying Corps reports indicated the total hostile forces opposed to us on this line at about 15,000, and this increased resistance, coupled with the capture of prisoners from almost every unit of the Turkish force, tended to show that we were no longer opposed to rearguards, but that all the remainder of the Turkish Army which could be induced to fight was making a last effort to arrest our pursuit south of the important Junction Station.

In these circumstances our progress on the 10th and 11th was slow; the troops suffered considerably from thirst, (a hot, exhausting wind blew during these two days,) and our supply difficulties were great, but by the

evening of the 11th favorable positions had been reached for a combined attack.

The 12th was spent in preparations for the attack, which was ordered to begin early on the morning of the 13th, on the enemy's position covering Junction Station. Our forces were now operating at a distance of some thirty-five miles in advance of their railhead, and the bringing up and distribution of supplies and ammunition formed a difficult problem. The routes north of the Wadi Hesi were found to be hard and good going, though there were some difficult wadi crossings, but the main road through Gaza and as far as Beit Hanun was sandy and difficult. The supply of water in the area of operations, though good and plentiful in most of the villages, lies mainly in wells 100 feet or more below the surface, and in these circumstances a rapid supply and distribution was almost impossible. Great credit is due to all concerned that these difficulties were overcome and that it was found possible not only to supply the troops already in the line, but to bring up two heavy batteries to support the attack.

15. The situation on the morning of Nov. 13 was that the enemy had strung out his force (amounting probably to no more than 20,000 rifles in all) on a front of twenty miles, from El Kubeibeh on the north to about Beit Jibrin to the south. The right half of his line ran roughly parallel to and only about five miles in front of the Ramleh-Junction Station railway, his main line of supply from the north, and his right flank was already almost turned. This position had been dictated to him by the rapidity of our movement along the coast and the determination with which his rearguards on this flank had been pressed.

The advanced guard of the 52d (Lowland) Division had forced its way almost to Burkah on the 11th, on which day also some mounted troops pushed across the Nahr Suhereir at Jisr Esdud, where they held a bridgehead. During the 12th the yeomanry pushed north up the left bank of the Nahr Suhereir, and eventually seized Tel-el-Murreh on the right bank near the mouth.

Enemy Forces Cut in Two

The hostile commander may have hoped to exercise some moral effect on our plans by the presence of the southern portion of his forces on the flank of our advance; if so, he was mistaken. The Australian mounted troops, extended over a wide front, not only secured this flank but pressed forward on the 12th toward Balin, Berkusie, and Tel-es-Safi. Their advanced troops were counter-attacked and driven back a short distance, but the enemy made no effort to press further forward. Arrangements were then made to attack on the 13th.

The country over which the attack took place is open and rolling, dotted with small villages surrounded by mud walls, with

plantations of trees outside the walls. The most prominent feature is the line of heights on which are the villages of Katrah and El Mughar, standing out above the low flat ground which separates them from the rising ground to the west, on which stands the village of Beshshit, about 2,000 yards distant. This Katrah-El Mughar line forms a very strong position, and it was here that the enemy made his most determined resistance against the turning movement directed against his right flank. The capture of this position by the 52d (Lowland) Division, assisted by a most dashing charge of mounted troops, who galloped across the plain under heavy fire and turned the enemy's position from the north, was a fine feat of arms. Some 1,100 prisoners, 3 guns, and many machine guns were taken here. After this the enemy resistance weakened, and by the evening his forces were retiring east and north.

The infantry, who were sent forward about dusk to occupy Junction Station, met with some resistance and halted for the night, not much more than a mile west of the station. Early next morning (Nov. 14) they occupied the station.

The enemy's army had now been broken into two separate parts, which retired north and east respectively, and were reported to consist of small scattered groups rather than formed bodies of any size.

Advance of Sixty Miles

In fifteen days our force had advanced sixty miles on its right and about forty on its left. It had driven a Turkish army of nine infantry divisions and one cavalry division out of a position in which it had been intrenched for six months, and had pursued it, giving battle whenever it attempted to stand and inflicting on it losses amounting probably to nearly two-thirds of the enemy's original effectives. Over 9,000 prisoners, about 80 guns, more than 100 machine guns, and very large quantities of ammunition and other stores had been captured.

16. After the capture of Junction Station on the morning of the 14th, our troops secured a position covering the station, while the Australian mounted troops reached Kezaze that same evening.

The mounted troops pressed on toward Ramleh and Ludd. On the right Naaneh was attacked and captured in the morning, while on the left the New Zealand Mounted Rifles had a smart engagement at Ayun Kara, (six miles south of Jaffa.) Here the Turks made a determined counterattack and got to within fifteen yards of our line. A bayonet attack drove them back with heavy loss.

Flanking the advance along the railway to Ramleh and covering the main road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, a ridge stands up prominently out of the low foothills surrounding it. This is the site of the ancient Gezer, near which the village of Abu Shusheh now

stands. A hostile rearguard had established itself on this feature. It was captured on the morning of the 15th in a brilliant attack by mounted troops, who galloped up the ridge from the south. A gun and 300 prisoners were taken in this affair.

By the evening of the 15th the mounted troops had occupied Ramleh and Ludd, and had pushed patrols to within a short distance of Jaffa. At Ludd 300 prisoners were taken, and five destroyed airplanes and a quantity of abandoned war material were found at Ramleh and Ludd.

Jaffa was occupied without opposition on the evening of the 16th.

17. The situation was now as follows:

The enemy's army, cut in two by our capture of Junction Station, had retired partly east into the mountains toward Jerusalem and partly north along the plain. The nearest line on which these two portions could reunite was the line Tul Keram-Nablus. Reports from the Royal Flying Corps indicated that it was the probable intention of the enemy to evacuate Jerusalem and withdraw to reorganize on this line.

On our side the mounted troops had been marching and fighting continuously since Oct. 31, and had advanced a distance of seventy-five miles, measured in a straight line from Asluj to Jaffa. The troops, after their heavy fighting at Gaza, had advanced in nine days a distance of about forty miles, with two severe engagements and continual advanced guard fighting. The 52d (Lowland) Division had covered sixty-nine miles in this period.

The railway was being pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and every opportunity was taken of landing stores at points along the coast. The landing of stores was dependent on a continuance of favorable weather, and might at any moment be stopped for several days together.

A pause was therefore necessary to await the progress of railway construction, but before our position in the plain could be considered secure it was essential to obtain a hold of the one good road which traverses the Judean range from north to south, from Nablus to Jerusalem.

Through the Judean Hills

18. The west side of the Judean range consists of a series of spurs running east and west, and separated from one another by narrow valleys. These spurs are steep, bare, and stony for the most part, and in places precipitous. Between the foot of the spur of the main range and the coastal plain is the low range known as the Shephelah.

On our intended line of advance only one good road, the main Jaffa-Jerusalem road, traversed the hills from east to west. For nearly four miles, between Bab el Wad (two and one half miles east of Latron) and Saris, this road passes through a narrow

defile, and it had been damaged by the Turks in several places. The other roads were mere tracks on the side of the hill or up the stony beds of wadis, and were impracticable for wheeled transport without improvement. Throughout these hills the water supply was scanty without development.

On Nov. 17 the yeomanry had commenced to move from Ramleh through the hills direct on Bireh by Annabeh, Berfilya, and Beit ur el Tahta, (Lower Bethhoron.) By the evening of Nov. 18 one portion of the yeomanry had reached the last-named place, while another portion had occupied Shilta. The route had been found impossible for wheels beyond Annabeh.

On the 19th the infantry commenced its advance. One portion was to advance up the main road as far as Kuryet el Enab, with its right flank protected by Australian mounted troops. From that place, in order to avoid any fighting in the close vicinity of the Holy City, it was to strike north toward Bireh by a track leading through Biddu. The remainder of the infantry was to advance through Berfilya to Beit Likia and Beit Dukka, and thence support the movement of the other portion.

After capturing Latron and Amnas on the morning of the 19th, the remainder of the day was spent in clearing the defile up to Saris, which was defended by hostile rear-guards.

On the 20th Kuryet el Enab was captured with the bayonet in the face of organized opposition, while Beit Dukka was also captured. On the same day the yeomanry got to within four miles of the Nablus-Jerusalem road, but were stopped by strong opposition about Beitunia.

On the 21st a body of infantry moved northeast by a track from Kuryet el Enab through Biddu and Kulundia toward Bireh. The track was found impassable for wheels, and was under hostile shellfire. Progress was slow, but by evening the ridge on which stands Neby Samwil was secured. A further body of troops was left at Kuryet el Enab to cover the flank and demonstrate along the main Jerusalem road. It drove hostile parties from Kustul, two and a half miles east of Kuryet el Enab, and secured this ridge.

By the afternoon of the 21st advance parties of yeomanry were within two miles of the road and an attack was being delivered on Beitunia by other mounted troops.

Temporary Reverse Overcome

19. The positions reached on the evening of the 21st practically marked the limit of progress in this first attempt to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road. The yeomanry were heavily counterattacked and fell back, after bitter fighting, on Beit ur el Foka, (Upper Bethhoron.) During the 22d the enemy made two counterattacks on the Neby Samwil Ridge, which were repulsed. Determined and gallant attacks were made on

the 23d and on the 24th on the strong positions to the west of the road held by the enemy, who had brought up reinforcements and numerous machine guns, and could support his infantry by artillery fire from guns placed in positions along the main road. Our artillery, from lack of roads, could not be brought up to give adequate support to our infantry. Both attacks failed, and it was evident that a period of preparation and organization would be necessary before an attack could be delivered in sufficient strength to drive the enemy from his positions west of the road.

Orders were accordingly issued to consolidate the positions gained and prepare for relief.

Though these troops had failed to reach their final objectives, they had achieved invaluable results. The narrow passes from the plain to the plateau of the Judæan Range have seldom been forced and have been fatal to many invading armies. Had the attempt not been made at once, or had it been pressed with less determination, the enemy would have had time to reorganize his defenses in the passes lower down, and the conquest of the plateau would then have been slow, costly, and precarious. As it was, positions had been won from which the final attack could be prepared and delivered with good prospects of success.

20. By Dec. 4 all reliefs were complete, and a line was held from Kustul by the Neby Samwil Ridge, Beit Izza, and Beit Dukka, to Beit ur el Tahta.

During this period attacks by the enemy along the whole line led to severe local fighting. On Nov. 25 our advanced posts north of the River Auja were driven back across the river. From the 27th to the 30th the enemy delivered a series of attacks directed especially against the high ground north and northeast of Jaffa, the left flank of our position in the hills from Beit ur el Foka to El Burj and the Neby Samwil Ridge. An attack on the night of the 29th succeeded in penetrating our outpost line northeast of Jaffa, but next morning the whole hostile detachment, numbering 150, was surrounded and captured by Australian light horse. On the 30th a similar fate befell a battalion which attacked near El Burj; a counter-attack by Australian light horse took 200 prisoners and practically destroyed the attacking battalion. There was particularly heavy fighting between El Burj and Beit ur el Foka, but the yeomanry and Scottish troops successfully resisted all attacks and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. At Beit ur el Foka one company took 300 prisoners. All efforts by the enemy to drive us off the Neby Samwil Ridge were completely repulsed. These attacks cost the Turks very dearly. We took 750 prisoners between Nov. 27 and 30, and the enemy's losses in killed and wounded were undoubtedly heavy. His attacks in no way affected our positions nor impeded the progress of our preparations.

Closing In on Jerusalem

21. Favored by a continuance of fine weather, preparations for a fresh advance against the Turkish positions west and south of Jerusalem proceeded rapidly. Existing roads and tracks were improved and new ones constructed to enable heavy and field artillery to be placed in position and ammunition and supplies brought up. The water supply was also developed.

The date for the attack was fixed as Dec. 8. Welsh troops, with a cavalry regiment attached, had advanced from their positions north of Beersheba up the Hebron-Jerusalem road on the 4th. No opposition was met, and by the evening of the 6th the head of this column was ten miles north of Hebron. The infantry were directed to reach the Bethlehem-Beit Jala area by the 7th, and the line Surbahir-Sherafat (about three miles south of Jerusalem) by dawn on the 8th, and no troops were to enter Jerusalem during this operation.

It was recognized that the troops on the extreme right might be delayed on the 7th and fail to reach the positions assigned to them by dawn on the 8th. Arrangements were therefore made to protect the right flank west of Jerusalem, in case such delay occurred.

22. On the 7th the weather broke, and for three days rain was almost continuous. The hills were covered with mist at frequent intervals, rendering observation from the air and visual signaling impossible. A more serious effect of the rain was to jeopardize the supply arrangements by rendering the roads almost impassable—quite impassable, indeed, for mechanical transport and camels in many places.

The troops moved into positions of assembly by night, and, assaulting at dawn on the 8th, soon carried their first objectives. They then pressed steadily forward. The mere physical difficulty of climbing the steep and rocky hillsides and crossing the deep valleys would have sufficed to render progress slow, and the opposition encountered was considerable. Artillery support was soon difficult, owing to the length of the advance and the difficulty of moving guns forward. But by about noon London troops had already advanced over two miles, and were swinging northeast to gain the Nablus-Jerusalem road, while the yeomanry had captured the Beit Ikksa spur, and were preparing for a further advance.

Jerusalem Forced to Surrender

As the right column had been delayed and was still some distance south of Jerusalem, it was necessary for the London troops to throw back their right and form a defensive flank facing east toward Jerusalem, from the western outskirts of which considerable rifle and artillery fire was being experienced. This delayed the advance, and early in the afternoon it was decided to consoli-

date the line gained and resume the advance next day, when the right column would be in a position to exert its pressure. By nightfall our line ran from Neby Samwil to the east of Beit Ikksa, through Lifta to a point about one and a half miles west of Jerusalem, whence it was thrown back facing east. All the enemy's prepared defenses west and northwest of Jerusalem had been captured, and our troops were within a short distance of the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

The London troops and yeomanry had displayed great endurance in difficult conditions. The London troops especially, after a night march in heavy rain to reach their positions of deployment, had made an advance of three to four miles in difficult hills in the face of stubborn opposition.

During the day about 300 prisoners were taken and many Turks killed. Our own casualties were light.

23. Next morning the advance was resumed. The Turks had withdrawn during the night, and the London troops and yeomanry, driving back rearguards, occupied a line across the Nablus-Jerusalem road four miles north of Jerusalem, while Welsh troops occupied a position east of Jerusalem across the Jericho road. These operations isolated Jerusalem, and at about noon the enemy sent out a *parlementaire* and surrendered the city.

At noon on the 11th I made my official entry into Jerusalem.

24. In the operations from Oct. 31 to Dec. 9 over 12,000 prisoners were taken. The total captures of material have not yet been fully counted, owing to the large area covered by these operations; but are known to include about 100 guns of various calibres, many machine guns, more than 20,000,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, and 250,000 rounds of gun ammunition. More than twenty airplanes were destroyed by our airmen or burned by the enemy to avoid capture.

Special Services

25. My thanks are due to the cordial assistance which I have received from his Excellency the High Commissioner, General Sir Francis Wingate, G. C. B., G. C. V. O., K. C. M. G., D. S. O., who has always given me the greatest assistance.

26. During the whole period Rear Admiral T. Jackson, C. B., M. V. O., has given me most loyal support, and has co-operated with me in a manner which has materially contributed to our success.

27. Brig. Gen. Sir G. Macauley, K. C. M. G., C. B., Director of Railway Transport, has given invaluable help in the organization of my railways.

28. All ranks and services in the force under my command have acquitted themselves in a manner beyond praise. Fatigue, thirst, heat, and cold have been endured uncomplainingly. The co-operation of all arms has been admirable, and has enabled success in battle

to be consummated by irresistible and victorious pursuit.

Leaders and staffs have all done well, and in particular I bring to your Lordship's notice the names of the following officers:

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O.

My plan of operations was based on his appreciation of the situation and on the scheme which he put forward to me on my arrival in Egypt last Summer. To his strategical foresight and tactical skill the success of the campaign is largely due.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) E. S. Bulfin, C. B., C. V. O.

Has shown great ability as an organizer and leader in high command. To his determination in attack, and his dash and drive in pursuit, is due the swift advance to Jerusalem.

Major Gen. (temporary Lieut. Gen.) Sir Henry Chauvel, K. C. M. G., C. B.

Has commanded my mounted troops with invariable success in attack and pursuit. His

co-operation with other arms has always been ready and loyal, and has contributed greatly to the victory won.

Major Gen. L. J. Bols, C. B., D. S. O., Chief of the General Staff, has done brilliant work. He is a General Staff officer of the first rank.

Major Gen. J. Adye, C. B., Deputy Adjutant General, has rendered invaluable service.

Major Gen. Sir Walter Campbell, K. C. M. G., C. B., D. S. O., Deputy Quartermaster General, has had a difficult task which he has carried out with complete success.

Brevet Lieut. Col. (temporary Brig. Gen.) G. P. Dawnay, D. S. O., M. V. O., Reserve of Officers, Brigadier General, General Staff, has proved himself a strategist and tactician of unusual merit. His work has been of the highest value.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
E. H. H. ALLENBY,
General.

Commanding in Chief,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

The Delivery of Jerusalem

The Narrative of an Eyewitness

[SEE MAP ON PAGE 155]

The peculiar interest of this article from the pen of a correspondent of The London Times is that it presents an inside view of what happened within the Holy City during the approach of General Allenby's forces. With General Allenby's official report of the campaign, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, it affords new light upon the historic event.

IT was whispered in Jerusalem on Nov. 9 that the British were at Huj, behind the centre of the Gaza-Beer-sheba line, and that Tel-el-Sheria and Gaza had fallen. The Germans and Austrians were even now preparing to evacuate the Holy City. Rumor for once was true. During the next few days lame or exhausted Turks, wounded and stragglers, whom the German motor-lorry drivers refused to pick up, and Turkish officers shaken into truthfulness by the extent of their defeat, brought news of the victory. Turkish officials at once began to leave the city with their families. The German depots were hurriedly emptied of unessential supplies, such as sugar, which were sold for a song. Munitions and essential stores were then sent north to Shechem, or east to Jericho.

From the high towers of the city and from the Mount of Olives one could see a great double wall of dust along every road each day, and on a clear day one could see lorries, carts, and pack animals streaming up and down. Owners of the few horse carriages left asked for and obtained £10 a seat from fugitives who were making for Shechem.

FALKENHAYN'S MOVEMENTS

The great commanders hastened to Jerusalem. Enver, who had hurried from the imperial headquarters at Constantinople to harangue his defeated Generals, departed as suddenly and silently as he had come. Falkenhayn came from the City of Aleppo to reorganize the beaten army. Meanwhile the British troops had pushed up the passes into the highlands

of Judea. Their guns were faintly heard at Jerusalem as they fought their way up the valley of Sorek, and thenceforward the sound of battle grew louder day by day.

Falkenhayn himself departed for Shechem on Nov. 16, and on the 19th Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Coptic patriarchs, with the principal ecclesiastics from the churches, left for the same place; so also went certain Jewish notables suspected of Zionism.

Then came a sudden change in the temper of the Turks; the British were held up at Neby Samwil, in sight of Shechem, by reason of difficulties of transport. The Turks had received the command to stand from their German masters, who had preached the uselessness of attempting to hold Jerusalem once the Gaza line had gone, but their pride forbade them to surrender one of the holiest cities of the Turkish Caliphate without a struggle.

Falkenhayn having gone, the control of policy reverted to Turkish hands, and Ali Fuad Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Jerusalem, issued two proclamations to the people of the city. He first warned all civilians that street fighting was to be expected, and when it began they were to keep indoors and assist the troops in the impending house-to-house conflict under pain of severe penalties. The second proclamation stated that the Turks had held Jerusalem for 1,300 years (an exaggeration of only nine centuries) and would not abandon it. The inhabitants were ordered to have complete confidence in the good behavior of the troops detailed to defend the city to the last. Dismayed by threats and informed by Turkish officers that the British advance had spent itself, and that a new period of trench warfare was at hand, the people despaired. Arrests and confiscations multiplied, and the innate spitefulness of the Young Turk official manifested itself in many ways.

On Dec. 6 and 7 the fighting on the hills west of Jerusalem and the rapid advance of a British force from Hebron began to revive the hope of a decision.

On the morning of Dec. 8 large numbers of the inhabitants, with the remaining religious chiefs, were personally warned by the police to be ready to leave at once. The extent to which the Turks were prepared to clear the city is shown by the fact that out of the Armenian community of 1,400 souls 300 received this notice. The tyrannical Djemal Pasha, when warned that vehicles were unavailable for the transport of the unhappy exiles to Shechem or Jericho, telegraphed curtly that they and theirs must walk. The fate of countless Armenians and many Greeks has shown that a population of all ages suddenly turned out to walk indefinite distances under Turkish escort is exposed to outrage and hardship which prove fatal to most of them; but the delay in telegraphing had saved the population, and the sun had risen for the last time on the Ottoman domination of Jerusalem, and the Turks' power to destroy faded with the day.

Toward dusk the British troops were reported to have passed Lifta, and to be within sight of the city. On this news being received, a sudden panic fell on the Turks west and southwest of the town, and at 5 in the afternoon civilians were surprised to see a Turkish transport column galloping furiously cityward along the Jaffa road. In passing they alarmed all units within sight or hearing, and the wearied infantry arose and fled, bootless and without rifles, never pausing to think or to fight. Some were flogged from behind by officers and were compelled to pick up their arms; others staggered on through the mud, augmenting the confusion of the retreat.

After four centuries of conquest the Turk was ridding the land of his presence in the bitterness of defeat, and a great enthusiasm arose among the Jews. There was a running to and fro; daughters called to their fathers and brothers concealed in outhouses, cellars, and attics from the police, who sought them for arrest and deportation. "The Turks are running," they called; "the day of deliverance is come." The nightmare was fast passing away, but the Turk still lingered. In the evening he fired his

guns continuously, perhaps comforting himself with the loud noise that heartens the soul of a barbarian, perhaps to cover the sound of his own retreat. Whatever the intention was, the roar of the gunfire persuaded most citizens to remain indoors, and there were few to witness the last act of Osmanli authority.

DEPARTURE OF TURKS

Toward midnight the Governor, Izzet Bey, went personally to the telegraph office, discharged the staff, and himself smashed the instruments with a hammer. At 2 A. M. on Sunday tired Turks began to troop through the Jaffa gate from the west and southwest, and anxious watchers, peering out through the windows of the grand new hotel to learn the meaning of the tramping, were cheered by the sullen remark of an officer, "Gitmaya mejbooruz," ("We've got to go,") and from 2 till 7 that morning the Turks streamed through and out of the city, which echoed for the last time their shuffling tramp. On this same day 2,082 years before, another race of conquerors, equally detested, were looking their last on the city which they could not hold, and inasmuch as the liberation of Jerusalem in 1917 will probably ameliorate the lot of the Jews more than that of any other community in Palestine, it was fitting that the flight of the Turks should have coincided with the national festival of the Hanookah, which commemorates the recapture of the Temple from the heathen Seleusids by Judas Maccabeus in 165 B. C.

The Governor was the last civil official to depart. He left in a cart belonging to Mr. Vester, an American resident, from whom he had "borrowed" an unrequisitioned cart and team. Before the dawn he hastened down the Jericho Road, leaving behind him a letter of surrender, which the Mayor as the sun rose set forth to deliver to the British commander accompanied by a few frightened policemen holding two tremulous white flags. He walked toward the Lifta Hill and met the first armed deliverers on a spot which may be marked in the future with a white stone as the site of a historic episode.

The last Turkish soldier is said to have left Jerusalem at about 7 o'clock by the east gate of the city, which is named after St. Stephen, but even later, when the British patrols had entered the town to keep order, armed stragglers were still trickling along the road just outside the north wall, requisitioning food and water at the point of the bayonet. This is no grievous crime on the part of defeated troops, uncertain of their next meal, but is recorded as the last kick of the dying Ottoman authority in a city where it had been supreme for four centuries.

As the Turkish flood finally ebbed away into the shadowy depths of the Valley of Jehoshaphat the townsfolk roused themselves from the lethargy into which hunger and the Turkish police had plunged them and fell upon a variety of buildings, official or requisitioned for official purposes, and looted them, even stripping roofs, doors, and floors from the Ottoman barracks next to the Tower of David for firewood.

ARRIVAL OF GENERAL ALLENBY

It must be admitted that, as the Government had furnished and maintained itself almost entirely by uncompensated requisitions, the mob was only trying to indemnify itself. But this disorder ceased as suddenly as it had arisen on the appearance of the British infantry. The outbreak, however, had at least the effect of thawing the people from the state of cowed humility into which they had been beaten and dragooned by their foreign masters, for it is well to remember that the Turk is as much a foreigner to Jerusalem as his British conqueror.

Looting was done chiefly by small parties working in half furtive haste, and at no time was there any notable throng of people in any street; but when the time came for the great and simple act of the solemn entry of General Allenby into Jerusalem, and the Arab prophecy was fulfilled that when the Nile had flowed into Palestine the prophet (Al Neb) from the west should drive the Turk from Jerusalem, then the inhabitants mustered courage to gather in a great crowd. They were

themselves amazed, for during more than three years an assembly of more than three persons in one place was discouraged by the police by blows, fines, imprisonment, and even exile. Eyewitnesses of all three events state that the crowd gathered at the Jaffa gate to greet the General was larger than that which met the Emperor William when on his fantastic political pilgrimage in 1898, and denser than the gathering which greeted the revival of the Constitution when it was proclaimed ten years later at the Damascus gate, where there is more space. Many wept for joy, priests were seen to embrace one another, but there were no theatricalities such as the hollow reconciliations which made the triumph of the Young Turk in 1908 memorable, and which sickened the memories of those who know the horrors and calamities which that triumph, alas! was doomed to bring. The General entered the city on foot, and left it on foot, and no pageantry profaned the solemnity of the moment.

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

A proclamation announcing that order would be maintained in all the hallowed sites of the three great religions, which

were to be guarded and preserved, and no impediment to be placed in the way of worshippers therein, was read in English, French, Italian, and Arabic from the parapet of the citadel below the Tower of David. When this was done General Allenby went to the small square behind the citadel, where the chief notables and ecclesiastics of the different communities who had remained were presented to him. After this brief ceremony the General left the City of David by the Jaffa gate.

The Turk, who had been thrust from Jerusalem despite his utmost endeavor, by steady tactical pressure, soon rallied and tried desperately to regain the Holy City three weeks after he had lost it. Pious regard for the sanctity of the holy places had induced the British General to drive out the Turks by manoeuvre rather than bombardment and assault, for he did not wish to shed blood within the threshold of the sanctuary of three faiths. But when the Turks sought to recover by force what they had lost, the lion leaped on them, on the hills to the north and east of the city, and tore them.

Then at last the people understood that Jerusalem was free.

[Official]

British Victories in Mesopotamia

General Maude's Last Dispatch

A DISPATCH from Lieut. Gen. Sir Stanley Maude giving an account of the work of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force from April 1 to Sept. 30, 1917, was made public by the British War Office on Jan. 10, 1918. The dispatch is dated Oct. 15, 1917, five weeks before Sir Stanley Maude's death from cholera. It describes the fighting last April in which Turkish attacks on the Dialah front and the Shatt el Adhaim were defeated, the victory at Istabulat, which led to the capture of Samarra, and the later engagements on the Euphrates, where the Turkish force at

Ramadie was compelled to surrender. The references to the co-operation of Russian forces near the Persian border have fresh interest in view of Russia's recent military collapse, which leaves the British in Mesopotamia unsupported on the northeast and north.

Bagdad was entered by the British troops on March 11, and the first part of the dispatch deals with operations on the Tigris and the Dialah fronts, the second part narrates events on the Euphrates front, and the dispatch closes with an appreciation of the various services.

To provide for the security of Bagdad,

an open city devoid of means of defense, operations were continued against the shattered but reinforced columns of the 18th Turkish Corps, while careful watch was kept on the 13th Turkish Corps, which was falling back from Western Persia before the advance of the Russians. On April 2 a junction was effected with General Baratoff's troops, who had come down from Khanikin, about Kizil Robat—20 miles in a direct line from the British post at Shahraban. "As soon as these [the Russians] were well established on the line of the Dialah," says the report, "our column in this vicinity—having served the double purpose of harassing the retreat of the Turks and joining hands with the Russians—was withdrawn."

FIGHTING ON THE TIGRIS

This enabled General Maude to resume operations along both banks of the Tigris. His report continues:

On April 6 our cavalry moved forward to the vicinity of Deli Abbas, [north of the Dialah by Shahraban,] with instructions to cover our right flank, and by delaying action to draw on gradually any movement initiated by the 13th Turkish Corps toward the [left bank of the] Tigris. On the right bank of the Tigris the enemy's force was estimated at 4,000 rifles, with 200 sabres and 16 guns, and these were holding Harbe [forty-eight miles above Bagdad] with advanced troops about Beled Station, [on the railway from Bagdad to Samarra.] On the 8th our troops moved forward to attack the enemy's position covering Beled Station, and good progress was made until they came under close machine-gun and rifle fire from some rising ground in that vicinity. The 51st Sikhs were ordered to secure this point, and, making good use of the broken ground and well supported by artillery, they established themselves there without difficulty and pressed forward beyond. The enemy holding the station now found his position untenable, and soon his whole line was in retreat. Our losses were slight. On the 9th Harbe was occupied, and here a pause was ordered in order to allow for further operations on the left bank of the Tigris.

Our troops on the left bank had driven several parties of the enemy across the Shatt El Adhaim [north of the Dialah] on the 7th, and on the following day a close reconnaissance of this river was carried out with a view to bridging it. It now became evident, however, that the 13th Turkish Corps from Jebel Hamrin

and the 52d Division of the 18th Turkish Corps on the line of the Shatt el Adhaim were contemplating a converging movement against our troops on the left bank of the Tigris. The 2d and 14th Turkish Divisions, some 6,000 rifles strong, with 250 sabres and 32 guns, moving down the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deltawa, had by the evening of the 9th reached a point some seven miles southwest of Deli Abbas. * * * On the 10th the enemy was reported to be intrenching, but on the 11th he continued his advance, moving in dense columns, with his left on the Nahr Khalis.

To meet this movement and to support our cavalry we had detached troops from Deltawa up the right bank of the Nahr Khalis Canal toward Deli Abbas, while another column, leaving sufficient troops to contain the enemy on the Shatt el Adhaim, fell upon his right flank after a night march from Dogameh. This attack, resolutely pressed by two Welsh battalions and the Wiltshires, was a complete surprise, and before the enemy could recover himself heavy casualties were inflicted on his columns by our well-handled artillery and by rifle fire. Low visibility owing to mirage, heat, and the absence of water hindered our operations, but the enemy was soon in retreat.

At midday on April 12 the British cavalry located the enemy six miles from Deli Abbas, covered by an intrenched rearguard. The Turks here fought a stubborn rearguard action throughout the next two days, but by the morning of the 15th they had retreated to Kifri, and at noon the British troops entered Deli Abbas. The 18th Turkish Corps, holding the Shatt el Adhaim, still had to be dealt with. Early on April 18 British troops were thrown across that river, and, despite a narrow channel full of quicksands, the Adhaim was bridged before noon, and by 2 o'clock the infantry had cleared the loop of the river. This brigade, despite heat and thirst, pressed on until it had turned the enemy's defeat into a rout. Only a small fraction of the enemy troops encountered that day escaped.

BATTLE OF ISTABULAT

Opposition on the left bank of the Tigris having been overcome, a further advance was ordered on the right bank. Sir Stanley Maude continues:

The Turks were holding a position about Istabulat, [twelve miles south of Sa-

marra,] facing southeast, with their left resting on the river and extending over a frontage of about two and a half miles across the Dujail Canal to the Bagdad-Samarra railway. * * * The position was held by some 6,700 rifles, with 200 sabres and 31 guns, while in the vicinity of Samarra were reserves consisting of some 4,000 rifles, with 500 sabres and 15 guns.

At 5 A. M. on the 21st his position on the north side of the canal was resolutely attacked by the Black Watch and 8th Gurkhas, under a creeping barrage, and both battalions made steady progress. In spite of a hot rifle and machine-gun fire from the main position the redoubt near the river was captured and the garrison made prisoner. The other redoubt on this side of the canal was assaulted, recaptured by the enemy, and finally secured by us, thus giving our troops a good foothold in this part of the enemy's defenses. At 6:30 A. M. an attack by the Seaforths and 28th and 92d Punjabis was launched south of the canal. This advance was carried out with fine dash and gallantry across 2,000 yards of ground devoid of cover, and by 7:25 A. M. the enemy's front line, some 700 yards long, was in our hands. Consolidation proceeded, and in spite of several counterattacks all gains were held.

The remainder of the day and night was devoted to consolidation and preparation for a simultaneous attack on both sides of the canal, to be carried out next morning.

Early on the 22d our patrols reported that the enemy opposite our right was beginning to withdraw, and by 4:30 A. M. the whole of the position had been evacuated, and was then occupied by us. The natural and artificial strength of the position now became apparent, and the number of enemy dead testified to the tenacity with which it had been held. Our troops moved forward in pursuit at daybreak and were in contact with the enemy's main body in the vicinity of Istabulat Police Post by noon, where his defensive system consisted of detached groups of trenches partially completed.

The heat was great and the attack was postponed till the evening, when the assault, aided by concentrated artillery fire, was delivered in dashing style by the Leicesters, supported by the 51st Sikhs and 56th Rifles, and the defense was easily penetrated. The attacking troops pressed on relentlessly and rapidly some 1,200 yards further, and the enemy's guns were withdrawn only just in time to avoid capture. The Turks rallied and put in a series of counterattacks, with which our supporting troops dealt, but the ene-

my maintained a heavy fire until 8 P. M., when he retreated on Samarra. During the day a regiment of Indian Lancers made a spirited attempt to break through the line of trenches, and, supported by artillery fire, it captured the front Turkish trench, but its advance was finally checked by fire from other trenches in the rear.

At 10 A. M. on the 23d Samarra Station was secured, the enemy offering no further resistance and retreating on Tekrit, and on the 24th Samarra Town, on the left bank, was occupied and a post established there.

ONE MONTH'S PROGRESS

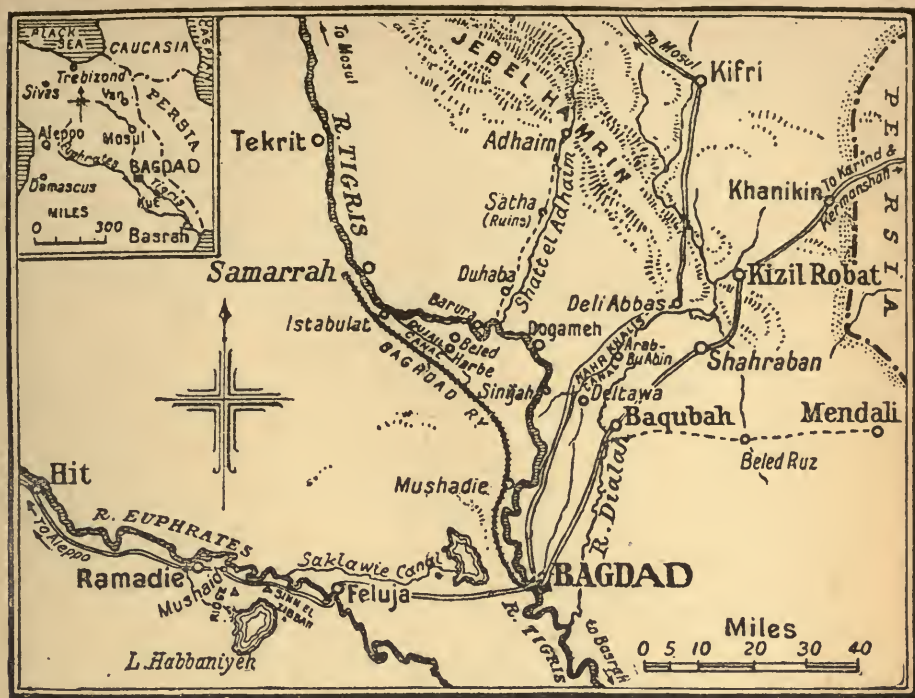
After describing his operations on the right bank of the Tigris, Sir Stanley Maude sums up the month's work in these words:

As a result of the fighting during the month of April the enemy's 13th and 18th Corps had been driven back on divergent lines, the former into the Jebel Hamrin and the latter to Tekrit. The 13th Corps had twice taken the offensive, with results disastrous to itself, and the 18th Corps had been defeated and driven from its selected positions on four occasions. Our total captures for the month amounted to some 3,000 prisoners and 17 guns, besides a considerable quantity of rolling stock and booty of all kinds. The objectives which we had set out to reach had been secured and the spirit of the enemy's troops was broken.

[Increasing heat put an end to major operations during the Summer months and a proportion of the troops were sent to India on leave.]

Early in June a communication was received from our Russian allies to the effect that in consequence of the increasing heat they had found it necessary to evacuate the line of the Dialah River, and they subsequently withdrew beyond Karind toward Kermanshah. This rendered the occupation of Beled Ruz by us necessary, and this was carried out on the 23d.

To increase his hold on the Euphrates line Sir Stanley Maude, on July 8, occupied Sinn el Zibban, some commanding ground on the right bank of the Euphrates about twelve miles upstream from Feluja, which dominates the left bank of that river at its junction with the Saklawie Canal. This advance brought the British within striking distance of Ramadie, and a column to attack Ramadie was concentrated at Sinn el Zibban on July 10, motor vans and lorries being



SCENE OF GENERAL MAUDE'S LAST OPERATIONS IN MESOPOTAMIA

allotted to carry a proportion of the troops and thus minimize the amount of marching in view of the heat then existing. Special provision was also made for water and for ice.

After a night march the column was in touch with the Turks east of Ramadie by 4 A. M. on the 11th, and by 8:15 A. M. the British had driven in the enemy's advanced troops and were preparing for the final assault against his main position. But a blinding duststorm sprang up, and the attack was postponed.

RAMADIE CAPTURED

It was Sept. 26 before a column of adequate size could again be concentrated within striking distance of Ramadie, the garrison of which place had been reinforced since July. General Maude's account of the taking of Ramadie is as follows:

The enemy held an advanced position four miles east of Ramadie, on Mushaid Ridge, which runs north and south and rises some sixty feet above the plain. To the north of the ridge lies the Euphrates River, and to the south the salt Hab-

baniyeh Lake. The Turkish main position was semicircular in outline, and was sited about one mile to the east and to the south of Ramadie. The eastern front ran along but behind the Euphrates Valley Canal and the southern front across bare sandy downs extending from the Euphrates Valley Canal to the Aziziyeh Canal, which leaves the Euphrates one mile west of Ramadie and flows southward. The plan of operations was to turn the southern flank of the Mushaid Ridge, secure a crossing over the Euphrates Valley Canal, and attack Ramadie from the south with the bulk of the column, while the cavalry operating west of the Aziziyeh Canal threw themselves across the enemy's communications with Hit by blocking the Aleppo Road. Steps were taken to induce the enemy to expect the main attack against his left on the Euphrates, and with this intent the river was bridged at Madhij.

At 6 P. M. on the 27th two infantry columns with the cavalry moved from Madhij to the position of assembly some five miles in front of our outposts, and the infantry subsequently made a night advance some two miles in a westerly direction to a position of deployment, whence an attack on Mushaid could be delivered at dawn. An infantry detachment also skirted the northern edge of Lake Hab-

baniyeh, and before daybreak on the 28th had secured important tactical features on and behind the southern flank of the Mushaid position, including a dam across the Euphrates Valley Canal, passable by all arms.

This action compelled the enemy to withdraw from Mushaid Ridge, which he shelled heavily subsequently in expectation of its occupation by our troops, but in this he was disappointed, as our infantry moved south of the ridge and crossed the dam. At 7 A. M. the cavalry were transferred from our right to our left flank, their march being screened from the enemy by Mushaid Ridge. They crossed the Euphrates Valley Canal by the dam and pushed westward across the Aziziyeh Canal to a position astride the Aleppo Road, so as to cut off the enemy's retreat. Meanwhile, to the west of the Euphrates Valley Canal, our left infantry column advanced against the enemy's southern front and occupied and consolidated a position under considerable opposition. In this attack the Dorsets and 5th Gurkhas especially distinguished themselves. Under cover of the attack our right infantry column was withdrawn, and, passing in rear of the left column, was subsequently launched to an attack which secured a firm footing on Aziziyeh Ridge. Thus by nightfall the enemy was hemmed in on the southeast and south by our infantry and on the west by the cavalry, while to the north ran the River Euphrates.

At 3 A. M. on the 29th the enemy made a determined effort to break through our cavalry and retreat by the Aleppo Road, but after an action lasting for one and a half hours they were driven back into Ramadlie, the Hussars and part of a regiment of Indian cavalry, with some horse artillery and Hotchkiss guns, being mainly instrumental in heading the enemy off. At 6:15 A. M. the infantry attack was renewed from the southeast and south, and our left infantry column captured successive positions along Aziziyeh Ridge. The 39th Garhwalis seized the bridge where the Aleppo Road crosses the canal and captured three guns and many prisoners by 7:30 A. M., while the 90th Punjabis pushed eastward through Ramadlie and secured the Turkish commander (Ahmed Bey) at his headquarters near the eastern front of the position. Both these units displayed commendable dash and initiative, and by 11 A. M. the whole of the Turkish force had surrendered.

A salient factor in these successful operations was the part played by the cavalry. First by their rapid movement around the enemy's rear and subsequently by the tactical disposition of their machine guns they prevented the enemy's columns from breaking out and so drove them back into the arms of the infantry.

The dispatch ends with a paragraph of high commendation for various special services and for officers deemed deserving of reward.

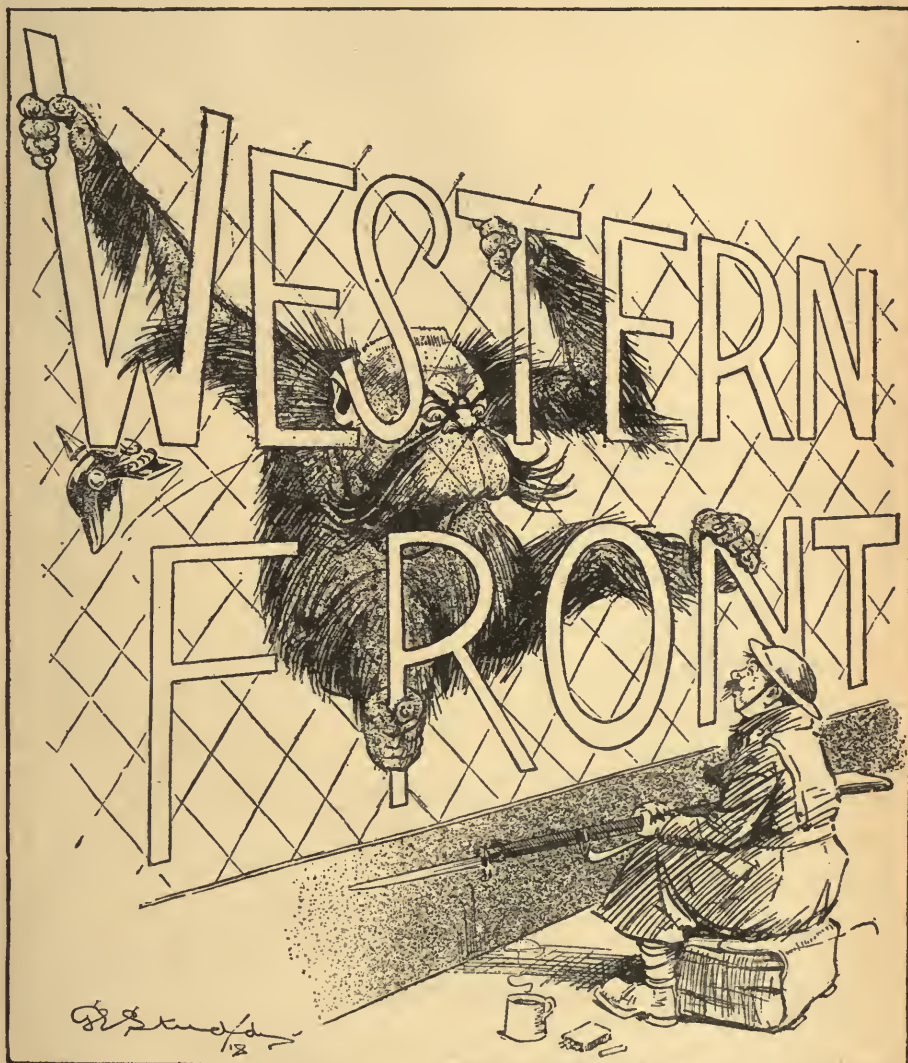
Pigeons as Life Savers

British soldiers and sailors are making frequent use of carrier pigeons as emergency messengers from the firing line and from sinking vessels far out at sea. Many a man has been saved from death by the speed of the homing pigeon. Captain Thomas Crisp, who had won the Victoria Cross and who died at the wheel under fire from a German submarine, lived long enough to dispatch a message by pigeon. The bird sped away with his last request for help for his son and crew, and they were saved—but only through the timely arrival of their pigeon messenger. On another occasion a flying boat (a boat with airplane wings) and a hydroaeroplane (an airplane with floats in place of landing wheels) both got into difficulties in stormy weather and it seemed that all lives must be lost. A message for help was sent out by pigeon. In the teeth of a fierce wind the gallant bird fought its way home, only to die from exhaustion on arrival. But its message had been delivered, assistance was sent with all speed, and the lives of both crews were saved.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

He Can't Get Through

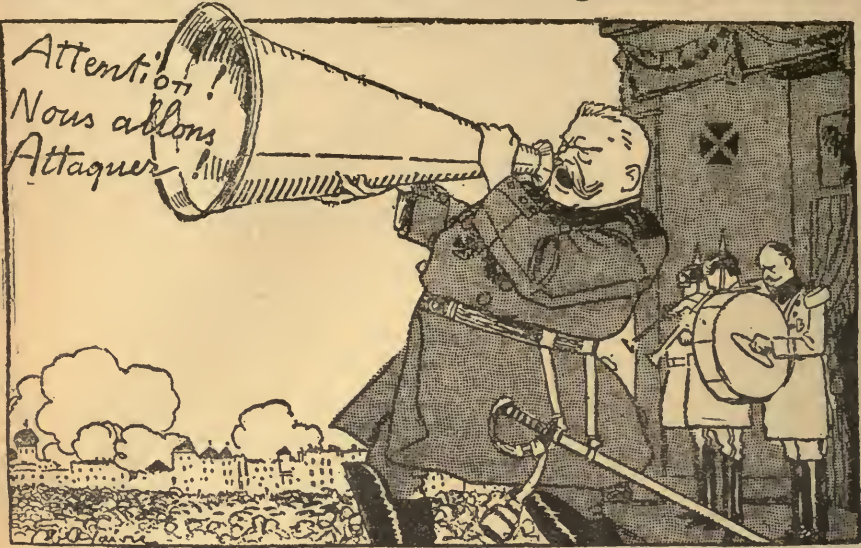


—From *The Passing Show*, London.

TOMMY: "No missing link here, old sport!"

[French Cartoon]

“Look Out! We Are Going to Attack!”



—From *L'Echo de Paris*.

A French view of the much-heralded German offensive in the west.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Plight of the Dutch People



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The vampire—the war embargo—is sucking the nation's lifeblood.

[German Cartoon]

Italy's Punishment



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

[After the German invasion of Italy this cartoon appeared in Munich with the bitter caption: "Victor Emmanuel the Perjurer: all guilt is avenged on this earth."]

[English Cartoon]

The Austrian Ferment

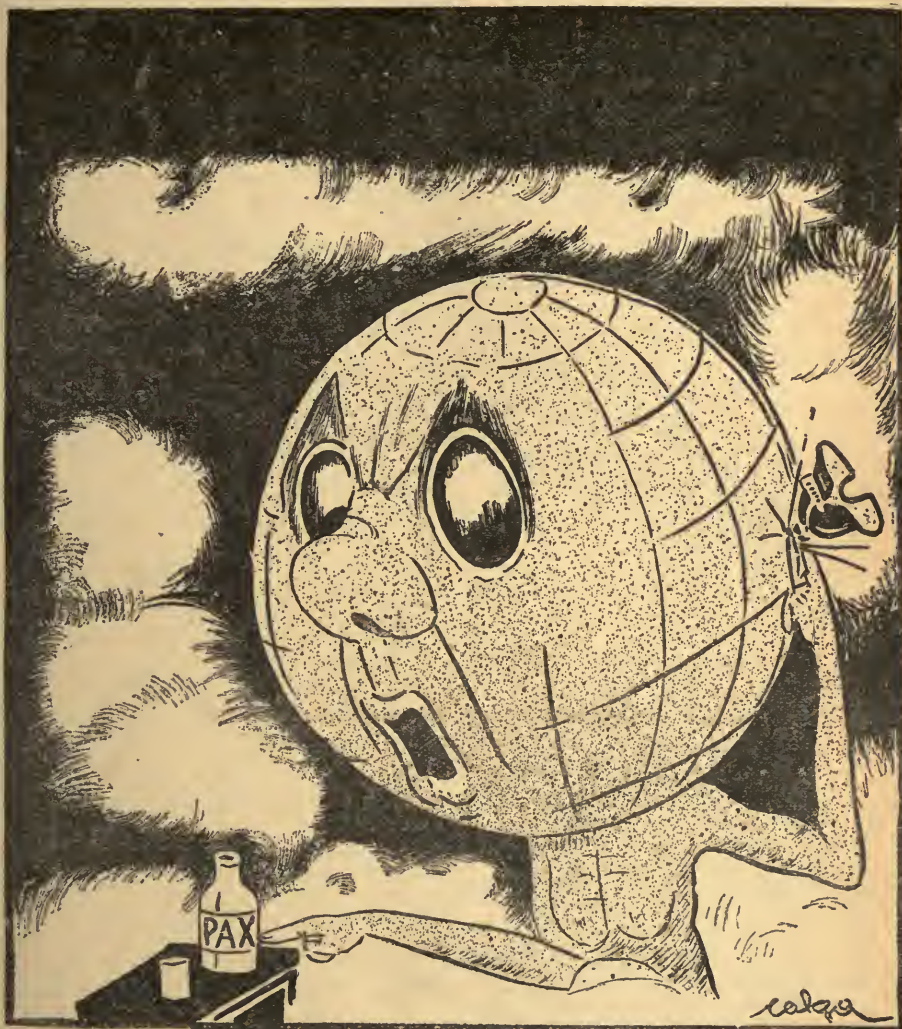


—From *London Opinion*.

KAISER BILL: "Shove like mad, Carl! Remember Nicky! We mustn't let our skeleton get out of the cupboard, as Russia did."

[Italian Cartoon]

Radical Surgery Needed



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

EARTH: "This peace medicine may be all right as a sedative, but if I don't extirpate that malignant tumor I shall never get the infection out of my blood."

[American
Cartoon]

The Quack

"I don't want
you! Look what
you did to your
last patient!"

—New York Times.



[American
Cartoon]

History will say:
"Deserted and
robbed by his tra-
ducers, alienated
from his friends,
all his moral cour-
age dissipated
through his own
excesses, they
found the one-time
giant of nations
dead * * *"

—Birmingham Age-
Herald.



[American Cartoon]

Raising Their Monument



—From The Chicago Herald.

[American Cartoon]

The German-Russian Alliance



—From The Chicago Herald.

Puzzle: Where is Russia?

[American Cartoon]

Russia



—From The Brooklyn Daily Eagle.

[American Cartoon]

It Is to Laugh!



—From The New York Evening Post.

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Practical Lohengrin



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

Thank Heaven for you, dear swan!

[English Cartoon]

“Theirs Not to Make Reply!”



—From The Passing Show, London.

CORPORAL (drilling troops out for a “rest” in a muddy rest camp): “Now, when I says ‘Mark time!’ I wants to ‘ear all yer feet come dahn together on the ground with a click!”

[American Cartoon]

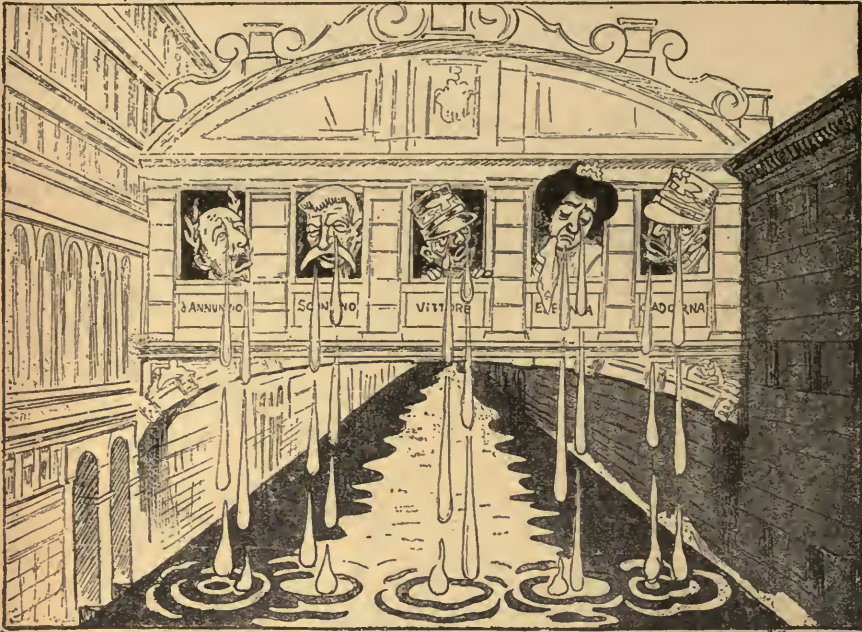
Our War Aims



—Carter in Philadelphia Press. (Mr. Carter died March 1, 1918.)
That's What I'm Here For!

[German Cartoon]

The Bridge of Sighs



"Cease weeping, children, or the canal will overflow."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Invalids



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

MARS: "Well, how are you?"

PEACE: "Not at all well. And you?"

MARS: "Rotten, but I can still hold out."

[American Cartoon]

The Prussian Toreador



—Bushnell, for Central Press Association.

[American Cartoon]

It's Filling



—From The Manchester Union.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German God



—From L'Asino, Rome.

“Forward with God!”

Labor Throws the Hammer



—New York Herald.

The Bridge to France



—New York Tribune.

The Operation Was Successful, but—



—St. Louis Republic.

Sold!



—New York World.

The Autocrats at the Breakfast Table



—Dallas News.

German Thoroughness



—Dallas News.

You're Out of Shtep!



—Baltimore American.

But When She Gets There



—Baltimore American.

Indigestible Food



The Dance of Death



Now for the Feast



The New Hindenburg Line



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

LICHNOWSKY'S MEMORANDUM

Full Text of the Suppressed Document in Which the Former German Ambassador at London Reveals Germany's Guilt in Starting the War

The full text of the memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, was obtained in this country in installments, which had appeared in various European newspapers, chiefly the Politiken of Stockholm, the Vorwaerts of Berlin, and the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten. The earlier installments to reach America were translated and summarized in the regular pages of this issue of Current History Magazine, beginning on Page 314. After the issue had gone to press the complete text became procurable. In order to give its readers the immediate benefit of this opportunity, Current History Magazine herewith presents the entire document—one of the most important of the war—in the form of a special supplement, despite the fact that some parts of it are duplicated in the abridged version on Page 314.

Prince Lichnowsky's now famous memorandum bears the title "My London Mission, 1912-1914," and is dated "Kuchelna, (his country seat,) 16 August, 1916." It became public in March, 1918, and created a profound sensation in Germany as well as in the Entente countries.

Kuchelna, 16 August, 1916.

BARON MARSCHALL died in September, 1912, having held his post in London for a few months only.

His appointment, which was due mainly to his age and the plotting of a younger man to get to London, was one of the many mistakes made by our Foreign Office. In spite of his imposing personality and great reputation, he was too old and tired to be able to adapt himself to a purely foreign and Anglo-Saxon milieu. He was more of a bureaucrat and a lawyer than a diplomat or statesman. He set to work to convince Englishmen of the harmless character of our fleet, and naturally succeeded in strengthening an entirely opposite impression.

To my great surprise I was offered the post in October. After many years' work I had withdrawn to the country, as no suitable post had been found for me, and I spent my time on my farm and in

my garden, on horseback and in the fields, but I read industriously and published occasional political articles. Thus eight years passed, and thirteen since I had left Vienna as Ambassador. That was actually my last political employment. I do not know to whom my appointment in London was due. At all events, not to his Majesty, as I did not belong to his immediate set, although he was always gracious to me. I know by experience that his candidates were frequently successfully opposed. As a matter of fact, Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter wanted to send Baron von Stumm to London. He met me at once with undisguised ill-will, and tried to frighten me by rudeness. Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg was amiable to me, and had visited me shortly before at Grätz. I am, therefore, inclined to think that they settled on me, as no other candidate was available. Had Baron von Marschall not

died, it is unlikely that I should have been dug out any more than in previous years. The moment was obviously favorable for an attempt to come to a better understanding with England.

THE MOROCCO QUESTION

Our obscure policy in Morocco had repeatedly caused distrust of our peaceful intention, or, at least, had raised doubts as to whether we knew what we wanted or whether our intention was to keep Europe in a state of suspense and, on occasion, to humiliate the French. An Austrian colleague, who was a long time in Paris, said to me: "The French had begun to forget la revanche. You have regularly reminded them of it by tramping on their toes." After we had declined Delcassé's offer to come to an agreement regarding Morocco, and then solemnly declared that we had no political interest there—an attitude which agreed with Bismarckian political conditions—we suddenly discovered in Abdul Aziz a Kruger Number Two. To him also, as to the Boers, we promised the protection of the mighty German Empire, and with the same result. Both manifestations concluded, as they were bound to conclude, with a retraction, if we were not prepared to start a world war. The pitiable conference of Algeciras could alter nothing, and still less cause Delcassé's fall. Our attitude furthered the Russo-Japanese and Russo-British rapprochement. In face of "the German peril" all other considerations faded into the background. The possibility of another Franco-German war had been patent, and, as had not been the case in 1870, such a war could not leave out Russia or England.

WORTHLESS AGREEMENTS

The valuelessness of the Triple Alliance had already been demonstrated at Algeciras, and, immediately afterward, the equal worthlessness of the agreements made there when the Sultanate fell to pieces, which was, of course, unavoidable. Meanwhile, the belief was spreading among the Russian people that our foreign policy was weak and was breaking down under "encirclement," and that cowardly surrender fol-

lowed on haughty gestures. It is to the credit of von Kiderlen-Wächter, though otherwise overrated as a statesman, that he cleared up the Moroccan situation and adapted himself to circumstances which could not be altered. Whether the world had to be upset by the Agadir coup is a question I do not touch. This event was hailed with joy in Germany, but in England caused all the more uneasiness in that the British Government waited in vain for three weeks for a statement of our intentions. Mr. Lloyd George's Mansion House speech, intended to warn us, was a consequence. Before Delcassé's fall and before the Algeciras conference we could have obtained harbors and bases on the West Coast, but that was no longer possible.

When I came to London in November, 1912, people had become easier about the question of Morocco, especially since an agreement had been reached with France and Berlin. Lord Haldane's mission had failed, it is true, as we demanded promises of neutrality instead of contenting ourselves with a treaty which would insure us against a British attack or any attack with British support. Sir Edward Grey had not, meanwhile, given up the idea of coming to an understanding with us, and made such an attempt first on economic and colonial grounds. Through the agency of that qualified and expert Councillor of Embassy, von Kühlmann, an exchange of opinions had taken place with regard to the renewal of the Portuguese colonial treaty and the Bagdad Railway, which thus carried out the unexpected aim of dividing into spheres of interest both the above-mentioned colonies and Asia Minor. The British statesman, old points in dispute both with France and Russia having been settled, wished to come to a similar agreement with us. His intention was not to isolate us but to make us in so far as possible partners in a working concern. Just as he had succeeded in bridging Franco-British and Russo-British difficulties, so he wished as far as possible to remove German-British difficulties, and by a network of treaties—which would finally include an agreement on the miserable fleet question—to secure the peace of the world,

as our earlier policy had lent itself to a co-operation with the Entente, which contained a mutual assurance against the danger of war.

GREY'S DESIRES

This was Sir Edward Grey's program in his own words: "Without infringing on the existing friendly relations with France and Russia, which in themselves contained no aggressive elements, and no binding obligations for England; to seek to achieve a more friendly rapprochement with Germany, and to bring the two groups nearer together."

In England, as with us, there were two opinions, that of the optimists, who believed in an understanding, and that of the pessimists, who considered war inevitable sooner or later. Among the former were Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and most of the Ministers in the Radical Cabinet, as well as leading Liberal organs, such as *The Westminster Gazette*, *The Manchester Guardian*, and *The Daily Chronicle*. To the pessimists belong especially Conservative politicians like Mr. Balfour, who repeatedly made his meaning clear to me; leading soldiers such as Lord Roberts, who insisted on the necessity of conscription, and on "the writing on the wall," and, further, the Northcliffe press, and that leading English journalist, Mr. Garvin of *The Observer*. During my term of office they abstained from all attacks and took up, personally and politically, a friendly attitude. Our naval policy and our attitude in the years 1905, 1908, and 1911 had, nevertheless, caused them to think that it might one day come to war. Just as with us, the former are now dubbed shortsighted and simple-minded, while the latter are regarded as the true prophets.

BALKAN QUESTIONS

The first Balkan war led to the collapse of Turkey and with it the defeat of our policy, which had been identified with Turkey for many years. Since the salvation of Turkey in Europe was no longer feasible, only two possibilities for settling the question remained. Either we declared we had no longer any interest in

the definition of boundaries in the Balkan Peninsula, and left the settlement of the question to the Balkan peoples themselves, or we supported our allies and carried out a Triple Alliance policy in the East, thereby giving up the rôle of mediator.

I urged the former course from the beginning, but the German Foreign Office very much preferred the latter. The chief question was Albania. Our allies desired the establishment of an independent State of Albania, as Austria would not allow Serbia to reach the Adriatic, and Italy did not wish the Greeks to reach Valona or even the territory north of Corfu. On the other hand, Russia, as is known, favored Serbian, and France Greek, desires. My advice was now to consider the question as outside the alliance, and to support, neither Austrian nor Italian wishes. Without our support the establishment of Albania, whose incapability of existence might have been foreseen, was an impossibility. Serbia would have pushed forward to the coast; then the present world war would have been avoided. France and Italy would have remained definitely divided as to Greece, and the Italians, had they not wished to fight France, alone, would have been obliged to consent to the expansion of Greece to the district north of Durazzo. The greater part of civilized Albania is Greek. The southern towns are entirely Greek, and, at the time of the conference of Ambassadors, deputations from the larger towns came to London to carry through the annexation to Greece.

In Greece today whole groups are Albanian, and the so-called Greek national dress is of Albanian origin. The amalgamation of the preponderating Orthodox and Islamic Albanians with the Greek State was, therefore, the best solution and the most natural, if one leaves out of account Scutari and the northern part of Serbia and Montenegro. His Majesty was also in favor of this solution on dynastic grounds. When I encouraged the monarch by letter to this effect, I received violent reproaches from the Chancellor for supporting Austria's opponents, and he forbade all such interference in the future, and even direct

correspondence. We had eventually, however, to abandon the tradition of carrying out the Triple Alliance policy in the East and to acknowledge our mistake, which consisted in identifying ourselves with the Turks in the south and the Austro-Magyars in the north; for the continuance of that policy, which we began at the Congress in Berlin and subsequently carried on zealously, was bound in time, should the necessary skill in conducting it fail, to lead to a collision with Russia and a world war.

TURKEY, RUSSIA, ITALY

Instead of uniting with Russia on the basis of the independence of the Sultan, whom the Russians also did not wish to drive out of Constantinople, and confining ourselves to economic interests in the East, while at the same time refraining from all military and political interference and being satisfied with a division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, the goal of our political ambition was to dominate in the Bosphorus. In Russia, therefore, the opinion arose that the way to Constantinople and to the Mediterranean lay through Berlin. Instead of encouraging a powerful development in the Balkan States, which were once free and are very different from the Russians, of which fact we have already had experience, we placed ourselves on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors. The dire mistake of our Triple Alliance and our Eastern policies, which drove Russia—our natural friend and best neighbor—into the arms of France and England, and kept her from her policy of Asiatic expansion, was the more evident, as a Franco-Russian attack, the only hypothesis justifying a Triple Alliance policy, had to be eliminated from our calculations.

As to the value of the alliance with Italy, one word only. Italy needs our money and our tourists after the war, with or without our alliance. That our alliance would go by the board in the event of war was to be foreseen. The alliance, consequently, was worthless.

Austria, however, needed our protection both in war and peace, and had no other point d'appui. This dependence on

us is based on political, national, and economic grounds, and is all the greater in proportion to the intimacy of our relations with Russia. This was proved in the Bosnian crisis. Since Count Beust, no Vienna Minister had been so self-conscious with us as Count Aehrenthal was during the last years of his life. Under the influence of a properly conducted German policy which would keep us in touch with Russia, Austria-Hungary is our vassal, and is tied to us even without an alliance and without reciprocal services; under the influence of a misguided policy, however, we are tied to Austria-Hungary. An alliance would therefore be purposeless.

I know Austria far too well not to know that a return to the policy of Count Felix Schwarzenberg or to that of Count Moritz Esterhazy was unthinkable. Little as the Slavs living there love us, they wish just as little for a return to the German Kaiserdom, even with a Hapsburg-Lorraine at its head. They are striving for an internal Austrian federation on a national basis, a condition which is even less likely of realization within the German Empire than under the Double Eagle. Austro-Germans look on Berlin as the centre of German power and Kultur, and they know that Austria can never be a leading power. They desire as close a connection as possible with the empire, but not to the extent of an anti-German policy.

BALKAN QUARRELS

Since the seventies the conditions have changed fundamentally in Austria, and also, perhaps, in Bavaria. Just as here a return to Pan-German particularism and the old Bavarian policy is not to be feared, so there a revival of the policy of Prince Kaunitz and Prince Schwarzenberg is not to be contemplated. But by a constitutional union with Austria, which even without Galicia and Dalmatia is inhabited at least to the extent of one-half by non-Germans, our interests would suffer; while, on the other hand, by the subordination of our policy to the point of view of Vienna and Budapest, we should have to "épouser les querelles de l'Autriche."

We, therefore, had no need to heed the desires of our allies. They were not only unnecessary but dangerous, inasmuch as they would lead to a collision with Russia if we looked at Eastern questions through Austrian eyes. The transformation of our alliance with its single original purpose into a complete alliance, involving a complexity of common interests, was calculated to call forth the very state of things which the constitutional negotiations were designed to prevent, namely, war. Such a policy of alliances would, moreover, entail the loss of the sympathies of the young, strong, and growing communities in the Balkan Peninsula, which were ready to turn to us and open their market to us. The contrast between dynastic and democratic ideas had to be given clear expression, and, as usual, we stood on the wrong side. King Carol told one of our representatives that he had made an alliance with us on condition that we retained control of affairs, but that if that control passed to Austria it would entirely change the basis of affairs, and under those conditions he could no longer participate. Matters stood in the same position in Serbia, where against our own economic interests we were supporting an Austrian policy of strangulation.

BACKED WRONG HORSES

We had always backed horses which, it was evident, would lose, such as Kruger, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, Wilhelm of Wied, and finally—and this was the most miserable mistake of all—Count Berchtold.

Shortly after my arrival in London, in 1912, Sir Edward Grey proposed an informal exchange of views in order to prevent a European war developing out of the Balkan war, since, at the outbreak of that war, we had unfortunately declined the proposal of the French Government to join in a declaration of disinterestedness and impartiality on the part of the powers. The British statesman maintained from the beginning that England had no interest in Albania, and would, therefore, not go to war on the subject. In his rôle of "honest broker"

and an attempt to smooth away difficulties between the two groups. He, therefore, by no means placed himself on the he would confine his efforts to mediation side of the Entente Powers, and during the negotiations, which lasted about eight months, he lent his good-will and powerful influence toward the establishment of an understanding. Instead of adopting the English point of view, we accepted that dictated to us by Vienna. Count Mensdorff led the Triple Alliance in London and I was his second.

GREY ALWAYS CONCILIATORY

My duty was to support his proposals. The clever and experienced Count Szogyenyi was at the helm in Berlin. His refrain was "*casus foederis*," and when once I dared to doubt the justice of this phrase I was seriously warned against Austrophobism. Referring to my father, it was even said that I had inherited it. On every point, including Albania, the Serbian harbors in the Adriatic, Scutari, and in the definition of the Albanian frontiers, we were on the side of Austria and Italy, while Sir Edward Grey hardly ever took the French or Russian point of view. On the contrary, he nearly always took our part in order to give no pretext for war—which was afterward brought about by a dead Archduke. It was with his help that King Nicholas was induced to leave Scutari. Otherwise there would have been war over this matter, as we should never have dared to ask "our allies" to make concessions.

Sir Edward Grey conducted the negotiations with care, calm, and tact. When a question threatened to become involved he proposed a formula which met the case and always secured consent. He acquired the full confidence of all the representatives.

AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA

Once again we had successfully withstood one of the many threats against the strength characterizing our policy. Russia had been obliged to give way to us all along the line, as she never got an opportunity to advance Serbian wishes. Albania was set up as an Austrian vassal

State, and Serbia was driven away from the sea. The conference was thus a fresh humiliation for Russia.

As in 1878 and 1908, we had opposed the Russian program without German interests being brought into play. Bismarck had to minimize the mistake of the Congress by a secret treaty, and his attitude in the Battenberg question—the downward incline being taken by us in the Bosnian question—was followed up in London, and was not given up, with the result that it led to the abyss.

The dissatisfaction then prevalent in Russia was given vent to during the London Conference by an attack in the Russian press on my Russian colleague and on Russian diplomacy.

His German origin and Catholic faith, his reputation as a friend of Germany, and the accident that he was related both to Count Mensdorff and to myself were all made use of by dissatisfied parties. Although not a particularly important personality, Count Benckendorff possessed many qualities of a good diplomat—tact, worldly knowledge, experience, an agreeable personality, and a natural eye for men and things. He sought always to avoid provocative attitudes, and was supported by the attitude of England and France.

I once said: "The feeling in Russia is very anti-German." He replied: "There are also many strong influential pro-German circles there. But the people generally are anti-Austrian."

It only remains to be added that our exaggerated Austrophilism is not exactly likely to break up the Entente and turn Russia's attention to her Asiatic interests.

PRE-WAR DIPLOMACY

[The next passages, which had formerly been suppressed by the Swedish Government, appeared in the *Politiken* of Stockholm on March 26:]

At the same time (1913) the Balkan Conference met in London, and I had the opportunity of meeting the leading men of the Balkan States. The most important personage among them was M. Venizelos. He was anything but anti-German, and particularly prized the Order of the Red Eagle, which he even

wore at the French Embassy. With his winning amiability and *savoir faire* he could always win sympathy.

Next to him a great rôle was played by Daneff, the then Bulgarian Prime Minister and Count Berchtold's confidant. He gave the impression of being a capable and energetic man, and even the influence of his friends at Vienna and Budapest, at which he sometimes laughed, was attributable to the fact that he had let himself be drawn into the second Balkan war and had declined Russian intervention.

M. Take Jonescu was often in London, too, and visited me regularly. I had known him since the time when I was Secretary at Bucharest. He was also one of Herr von Kiderlen-Wächter's friends. His aim in London was to secure concessions for Rumania by negotiations with M. Daneff. In this he was supported by the most capable Rumanian Minister, M. Misu. That these negotiations were stranded by the Bulgarian opposition is known. Count Berchtold—and naturally we with him—was entirely on the side of Bulgaria; otherwise we should have succeeded by pressure on M. Daneff in obtaining the desired satisfaction for the Rumanians and have bound Rumania to us, as she was by Austria's attitude in the second Balkan war, while afterward she was estranged from the Central Powers.

AUSTRIA'S PRESTIGE INJURED

Bulgaria's defeat in the second Balkan war and Serbia's victory, as well as the Rumanian advance, naturally constituted a reproach to Austria. The idea of equalizing this by military intervention in Serbia seems to have gained ground rapidly in Vienna. This is proved by the Italian disclosure, and it may be presumed that the Marquis di San Giuliano, who described the plan as a "pericolosissima avventura," (an extremely risky adventure,) saved us from a European war as far back as the Summer of 1912. Intimate as Russo-Italian relations were, the aspiration of Vienna must have been known in St. Petersburg. In any event, M. Take Jonescu told me that M. Sazonoff had said in Constanza that

an attack on Serbia on the part of Austria meant war with Russia.

In the Spring of 1914 one of my Secretaries, on returning from leave in Vienna, said that Herr von Tschirsohky (German Ambassador in Vienna) had declared that war must soon come. But as I was always kept in the dark regarding important things, I considered his pessimism unfounded.

Ever since the peace of Bucharest it seems to have been the opinion in Vienna that the revision of this treaty should be undertaken independently, and only a favorable opportunity was awaited. The statesmen in Vienna and Bucharest could naturally count upon our support. This they knew, for already they had been reproached several times for their slackness. Berlin even insisted on the "rehabilitation" of Austria.

ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS

When I returned to London in December, 1913, after a long holiday, the Liman von Sanders question had led to our relations with Russia becoming acute. Sir Edward Grey called my attention with some uneasiness to the consequent unrest in St. Petersburg, saying: "I have never seen them so excited." Berlin instructed me to beg the Minister to urge calm in St. Petersburg and help to solve the difficulty. Sir Edward was quite willing, and his intervention contributed not inconsiderably to smoothing matters over. My good relations with Sir Edward and his great influence in St. Petersburg served in a like manner on several occasions when it was a question of carrying through something of which our representative there was completely incapable.

During the critical days of July, 1914, Sir Edward said to me: "If ever you want something done in St. Petersburg you come to me regularly, but if ever I appeal for your influence in Vienna you refuse your support." The good and dependable relations I was fortunate in making not only in society and among influential people, such as Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith, but also with others at public dinners, had brought about a noticeable improvement in our

relations with England. Sir Edward devoted himself honestly to further this rapprochement, and his intentions were especially noticeable in two questions—the Colonial Treaty and the treaty regarding the Bagdad Railway.

THE AFRICAN AGREEMENT

[This portion is translated from the Muenchener Neueste Nachrichten.]

In the year 1898 a secret treaty had been signed by Count Hatzfeldt [then German Ambassador in London] and Mr. Balfour, which divided the Portuguese colonies in Africa into economic-political spheres of interest between us and England. As the Portuguese Government possessed neither the power nor the means to open up or adequately to administer its extensive possessions, the Portuguese Government had already at an earlier date thought of selling these possessions and thereby putting their finances in order.

Between us and England an agreement had been reached which defined the interests of the two parties and which was of all the greater value because Portugal, as is well known, is completely dependent upon England. This treaty was no doubt to secure outwardly the integrity and independence of the Portuguese Empire, and it only expressed the intention of giving financial and economic assistance to the Portuguese. Consequently it did not, according to the text, conflict with the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance, dating from the fifteenth century, which was last renewed under Charles II. and which guaranteed the territories of the two parties. Nevertheless, at the instance of the Marquis Soveral, who presumably was not ignorant of the Anglo-German agreement, a new treaty—the so-called Windsor treaty—which confirmed the old agreements, was concluded in 1899 between England and Portugal.

ENGLAND'S GENEROUS ATTITUDE

The object of the negotiations between us and England, which had begun before by arrival, was to alter and amend our treaty of 1898, which contained many impossible features—for example, with regard to the geographical delimitation.

Thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the British Government, I succeeded in giving to the new treaty a form which entirely accorded with our wishes and interests. All Angola, as far as the 20th degree of longitude, was allotted to us, so that we reached the Congo territory from the south. Moreover, the valuable islands or San Thomé and Príncipe, which lie north of the equator, and therefore really belonged to the French sphere of interest, were allotted to us—a fact which caused my French colleague to make lively, although vain, representations. Further, we obtained the northern part of Mozambique; the frontier was formed by the Likungo.

The British Government showed the utmost readiness to meet our interests and wishes. Sir Edward Grey intended to prove his good-will to us, but he also desired to promote our colonial development, because England hoped to divert Germany's development of strength from the North Sea and Western Europe to the world-sea and Africa. "We don't want to grudge Germany her colonial development," a member of the Cabinet said to me.

THE CONGO STATE

Originally, at the British suggestion, the Congo State was to be included in the treaty, which would have given us a right of pre-emption and a possibility of economic penetration in the Congo State. But we refused this offer, out of alleged respect for Belgian sensibilities! Perhaps the idea was to economize our successes? With regard also to the practical realization of the real but unexpressed object of the treaty—the actual partition at a later date of the Portuguese colonial possessions—the new formulation showed considerable advantages and progress as compared with the old. Thus the treaty contemplated circumstances which would enable us to enter the territories ascribed to us, for the protection of our interests.

These conditional clauses were so wide that it was really left to us to decide when really "vital" interests were concerned, so that, in view of the complete dependence of Portugal upon England

we merely needed to go on cultivating our relations with England in order, later on, with English assent, to realize our mutual intentions.

The sincerity of the English Government in its effort to respect our rights was proved by the fact that Sir Edward Grey, before ever the treaty was completed or signed, called our attention to English men of business who were seeking opportunities to invest capital in the territories allotted to us by the new treaty, and who desired British support. In doing so he remarked that the undertakings in question belonged to our sphere of interest.

WILHELMSTRASSE INTRIGUES

The treaty was practically complete at the time of the King's visit to Berlin in May, 1913. A conversation then took place in Berlin under the Presidency of the Imperial Chancellor, (Herr von Bethmann Hollweg,) in which I took part, and at which special wishes were laid down. On my return to London I succeeded, with the help of my Counselor of Embassy, von Kühlmann, who was working upon the details of the treaty with Mr. Parker, in putting through our last proposals also. It was possible for the whole treaty to be initialed by Sir Edward Grey and myself in August, 1913, before I went on leave. Now, however, new difficulties were to arise, which prevented the signature, and it was only a year later, shortly before the outbreak of war, that I was able to obtain authorization for the final settlement. Signature, however, never took place.

Sir Edward Grey was willing to sign only if the treaty was published, together with the two treaties of 1898 and 1899; England has no other secret treaties, and it is contrary to her existing principles that she should conceal binding agreements. He said, however, that he was ready to take account of our wishes concerning the time and manner of publication, provided that publication took place within one year, at latest, after the signature. In the [Berlin] Foreign Office, however, where my London successes aroused increasing dissatisfaction, and where an influential personage, [the

reference is apparently to Herr von Stumm,] who played the part of Herr von Holstein, was claiming the London Embassy for himself, it was stated that the publication would imperil our interests in the colonies, because the Portuguese would show their gratitude by giving us no more concessions. The accuracy of this excuse is illuminated by the fact that the old treaty was most probably just as much long known to the Portuguese as our new agreements must have been, in view of the intimacy of relations between Portugal and England; it was illuminated also by the fact that, in view of the influence which England possesses at Lisbon, the Portuguese Government is completely powerless in face of an Anglo-German understanding.

WRECKING THE TREATY.

Consequently, it was necessary to find another excuse for wrecking the treaty. It was said that the publication of the Windsor Treaty, which was concluded in the time of Prince Hohenlohe, and which was merely a renewal of the treaty of Charles II., which had never lapsed, might imperil the position of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, as being a proof of British hypocrisy and perfidy! On this I pointed out that the preamble to our treaties said exactly the same thing as the Windsor Treaty and other similar treaties—namely, that we desired to protect the sovereign rights of Portugal and the integrity of its possessions!

In spite of repeated conversations with Sir Edward Grey, in which the Minister made ever fresh proposals concerning publication, the [Berlin] Foreign Office remained obstinate, and finally agreed with Sir Edward Goschen [British Ambassador in Berlin] that everything should remain as it was before. So the treaty, which gave us extraordinary advantages, the result of more than one year's work, had collapsed because it would have been a public success for me.

When in the Spring of 1914 I happened, at a dinner in the embassy, at which Mr. Harcourt [then Colonial Secretary] was present, to mention the matter, the Colonial Secretary said that he was embar-

rassed and did not know how to behave. He said that the present state of affairs was intolerable, because he [Mr. Harcourt] wanted to respect our rights, but, on the other hand, was in doubt as to whether he should follow the old treaty or the new. He said that it was therefore extremely desirable to clear matters up, and to bring to a conclusion an affair which had been hanging on for so long.

"A DISASTROUS MISTAKE"

When I reported to this effect I received a rude and excited order, telling me to refrain from any further interference in the matter.

I now regret that I did not go to Berlin in order to offer his Majesty my resignation, and that I still did not lose my belief in the possibility of an agreement between me and the leading [German] personages. That was a disastrous mistake, which was to be tragically avenged some months later.

Slight though was the extent to which I then still possessed the good-will of the Imperial Chancellor—because he feared that I was aiming at his office—I must do him the justice to say that at the end of June, 1914, in our last conversation before the outbreak of war, he gave his consent to the signature and publication. Nevertheless, it required further repeated suggestions on my part, which were supported by Dr. Solf, [German Colonial Secretary,] in order at last to obtain official consent at the end of July. Then the Serbian crisis was already threatening the peace of Europe, and so the completion of the treaty had to be postponed. The treaty is now one of the victims of the war.

BAGDAD RAILWAY TREATY

[This portion is translated from the Stockholm Politiken of March 26.]

At the same time, while the African agreement was under discussion, I was negotiating, with the effective co-operation of Herr von Kühlmann, the so-called Bagdad Railway Treaty. This aimed, in fact, at the division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, although this expression was carefully avoided in consideration of the Sultan's rights. Sir Edward

Grey declared repeatedly that there was no agreement between England and France aiming at a division of Asia Minor.

In the presence of the Turkish representative, Hakki Pasha, all economic questions in connection with the German treaty were settled mainly in accordance with the wishes of the Ottoman Bank. The greatest concession Sir Edward Grey made me personally was the continuation of the line to Basra. We had not insisted on this terminus in order to establish connection with Alexandretta. Hitherto Bagdad had been the terminus of the line. The shipping on the Shatt el Arab was to be in the hands of an international commission. We also obtained a share in the harbor works at Basra, and even acquired shipping rights on the Tigris, hitherto the monopoly of the firm of Lynch.

By this treaty the whole of Mesopotamia up to Basra became our zone of interest, whereby the whole British rights, the question of shipping on the Tigris, and the Wilcox establishments were left untouched, as well as all the district of Bagdad and the Anatolian railways.

The British economic territories included the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aidin railway, the French Syria, and the Russian Armenia. Had both treaties been concluded and published, an agreement would have been reached with England which would have finally ended all doubt of the possibility of an Anglo-German co-operation.

GERMAN NAVAL DEVELOPMENT

Most difficult of all, there remained the question of the fleet. It was never quite rightly judged. The creation of a mighty fleet on the other shore of the North Sea and the simultaneous development of the Continent's most important military power into its most important naval power had at least to be recognized by England as uncomfortable. This presumably cannot be doubted. To maintain the necessary lead and not to become dependent, to preserve the supremacy of the sea, which Britain must

have in order not to go down, she had to undertake preparations and expenses which weighed heavily on the taxpayer. A threat against the British world position was made in that our policy allowed the possibility of warlike development to appear. This possibility was obviously near during the Morocco crisis and the Bosnian question.

People had become reconciled to our fleet in its definite strength. Obviously it was not welcome to the British and constituted one of the motives, but neither the only nor the most important motive, for England's joining hands with Russia and France. On account of our fleet alone, however, England would have drawn the sword as little as on account of our trade, which it is pretended called forth her jealousy and ultimately brought about war.

From the beginning I adopted the standpoint that in spite of the fleet it would be possible to come to a friendly understanding and rapprochement if we did not propose new votes of credit, and, above all, if we carried out an indisputable peace policy. I also avoided all mention of the fleet, and between me and Sir Edward Grey the word was never uttered. Sir Edward Grey declared on one occasion at a Cabinet meeting: "The present German Ambassador has never mentioned the fleet to me."

UNDERSTANDING POSSIBLE.

During my term of office the then First Lord, Mr. Churchill, raised the question of a so-called naval holiday, and proposed, for financial reasons as much as on account of the pacifist inclinations of his party, a one year's pause in armaments. Officially the suggestion was not supported by Sir Edward Grey. He never spoke of it to me, but Mr. Churchill spoke to me on repeated occasions.

I am convinced that his initiative was honest, cunning in general not being part of the Englishman's constitution. It would have been a great success for Mr. Churchill to secure economies for the country and to lighten the burden of armament, which was weighing heavily on the people.

I maintain that it would have been difficult to support his intention. How about the workmen employed for this purpose? How about the technical personnel? Our naval program was settled, and it would be difficult to alter it. Nor, on the other hand, did we intend exceeding it. But he pointed out that the means spent on portentous armaments could equally be used for other purposes. I maintain that such expenditure would have benefited home industries.

NO TRADE JEALOUSY

I also succeeded, in conversation with Sir William Tyrrell, Eir Edward Grey's private secretary, in keeping away that subject without raising suspicion, although it came up in Parliament, and preventing the Government's proposal from being made. But it was Mr. Churchill's and the Government's favorite idea that by supporting his initiative in the matter of large ships we should give proof of our good-will and considerably strengthen and increase the tendency on the part of the Government to get in closer contact with us. But, as I have said, it was possible in spite of our fleet and without naval holidays to come to an understanding.

In that spirit I had carried out my mission from the beginning, and had even succeeded in realizing my program when the war broke out and destroyed everything.

Trade jealousy, so much talked about among us, rests on faulty judgment of circumstances. It is a fact that Germany's progress as a trading country after the war of 1870 and during the following decades threatened the interests of British trade circles, constituting a form of monopoly with its industry and export houses. But the growing interchange of merchandise with Germany, which was first on the list of all European exporting countries, a fact I always referred to in my public speeches, had allowed the desire to mature to preserve good relations with England's best client and business friend, and had gradually suppressed all other thoughts and motives. The Englishman, as a matter

of fact, adapts himself to circumstances and does not tilt against windmills. In commercial circles I found the greatest good-will and desire to further our common economic interests.

AMIABLY RECEIVED

In other circles I had a most amiable reception, and enjoyed the cordial good-will of the Court, society, and the Government. No one there interested himself in the Russian, Italian, Austrian, or even the French representative, in spite of the imposing personality and political success of the last named. Only the German and American Ambassadors attracted public attention.

In order to get in touch with the most important business circles I accepted invitations from the United Chambers of Commerce, the London and Bradford Chambers, and those of the great cities of Newcastle and Liverpool. I had a hearty reception everywhere. Glasgow and Edinburgh had also invited me, and I promised them visits. People who did not understand English conditions and did not appreciate the value of public dinners, and others who disliked my success, reproached me with having done harm by my speeches. I, on the contrary, believe that my public appearances and my discussion of common economic interests contributed considerably toward the improvement of conditions, apart from the fact that it would have been impolitic and impolite to refuse invitations.

In other circles I had a most amiable reception and enjoyed the cordial good-will of the Court, society, and the Government.

INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN

The King, very amiable and well meaning and possessed of sound understanding and common sense, was invariably well disposed toward me and desired honestly to facilitate my mission. In spite of the small amount of power which the British Constitution gives the Crown, the King can, by virtue of his position, greatly influence the tone both of society and the Government. The Crown is the apex of society from which the

tone emanates. Society, which is overwhelmingly Unionist, is largely occupied by ladies connected with politics. It is represented in the Lords and the Commons, consequently also in the Cabinet.

The Englishman either belongs to society or ought to belong to it. His aim is, and always will be, to be a distinguished man and a gentleman, and even men of modest origin, such as Mr. Asquith, prefer to be in society, with its elegant women.

British gentlemen of both parties enjoy the same education, go to the same colleges and university, and engage in the same sports—golf, cricket, lawn tennis, and polo. All have played cricket and football in their youth, all have the same habits, and all spend the week-end in the country. No social cleavage divides the parties, only political cleavage. To some extent of late years the politicians in the two camps have avoided one another in society. Not even on the ground of a neutral mission could the two camps be amalgamated, for since the Home Rule and Veto bills the Unionists have despised the Radicals. A few months after my arrival the King and Queen dined with me, and Lord Londonderry left the house after dinner in order not to be together with Sir Edward Grey. But there is no opposition from difference in caste and education as in France. There are not two worlds, but the same world, and their opinion of a foreigner is common and not without influence on his political standing, whether a Lansdowne or an Asquith is at the helm.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

The difference of caste no longer exists in England since the time of the Stuarts and since the Whig oligarchy (in contradistinction to the Tory county families) allowed the bourgeoisie in the towns to rise in society. There is greater difference in political opinions on constitutional or Church questions than on financial or political questions. Aristocrats who have joined the popular party, Radicals such as Grey, Churchill, Harcourt, and Crewe, are most hated by the Unionist aristocracy. None of these gentlemen have I ever met in great aristo-

cratic houses, only in the houses of party friends.

We were received in London with open arms and both parties outdid one another in amiability.

It would be a mistake to undervalue social connections in view of the close connection in England between society and politics, even though the majority of the upper ten thousand are in opposition to the Government. Between an Asquith and a Devonshire there is no such deep cleft as between a Briand and a Duc de Doudeauville, for example. In times of political tension they do not foregather. They belong to two separate social groups, but are part of the same society, if on different levels, the centre of which is the Court. They have friends and habits in common, they are often related or connected. A phenomenon like Lloyd George, a man of the people, a small solicitor and a self-made man, is an exception. Even John Burns, a Socialist Labor leader and a self-taught man, seeks society relations. On the ground of a general striving to be considered gentlemen of social weight and position such men must not be undervalued.

In no place, consequently, is an envoy's social circle of greater consequence than in England. A hospitable house with friendly guests is worth more than the profoundest scientific knowledge, and a learned man of insignificant appearance and too small means would, in spite of all his learning, acquire no influence. The Briton hates a bore and a pedant. He loves a good fellow.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S SOCIALISM

Sir Edward Grey's influence in all questions of foreign policy was almost unlimited. True, he used to say on important occasions: "I must lay that before the Cabinet"; but it is equally true that the latter invariably took his view. Although he did not know foreign countries and, with the exception of one short visit to Paris, had never left England, he was closely informed on all important questions, owing to many years' Parliamentary experience and natural grasp. He understood French without speaking it. Elected at an early age to Parlia-

ment, he began immediately to occupy himself with foreign affairs. Parliamentary Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Office under Lord Rosebery, he became in 1906 Secretary of State under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and filled the post for ten years.

Sprung from an old North of England family of landowners, from whom the statesman, Earl Grey, is also descended, he joined the left wing of his party and sympathized with the Socialists and pacifists. He can be called a Socialist in the ideal sense, for he applied his theories even in private life, which is characterized by great simplicity and unpretentiousness, although he is possessed of considerable means. All display is foreign to him. He had a small residence in London and never gave dinners, except officially, at the Foreign Office on the King's birthday.

SIMPLE MODE OF LIFE

If, exceptionally, he asked a few guests to his house, it was to a simple dinner or luncheon in a small circle with parlor maids for service. The week-ends he spent regularly in the country, like his colleagues, but not at large country house parties. He lives mostly in his cottage in the New Forest, taking long walks, and is passionately fond of nature and ornithology. Or he journeyed to his property in the north and tamed squirrels. In his youth he was a noted cricket and tennis player. His chief sport is now salmon and trout fishing in the Scotch lakes with Lord Glenconner, Mr. Asquith's brother-in-law. Once, when spending his week-ends with Lord Glenconner, he came thirty miles on a bicycle and returned in the same way. His simple, upright manner insured him the esteem even of his opponents, who were more easily to be found in home than in foreign political circles.

Lies and intrigue were foreign to his nature. His wife, whom he loved and from whom he was never separated, died as the result of an accident to the carriage driven by him. As is known, one brother was killed by a lion.

Wordsworth was his favorite poet, and he could quote him by the hour. His

British calm did not lack a sense of humor. When breakfasting with us and the children and he heard their German conversation, he would say, "I cannot help admiring the way they talk German," and laughed at his joke. This is the man who was called "the Liar Grey" and the "originator of the world war."

ASQUITH AND HIS FAMILY

Asquith is a man of quite different mold. A jovial, sociable fellow, a friend of the ladies, especially young and beautiful ones, he loves cheery surroundings and a good cook, and is supported by a cheery young wife. He was formerly a well-known lawyer, with a large income and many years' Parliamentary experience. Later he was known as a Minister under Gladstone, a pacifist like his friend Grey, and friendly to an understanding with Germany. He treated all questions with an experienced business man's calm and certainty, and enjoyed good health and excellent nerves, steeled by assiduous golf.

His daughters went to a German boarding school and speak fluent German. We quickly became good friends with him and his family, and were guests at his little house on the Thames.

He only rarely occupied himself with foreign affairs. When important questions cropped up, with him lay the ultimate decision. During the critical days of July Asquith often came to warn us, and he was ultimately in despair over the tragic turn of events. On Aug. 2, when I saw Asquith in order to make a final attempt, he was completely broken, and, although quite calm, tears ran down his face.

NICOLSON AND TYRRELL

Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir William Tyrrell had the greatest influence in the Foreign Office. The former was not our friend, but his attitude toward me was consistently correct and obliging. Our personal relations were of the best. Neither did he wish for war, but when we [moved?] against France he undoubtedly worked for immediate intervention. He was the confidant of my French colleague, and was in constant

touch with him, and was destined to succeed Lord Bertie in Paris. As is known, Sir Arthur was formerly Ambassador in St. Petersburg, and had concluded the treaty of 1907 which enabled Russia to turn again to the West and the Near East.

Sir Edward Grey's private secretary, Sir William Tyrrell, had far greater influence than the Permanent Under Secretary of State. This unusually intelligent man had been at a school in Germany, and had then entered the Diplomatic Service, but he was abroad only a short time. At first he belonged to the modern anti-German school of young English diplomats, but later he became a determined supporter of an understanding. To this aim and object he even influenced Sir Edward Grey, with whom he was very intimate. After the outbreak of war he left the department, and went to the Home Office, probably in consequence of criticism of him for his Germanophile leanings.

CABALS AGAINST LICHNOWSKY

The rage of certain gentlemen over my success in London and the position I had achieved was indescribable. Schemes were set on foot to impede my carrying out my duties, I was left in complete ignorance of most important things, and had to confine myself to sending in unimportant and dull reports. Secret reports from agents about things of which I could know nothing without spies and necessary funds were never available for me, and it was only in the last days of July, 1914, that I heard accidentally from the Naval Attaché of the secret Anglo-French agreement for joint action of the two fleets in case of war. Soon after my arrival I became convinced that in no circumstances need we fear a British attack or British support of a foreign attack, but that under all conditions England would protect France. I advanced this opinion in repeated reports with detailed reasoning and insistence, but without gaining credence, although Lord Haldane's refusing of the formula of neutrality and England's attitude during the Morocco crisis were clear indications. In addition, the above-mentioned secret

agreements were known to the department. I repeatedly urged that England, as a commercial State, would suffer greatly in any war between the European great powers, and would therefore prevent such a war by all available means; but, on the other hand, in the interest of the European balance of power, and to prevent Germany's overlordship, would never tolerate the weakening or destruction of France. Lord Haldane told me this shortly after my arrival. All influential people spoke in the same way.

THE ARCHDUKE'S DEATH

At the end of June I went to Kiel by the royal orders a few weeks after I had received the honorary degree of Doctor at Oxford, an honor no German Ambassador since Herr von Bunsen had received. On board the Meteor we received the news of the death of the Archduke, the heir to the throne. His Majesty complained that his attempts to win the noble Archduke over to his ideas were thereby rendered fruitless. How far plans for an active policy against Serbia had already been made at Konopischt I am not in a position to judge. As I was not informed about intentions and events in Vienna I attached no further importance to the matter. I could only observe that the feeling of relief outweighed the other feelings of the Austrian aristocrats. One of the guests on board the Meteor was the Austrian Count Felix Thun. In spite of glorious weather seasickness had kept him to his cabin. After receiving the news he became well. Shock or joy had cured him.

On reaching Berlin I visited the Chancellor, and said I considered the situation of our foreign policy very satisfactory, as we were on better terms with England than we had been for a long time. In France a pacifist Government was at the helm. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg did not seem to share my optimism, and complained of the Russian armaments. I tried to calm him, and pointed out especially that Russia had absolutely no interest in attacking us, and that such an attack would not receive Anglo-French support, as both countries, England and France, desired

peace. Then I called on Dr. Zimmermann, who represented von Jagow, and learned from him that Russia was about to mobilize 900,000 new troops. From his manner of speaking he was evidently annoyed with Russia, who was everywhere in our way. There was also the question of the difficulties of commercial politics. Of course, I was not told that General von Moltke was working eagerly for war. But I learned that Herr von Tschirschky had received a rebuff for having reported that he had advised moderation in Vienna toward Serbia.

AUSTRIA'S WAR PLOT

On my return journey from Silesia I only remained a few hours in Berlin, but I heard there that Austria intended to take steps against Serbia to put an end to this intolerable situation. Unfortunately I undervalued the importance of the information. I thought nothing would come of it, and that it would be easy to settle the matter if Russia threatened. I now regret that I did not stop in Berlin, and at once declare that I could not agree to such a policy.

I have since learned that the inquiries and appeals from Vienna won unconditional assent from all the influential men at a decisive consultation at Potsdam on July 5, with the addition that it would not matter if war with Russia resulted. This is what was stated, anyhow, in the Austrian protocol which Count Mensdorff received in London. Shortly afterward Herr von Jagow arrived in Vienna to discuss the whole question with Count Berchtold.

Subsequently, I received instructions to work to obtain a friendly attitude on the part of the English press, if Austria dealt Serbia a deathblow, and by my influence to prevent so far as possible public opinion from becoming opposed to Austria. Remembering England's attitude during the annexation crisis, when public opinion sympathized with Serbian rights to Bosnia and her kindly favoring of national movements in the time of Lord Byron and that of Garibaldi, one thing and another indicated so strongly the improbability of British support of the proposed punitive expedition against

the Archduke's murderers, that I felt bound to issue a serious warning. I also sent a warning against the whole project, which I characterized as adventurous and dangerous, and advised moderation being urged on the Austrians, as I did not believe in the localization of the conflict.

JAGOW'S MISTAKEN BLUFF

Herr von Jagow answered that Russia was not ready, that there would be some fuss, but that the more firmly we held to Austria the sooner would Russia give way. Austria, he said, had already accused us of flabbiness, (*flaumacherei*), and so we must not get into a mess. Opinion in Russia, he added, was becoming more and more pro-German, so we must just take the risks. In view of this attitude, which, as I subsequently found out, was the result of Count Pourtalès's reports that Russia would in no circumstances move, and caused us to urge Count Berchtold to the greatest possible energy, I hoped for salvation in English intervention, as I knew Sir Edward Grey's influence with St. Petersburg in the direction of peace could prevail. I availed myself, therefore, of my good relations with the British Foreign Minister to beg him confidentially to advise moderation on the part of Russia in case Austria, as appeared probable, should demand satisfaction from the Serbians.

In the beginning the attitude of the English press toward the Austrians was quiet and friendly, as the murder was condemned. Little by little, however, voices increased in number insisting that, however necessary the punishment of a crime might be, no elaboration of it for a political purpose could be justified. Austria was urgently called upon to act with moderation. The whole world outside Berlin and Vienna understood that it meant war, and world war. The British fleet, which happened to be assembled for review, was not demobilized.

GERMANY FORCES WAR

The Serbian answer corresponded with British efforts, for actually M. Pashitch had accepted all but two points, about which he was prepared to negotiate. Had England and Russia wanted war in order

to fall upon us, a hint to Belgrade would have been given, and the unspeakable note would have remained unanswered. Sir Edward Grey went through the Serbian answer with me, and pointed out the conciliatory attitude of the Belgrade Government. We even discussed his proposal for intervention, which should insure an interpretation of these two points acceptable to both parties. With Sir Edward Grey presiding, M. Cambon, the Marquis Imperiali, and I were to meet, and it would have been easy to find an acceptable form for the points under discussion, which were mainly concerned with the part to be taken by Austrian officials in the inquiries at Belgrade. With good-will all could have been cleared up in two or three sittings, and a simple acknowledgment of the British proposal would have brought about a *détente* and further improved our relations with England. I therefore urged it forcibly, as otherwise a world war stood at our gates.

In vain. It would be, I was told, wounding to Austria's dignity, nor would we mix ourselves up in that Serbian matter. We left it to our allies. I was to work for the localization of the conflict. It naturally only needed a hint from Berlin to induce Count Berchtold to content himself with a diplomatic success and put up with the Serbian reply. But this hint was not given. On the contrary, we pressed for war. What a fine success it would have been!

INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS

After our refusal Sir Edward asked us to come forward with a proposal of our own. We insisted upon war. I could get no other answer [from Berlin] than that it was an enormous "concession" on the part of Austria to contemplate no annexation of territory.

Thereupon Sir Edward justly pointed out that even without annexations of territory a country can be humiliated and subjected, and that Russia would regard this as a humiliation which she would not stand.

The impression became ever stronger that we desired war in all circumstances. Otherwise our attitude in a question

which, after all, did not directly concern us was unintelligible. The urgent appeals and definite declarations of M. Sazonoff, [Russian Foreign Minister,] later on the positively humble telegrams of the Czar, the repeated proposals of Sir Edward, the warnings of San Giuliano [Italian Foreign Minister] and of Bollati, [Italian Ambassador in Berlin,] my urgent advice—it was all of no use, for Berlin went on insisting that Serbia must be massacred.

The more I pressed, the less willing they were to alter their course, if only because I was not to have the success of saving peace in the company of Sir Edward Grey.

So Grey on July 29 resolved upon his well-known warning. I replied that I had always reported that we should have to reckon upon English hostility if it came to war with France. The Minister said to me repeatedly: "If war breaks out it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen."

GREY STILL SOUGHT PEACE

After that events moved rapidly. When Count Berchtold, who hitherto had played the strong man on instructions from Berlin, at last decided to change his course, we answered the Russian mobilization—after Russia had for a whole week negotiated and waited in vain—with our ultimatum and declaration of war.

Sir Edward Grey still looked for new ways of escape. In the morning of Aug. 1, Sir W. Tyrrell came to me to say that his chief still hoped to find a way out. Should we remain neutral if France did the same? I understood him to mean that we should then be ready to spare France, but his meaning was that we should remain absolutely neutral—neutral therefore even toward Russia. That was the well-known misunderstanding. Sir Edward had given me an appointment for the afternoon, but as he was then at a meeting of the Cabinet, he called me up on the telephone, after Sir W. Tyrrell had hurried straight to him. But in the afternoon he spoke no longer of anything but Belgian neutrality, and of the possibility that we and France

should face one another armed, without attacking one another.

Thus there was no proposal whatever, but a question without any obligation, because our conversation, as I have already explained, was to take place soon afterward. In Berlin, however—without waiting for the conversation—this news was used as the foundation for a far-reaching act. Then came Poincaré's letter, Bonar Law's letter, and the telegram from the King of the Belgians. The hesitating members of the Cabinet were converted, with the exception of three members, who resigned.

PEACE HOPES DESTROYED

Up to the last moment I had hoped for a waiting attitude on the part of England. My French colleague also felt himself by no means secure, as I learned from a private source. As late as Aug. 1 the King replied evasively to the French President. But in the telegram from Berlin, which announced the threatening danger of war, England was already mentioned as an opponent. In Berlin, therefore, one already reckoned upon war with England.

Before my departure Sir Edward Grey received me on Aug. 5 at his house. I had gone there at his desire. He was deeply moved. He said to me that he would always be ready to mediate, and, "We don't want to crush Germany." Unfortunately, this confidential conversation was published. Thereby Herr von Bethmann Hollweg destroyed the last possibility of reaching peace via England.

Our departure was thoroughly dignified and calm. Before we left, the King had sent his equerry, Sir E. Ponsonby, to me, to express his regret at my departure and that he could not see me personally. Princess Louise wrote to me that the whole family lamented our going. Mrs. Asquith and other friends came to the embassy to say good-bye.

A special train took us to Harwich, where a guard of honor was drawn up for me. I was treated like a departing sovereign. Thus ended my London mission. It was wrecked, not by the perfidy of the British, but by the perfidy of our policy.

At the railway station in London Count Mensdorff [Austrian Ambassador] appeared with his staff. He was cheerful, and gave me to understand that perhaps he would remain in London. But to the English he said that it was not Austria, but we, who had wanted the war.

A BITTER RETROSPECT

When now, after two years, I realize everything in retrospect, I say to myself that I realized too late that there was no place for me in a system which for years has lived only on tradition and routine, and which tolerates only representatives who report what one wants to read. Absence of prejudice and an independent judgment are combated, want of ability and of character are extolled and esteemed, but successes arouse hostility and uneasiness.

I had abandoned opposition to our mad Triple Alliance policy, because I saw that it was useless and that my warnings were represented as Austrophobia and an *idée fixe*. In a policy which is not mere gymnastics, or playing with documents, but the conduct of the business of the firm, there is no such thing as likes and dislikes; there is nothing but the interest of the community; but a policy which is based merely upon Austrians, Magyars, and Turks must end in hostility to Russia, and ultimately lead to a catastrophe.

In spite of former aberrations, everything was still possible in July, 1914. Agreement with England had been reached. We should have had to send to Petersburg a representative who, at any rate, reached the average standard of political ability, and we should have had to give Russia the certainty that we desired neither to dominate the Slavs nor to throttle the Serbs. M. Sazonoff was saying to us: "*Lâchez l'Autriche et nous lâcherons les Français*," and M. Cambon [French Ambassador in Berlin] said to Herr von Jagow: "*Vous n'avez [pas] besoin de suivre l'Autriche partout*."

We needed neither alliances nor wars, but merely treaties which would protect us and others, and which would guarantee us an economic development for which

there had been no precedent in history. And if Russia had been relieved of trouble in the west, she would have been able to turn again to the east, and then the Anglo-Russian antagonism would have arisen automatically without our interference—and the Russo-Japanese antagonism no less than the Anglo-Russian.

We could also have approached the question of limitation of armaments, and should have had no further need to bother about the confusions of Austria. Austria-Hungary would then become the vassal of the German Empire—without an alliance, and, above all, without sentimental services on our part, leading ultimately to war for the liberation of Poland and the destruction of Serbia, although German interests demanded exactly the contrary.

I had to support in London a policy which I knew to be fallacious. I was punished for it, for it was a sin against the Holy Ghost.

ARRIVAL AT BERLIN

On my arrival in Berlin I saw at once that I was to be made the scapegoat for the catastrophe of which our Government had made itself guilty in opposition to my advice and my warnings.

The report was persistently circulated by official quarters that I had let myself be deceived by Sir Edward Grey, because if he had not wanted war Russia would not have mobilized. Count Pourtalès, whose reports could be relied upon, was to be spared, if only because of his family connections. He was said to have behaved "splendidly," and he was enthusiastically praised, while I was all the more sharply blamed.

"What has Russia got to do with Serbia?" this statesman said to me after eight years of official activity in Petersburg. It was made out that the whole business was a perfidious British trick which I had not understood. In the Foreign Office I was told that in 1916 it would in any case have come to war. But then Russia would have been "ready," and so it was better now.

As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which,

owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack upon Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

3. On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere mobilization by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war.

GERMANY'S WAR SPIRIT

Is it not intelligible that our enemies declare that they will not rest until a system is destroyed which constitutes a permanent threatening of our neighbors? Must they not otherwise fear that in a few years they will again have to take up arms, and again see their provinces overrun and their towns and villages destroyed? Were these people not right who prophesied that the spirit of Treitschke and Bernhardi dominated the German people—the spirit which glorifies war as an aim in itself and does not abhor it as an evil; that among us it is still the feudal knights and Junkers and the caste of warriors who rule and who fix our ideals and our values—not

the civilian gentleman; that the love of dueling, which inspires our youth at the universities, lives on in those who guide the fortunes of the people? Had not the events at Zabern and the Parliamentary debates on that case shown foreign countries how civil rights and freedoms are valued among us, when questions of military power are on the other side?

Cramb, a historian who has since died, an admirer of Germany, put the German point of view into the words of Euphorion:

Träumt Ihr den Friedenstag?
Träume, wer träumen mag!
Krieg ist das Lösungswort!
Sieg, und so klingt es fort.

Militarism, really a school for the nation and an instrument of policy, makes policy into the instrument of military power, if the patriarchal absolutism of a soldier-kingdom renders possible an attitude which would not be permitted by a democracy which had disengaged itself from military-junker influences.

That is what our enemies think, and that is what they are bound to think, when they see that, in spite of capitalistic industrialization, and in spite of socialistic organization, the living, as Friedrich Nietzsche says, are still governed by the dead. The principal war aim of our enemies, the democratization of Germany, will be achieved.

JEOPARDIZING THE FUTURE

Today, after two years of the war, there can be no further doubt that we cannot hope for an unconditional victory over Russians, English, French, Italians, Rumanians, and Americans, and that we cannot reckon upon the overthrow of our enemies. But we can reach a compromised peace only upon the basis of the evacuation of the occupied territories, the possession of which in any case signifies for us a burden and weakness and the peril of new wars. Consequently, everything should be avoided which hinders a change of course on the part of those enemy groups which might perhaps still be won over to the idea of compromise—the British Radicals and the Russian Reactionaries. Even from this point of view our Polish project is just as objec-

tionable as any interference with Belgian rights, or the execution of British citizens—to say nothing of the mad submarine war scheme.

Our future lies upon the water. True, but it therefore does not lie in Poland and Belgium, in France and Serbia. That is a reversion to the Holy Roman Empire, to the aberrations of the Hohenstaufens and Hapsburgs. It is the policy of the Plantagenets, not the policy of Drake and Raleigh, Nelson and Rhodes.

Triple Alliance policy is a relapse into the past, a revolt from the future, from imperialism, from world policy. Central Europe is mediaevalism; Berlin-Bagdad is a cul de sac, and not a road into the open, to unlimited possibilities, and to the world mission of the German people.

I am no enemy of Austria, or Hungary, or Italy, or Serbia, or any other State; I am only an enemy of the Triple Alliance policy, which was bound to divert us from our aims, and to bring us on to the sloping plane of Continental policy. It was not German policy, but Austrian dynastic policy. The Austrians had accustomed themselves to regard the alliance as a shield, under whose protection they could make excursions at pleasure into the East.

RUINOUS RESULTS

And what result have we to expect from the struggle of peoples? The United States of Africa will be British, like the United States of America, of Australia, and of Oceania, and the Latin States of Europe, as I said years ago, will fall into the same relationship to the United Kingdom as the Latin sisters of America to the United States. They will be dominated by the Anglo-Saxon; France, exhausted by the war, will link herself still more closely to Great Britain. In the long run, Spain also will not resist.

In Asia, the Russian and Japanese will expand their borders and their customs, and the south will remain to the British.

The world will belong to the Anglo-Saxon, the Russian, and the Japanese, and the German will remain alone with Austria and Hungary. His sphere of power will be that of thought and of

trade, not that of the bureaucrats and the soldiers. The German appeared too late, and the world war has destroyed the last possibility of catching up the lost ground, of founding a colonial empire.

For we shall not supplant the sons of

Japheth; the program of the great Rhodes, who saw the salvation of mankind in British expansion and British imperialism, will be realized.

*Tu regere imperio populos Romano, memento.
Hae tibi erunt artes: pacisque imponere
morem,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*

Krupp Director Confirms Prince Lichnowsky's Indictment

COINCIDENT with the publication in Germany of the famous memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky squarely putting the blame for the outbreak of the world war upon the Kaiser and the German militarists, there also appeared in circular form in Germany a letter written by a certain Dr. Mühlön, a former member of the Krupp Directorate now living in Switzerland, corroborating the charges made by the Prince. The Mühlön letter was briefly referred to in an official dispatch from Switzerland received in Washington on March 29 as having produced an animated discussion throughout the empire.

A copy of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* of March 20 tells how, in a discussion of the Lichnowsky and Mühlön memoranda before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on March 16, Vice Chancellor von Payer tried to minimize the value of Dr. Mühlön's statements by asserting that the former Krupp Director was a sick, nervous man who no doubt did not intend to injure his country's cause, but who was hardly responsible for his actions because of his many nervous breakdowns. Later, the *Berliner Tageblatt* printed the text of Dr. Mühlön's letter, which was evidently written before the resignation of Dr. Karl Helfferich as Vice Chancellor last November. As translated by The London Times, Dr. Mühlön's memorandum reads:

TALK WITH HELFFERICH

"In the middle of July, 1914, I had, as I frequently had, a conversation with Dr. Helfferich, then Director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and now Vice

Chancellor. The Deutsche Bank had adopted a negative attitude toward certain large transactions in Bulgaria and Turkey, in which the firm of Krupp, for business reasons—delivery of war material—had a lively interest. As one of the reasons to justify the attitude of the Deutsche Bank, Dr. Helfferich finally gave me the following reason:

"The political situation has become very menacing. The Deutsche Bank must in any case wait before entering into any further engagements abroad. The Austrians have just been with the Kaiser. In a week's time Vienna will send a very severe ultimatum to Serbia, with a very short interval for the answer. The ultimatum will contain demands such as punishment of a number of officers, dissolution of political associations, criminal investigation in Serbia by Austrian officials, and, in fact, a whole series of definite satisfactions will be demanded at once; otherwise Austria-Hungary will declare war on Serbia.

"Dr. Helfferich added that the Kaiser had expressed his decided approval of this procedure on the part of Austria-Hungary. He had said that he regarded a conflict with Serbia as an internal affair between these two countries, in which he would permit no other State to interfere. If Russia mobilized, he would mobilize also. But in his case mobilization meant immediate war. This time there would be no oscillation. Helfferich said that the Austrians were extremely well satisfied at this determined attitude on the part of the Kaiser.

"When I thereupon said to Dr. Helfferich that this uncanny communication converted my fears of a world war, which were already strong, into abso-

lute certainty, he replied that it certainly looked like that. But perhaps France and Russia would reconsider the matter. In any case, the Serbs deserved a lesson which they would remember. This was the first intimation that I had received about the Kaiser's discussions with our allies. I knew Dr. Helfferich's particularly intimate relations with the personages who were sure to be initiated, and I knew that his communication was trustworthy.

KAISER FOR WAR

"After my return from Berlin I informed Herr Krupp von Böhlen and Halbach, one of whose Directors I then was at Essen. Dr. Helfferich had given me permission and at that time the intention was to make him a Director of Krupps. Herr von Böhlen seemed disturbed that Dr. Helfferich was in possession of such information, and he made a remark to the effect that the Government people can never keep their mouths shut. He then told me the following. He said that he had himself been with the Kaiser in the last few days. The Kaiser had spoken to him also of his conversation with the Austrians, and of its result; but he had described the matter as so secret that he [Krupp] would not even have dared to inform his own Directors. As, however, I already knew, he could tell me that Helfferich's statements were accurate. Indeed, Helfferich seemed to know more details than he did. He said that the situation was really very serious. The Kaiser had told him that he would declare war immediately if Russia mobilized, and that this time people would see that he did not turn about. The Kaiser's repeated insistence that this time nobody would be able to accuse him of indecision had, he said, been almost comic in its effect.

GERMAN DUPLICITY

"On the very day indicated to me by Helfferich the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia appeared. At this time I was again in Berlin, and I told Helfferich that I regarded the tone and contents of the ultimatum as simply monstrous. Dr. Helfferich, however, said that the

note only had that ring in the German translation. He had seen the ultimatum in French, and in French it really could not be regarded as overdone. On this occasion Helfferich also said to me that the Kaiser had gone on his northern cruise only as a 'blind'; he had not arranged the cruise on the usual extensive scale, but was remaining close at hand and keeping in constant touch. Now one must simply wait and see what would happen. The Austrians, who, of course, did not expect the ultimatum to be accepted, were really acting rapidly before the other powers could find time to interfere. The Deutsche Bank had already made its arrangements, so as to be prepared for all eventualities. For example, it was no longer paying out the gold which came in. That could easily be done without attracting notice, and the amount day by day reached considerable sums.

"Immediately after the Vienna ultimatum to Serbia the German Government issued declarations to the effect that Austria-Hungary had acted all alone, without Germany's previous knowledge. When one attempted to reconcile these declarations with the events mentioned above, the only possible explanation was that the Kaiser had tied himself down without inviting the co-operation of his Government, and that, in the conversations with the Austrians, the Germans took care not to agree upon the text of the ultimatum. For I have already shown that the contents of the ultimatum were pretty accurately known in Germany.

"Herr Krupp von Böhlen, with whom I spoke about these German declarations—which, at any rate in their effect, were lies—was also by no means edified. For, as he said, Germany ought not, in such a tremendous affair, to have given a blank check to a State like Austria; and it was the duty of the leading statesmen to demand, both of the Kaiser and of our allies, that the Austrian claims and the ultimatum to Serbia should be discussed in minute detail and definitely decided upon, and also that we should decide upon the precise program of our further proceedings. He said that, whatever point of view one took, we ought not to give our-

selves into the hands of the Austrians and expose ourselves to eventualities which had not been reckoned out in advance. One ought to have connected appropriate conditions with our obligations. In short, Herr von Böhlen regarded the German denial of previous knowledge, if there was any trace of truth in it, as an offense against the elementary principles of diplomacy; and he told me that he intended to speak in this sense to Herr von Jagow, then Foreign Secretary, who was a special friend of his.

GERMAN GOVERNMENT BLAMED

"As a result of this conversation Herr von Böhlen told me that Herr von Jagow stuck firmly to his assertion that he had had nothing to do with the text of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, and that Germany had never made any such demands. In reply to the objection that this was inconceivable, Herr von Jagow replied that he, as a diplomatist, had naturally thought of making such a demand. When, however, Herr von Jagow was occupying himself with the matter and was called in, the Kaiser had so committed himself that it was too late for any procedure according to diplomatic custom, and there was nothing more to be done. The situation was such that it would have been impossible to intervene with drafting proposals. In the end, he [Jagow] had thought that non-interference would have its advantages—namely, the good impression which could be made in Petersburg and Paris with the German declaration that Germany had not co-operated in the preparation of the Vienna ultimatum."

A REMARKABLE LETTER

Herr Mühlon authorized the *Humanité*, a Paris Socialist paper, through its Swiss correspondent, to publish the following remarkable letter which he addressed from Berne, on May 7, 1917, to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, then Imperial Chancellor:

"However great the number and weight of the mistakes accumulated on the German side since the beginning of the war, I nevertheless persisted for a long time in the belief that a belated

foresight would at last dawn upon the minds of our Directors. It was with this hope that I put myself to a certain extent at your disposal, in order to collaborate with you in Rumania, and that I indicated to you that I was disposed to help in Switzerland, where I am living at present, if the object of our efforts was to be rapprochement of the enemy parties. That I was, and that I remain, hostile to any activity other than reconciliation and restoration I proved soon after the opening of hostilities by the definite resignation of my Directorship of Krupp's works.

"But since the first days of 1917 I have abandoned all hope as regards the present Directors of Germany. Our offer of peace without indication of our war aims, the accentuation of the submarine war, the deportations of Belgians, the systematic destruction in France, and the torpedoing of English hospital ships have so degraded the Governors of the German Empire that I am profoundly convinced that they are disqualified forever for the elaboration and conclusion of a sincere and just agreement. The personalities may change, but they cannot remain the representatives of the German cause.

"The German people will not be able to repair the grievous crimes committed against its own present and future, and against that of Europe and the whole human race until it is represented by different men with a different mentality. To tell the truth, it is mere justice that its reputation throughout the whole world is as bad as it is. The triumph of its methods—the methods by which it has hitherto conducted the war both militarily and politically—would constitute a defeat for the ideas and the supreme hopes of mankind. One has only to imagine that a people exhausted, demoralized, or hating violence, should consent to a peace with a Government which has conducted such a war, in order to understand how the general level and the chances of life of the peoples would remain black and deceptive.

"As a man and as a German who desires nothing but the welfare of the

deceived and tortured German people, I turn away definitely from the present representatives of the German régime. And I have only one wish—that all independent men may do the same and that many Germans may understand and act.

"In view of the fact that it is impossible for me at present to make any manifestation before German public opinion, I have thought it to be my absolute duty to inform your Excellency of my point of view."

Reichstag Debate on Lichnowsky

THE Main Committee of the Reichstag dealt with Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum on March 16. Herr von Payer, Vice Chancellor, stated that Prince Lichnowsky himself on March 15 made a statement to the Imperial Chancellor, in which he said:

"Your Excellency knows that the purely private notes which I wrote down in the Summer of 1916 found their way into wider circles by an unprecedented breach of confidence. It was mainly a question of subjective considerations about our entire foreign policy since the Berlin Congress. I perceived in the policy hitherto pursued of repelling (in der seitherigen Abkehr) Russia and in the extension of the policy of alliances to Oriental questions the real roots of the world war. I then submitted our Morocco naval policy to a brief examination. My London mission could at the same time not remain out of consideration, especially as I felt the need in regard to the future and with a view to my own justification of noting the details of my experiences and impressions there before they vanished from my memory. These notes were intended in a certain degree only for family archives, and I wrote them down without documentary material or notes from the period of my official activity. I considered I might show them, on the assurance of absolute secrecy, to a very few political friends in whose judgment as well as trustworthiness I had equal confidence."

LICHNOWSKY RESIGNS RANK

Prince Lichnowsky then described in his letter how the memorandum, owing to an indiscretion, got into circulation, and finally expressed lively regret at such an extremely vexatious incident.

Herr von Payer said that Prince Lichnowsky had meanwhile tendered his resignation of his present rank, which had been accepted, and as he had doubtless no bad intention, but had simply been guilty of imprudence, no further steps would be taken against him. The Vice Chancellor proceeded:

"Some assertions in his documents must, however, be contradicted, especially his assertions about political events in the last months preceding the war. Prince Lichnowsky was not of his own knowledge acquainted with these events, but he apparently received from a third, and wrongly informed quarter, inaccurate information. The key to the mistakes and false conclusions may also be the Prince's overestimation of his own services, which are accompanied by hatred against those who do not recognize his achievements as he expected. The entire memorandum is penetrated by a striking veneration for foreign diplomats, especially the British, who are described in a truly affectionate manner, and, on the other hand, by an equally striking irritation against almost all German statesmen. The result was that the Prince frequently regarded Germany's most zealous enemy as her best friend because they were personally on good terms with him.

"The fact that, as he admits, he attached at first no great importance to the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and was displeased that the situation was judged otherwise in Berlin, makes it plain that the Prince had no clear judgment for the events that followed and their import."

The Vice Chancellor then characterized as false all Prince Lichnowsky's assertions about General von Moltke's urging

war at the Potsdam Crown Council of June 5, 1914, and the dispatch of the Austrian protocol on "this alleged Crown Council" to Count Mensdorff, containing the postscript that it would be no great harm even if war with Russia arose out of it.

PAYER'S DEFENSE

Herr von Payer also denied the statement that the then Foreign Secretary was in Vienna in 1914, as well as the statement that Count von Pourtalès, the German Ambassador in Petrograd, had reported that Russia would in no circumstances move. The Sukhomlinoff trial had shown how unfounded were Prince Lichnowsky's reproaches against Germany for replying to the Russian mobilization by an ultimatum and a declaration of war. It was also false to assert that the German Government rejected all Great Britain's mediation proposals. Lord Grey's last mediation proposal was very urgently supported in Vienna by Berlin. The aim of the memorandum was obvious. It was to show the reader how much better and more intelligent Prince Lichnowsky's policy was, and how he could have assured the peace of the empire if his advice had been followed.

The Vice Chancellor continued:

"Nobody will reproach the Prince with this belief in himself. He was also free to make notes about events, and his attitude toward them, but he should then have considered it a duty that his views should not have become known to the public, and, no matter how small his circle of readers was, it was his duty to state nothing contradicting facts which he knew. As things now are, the memorandum will cause enough harm among malevolent and superficial people. The memorandum has no historical value whatever."

Referring to a manifolded copy of a letter from Dr. Mühlön, who is at present in Switzerland, and at the outbreak of war was on Krupps' Board of Directors, Herr von Payer said that the letter related to the utterances of two highly placed gentlemen from which he drew the conclusion that the German Government

in July, 1914, lacked a desire for peace. Both these gentlemen had stated in writing that Dr. Mühlön had suffered from nerves, and he (Herr von Payer) also took the view that his statements were those of a man of diseased mind.

In the discussion that followed, Herr Scheidemann said that the Socialist Party regarded imperialism as the fundamental cause of the war. Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum, in which he attempted to put the blame for the war on Germany, could, in his opinion, only make an impression on so-called out-and-out pacifists.

Herr Müller-Meiningen said that, notwithstanding what Dr. Mühlön and Prince Lichnowsky had said, he was absolutely convinced that the overwhelming majority of the German people, the Chancellor, and the representatives of the Foreign Office, and, above all, the German Emperor, always desired peace.

Herr Stresemann expressed a desire to see the last White Book supplemented. Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum could not be taken seriously.

Herr von Payer, intervening, said that the question as to whether criminal or disciplinary action might be taken against Prince Lichnowsky was considered by the Imperial Department of Justice. The result was that, on various legal grounds, neither a prosecution of the Prince for diplomatic high treason in the sense of Paragraph 92 of the Penal Code, nor proceedings under Paragraph 89 or Paragraph 353, the so-called Arnim paragraph, would have offered any chance of success. After the Prince's retirement, there was no longer any question of disciplinary proceedings against him. The Prince has been prohibited by the Foreign Office from publishing articles in the press.

LICHNOWSKY'S "OPTIMISM"

Herr von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replying to a question as to who was responsible for Prince Lichnowsky's appointment in London, said that the appointment was made by the Kaiser, in agreement with the responsible Imperial Chancellor. While in London the Prince had devoted himself

zealously to his task. His views, it was true, had frequently not agreed with those of the German Foreign Office. That was especially the case regarding his strong optimism in reference to German-English relations. When his hopes aiming at a German-English understanding were destroyed by the war, the Prince returned to Germany greatly excited, and even then did not restrain his criticism of Germany's policy.

Herr von Stumm continued:

"His excitement increased owing to attacks against him in the German press. All these circumstances must be taken into consideration when gauging the value of his memorandum. It was unjustifiable to draw conclusions from it regarding the Ambassador's activity in London and blame the Government for it. Regarding the German White Book, the Under Secretary admitted that it was not very voluminous, but it had to be compiled quickly, so as to present to the Reichstag at the opening a clear picture of the question of guilt. The Blue Books of other States, it was true, were much more voluminous. The German White Book, however, differed from them in so far to its advantage as it contained no falsification. A new edition of the German White Book is in preparation."

Dr. Payer then discussed the revelations of Dr. Mühlön, at present in Switzerland. Dr. Mühlön, an ex-Director of Krupps, had made a statement according to which he had a conference with two exalted personages in the latter half of

July, 1914, from which it appeared that it was not the intention of the German Government to maintain peace. The Vice Chancellor alleged that Dr. Mühlön was suffering from neurasthenia at the time, and that no importance could be attached to his revelations, since the two gentlemen referred to had denied making the statements attributed to them.

In the subsequent discussion disapproval of Prince Lichnowsky's attitude was expressed, but some speakers urged the need for the reorganization of Germany's diplomatic service.

According to the report of the debate published by the Neues Wiener Journal, Herr von Payer himself acknowledged that prior to the war German diplomacy had made some bad blunders, and that reform was urgently needed. Herr Müller (Progressive) sharply criticised Herr von Flotow, who was German Ambassador in Rome at the beginning of the war, and charged him with having declared to the Marquis di San Giuliano, then Italian Foreign Minister, that there existed for Italy no *casus foederis*. Prince Bülow also came in for severe criticism.

A bill indicting Prince Lichnowsky for treason has been introduced into the Reichstag and is still pending at this writing. A dispatch from Geneva on April 21 stated that he was virtually a prisoner in his château in Silesia. According to the *Düsseldorfer Tageblatt* the Prince was under police surveillance because of the discovery of a plan for his escape to Switzerland.

Comments of German Publicists

IMMEDIATELY following the sending out by the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau on March 19 of an account of the discussion in the Main Committee of the Reichstag on March 16 of the Lichnowsky memorandum, together with excerpts from that document, the editorial writers of the German newspapers began emptying vials of wrath upon the head of the former Ambassador in London. With the exception of the Socialist and a few Lib-

eral newspapers, the press was practically a unit in condemning the Prince for his "treasonable and indiscreet acts" and in asserting that, although his "revelations" might be welcomed with shouts of joy in the allied countries, they would have no serious effect upon the fighting spirit of the German Nation.

In trying to explain what prompted Prince Lichnowsky to write his memorandum for "the family archives," nearly all the German editors lay great

stress upon his alleged personal vanity and his resentment at seeing his efforts toward strengthening the bonds between England and Germany made a grim joke by the outbreak of the world war. The Prince is also called a simple-minded person, completely taken in by the deceptive courtesy of the British diplomats and possessing none of the qualifications necessary to make him a profitable representative of the Kaiser at the Court of St. James's. All through the comments, from extreme Pan-German to socialistic, runs a vein of sarcastic criticism of the peculiar "ability" shown by the German Foreign Office in picking its Ambassadors.

All the Pan-German and annexationist papers take occasion to link up Prince Lichnowsky with Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the former Imperial Chancellor, and make the latter responsible for the appointment of the "pacifist" Prince. In doing this they renew all their old charges of weakness and pacifism against the ex-Chancellor, and intimate that he may be the next German formerly occupying a high place in the Government to write memoranda for his family archives. Some of the papers did not wait to write regular editorials about the memorandum, but interlarded their reports of the meeting of the Reichstag Committee with sarcastic comment and explanations. This was notably the case with the *Vossische Zeitung*, the leading exponent of reconciliation with Russia at the expense of Great Britain.

REVENTLOW FURIOUS

Although it has since been cabled that the Imperial Government was considering taking action against Prince Lichnowsky, and that Captain Beerfelde, a member of the German General Staff, was under arrest for having aided in the distribution of manifolded copies of the memorandum, there was no general demand in the German press for the trial of the Prince on a charge of high treason. The exceptions were a few extreme Pan-German organs, led by Count zu Reventlow's *Deutsche Tageszeitung*. On the other hand, a few of the Socialist and Liberal papers cautiously remarked

that, after all, although what the Prince said about the responsibility for the war was altogether too pro-Entente, it might help the movement in Germany for a negotiated peace.

Count zu Reventlow's article in the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* read, in part, as follows:

"When a former Ambassador, and an experienced diplomat and official besides, writes an article and gives it to some one else in these times, there is, in our opinion, no excuse. It is a case of high treason and it makes little difference if here one might perhaps admit the view of its being high treason through negligence, because certainly no former diplomat and official ought to allow himself to be so negligent, and furthermore he must have known the great danger of his action, which, as has been said, was exclusively meant to be to his personal interest. Therefore, we cannot very well understand for what reasons the proper steps have not been taken already against Prince Lichnowsky. We use the characterization 'high treason' after due deliberation.

"Prince Lichnowsky should not have allowed a single piece of his article to have left his hands, for he was very well able to judge that its publication outside of the German Empire was bound to have the effect of a treasonable act. The German cause will not be made any worse because a former diplomat, completely enchanted by English ways and never in touch with the essence of the English policy, places himself on the side of the enemies of the German Empire."

The *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, the organ of the annexationist faction of the Centre Party, concluded its editorial thus:

"One thing must be emphasized, Liebknecht, Dittmann, and other traitors have been jailed because of their high treason. Lichnowsky wanted to show to the whole world with his memorandum that Germany had sought, wanted, and begun the war because some persons did not wish to have him, Prince Lichnowsky, enjoy the success of the Anglo-German friendship. And, in so doing, Lichnowsky furnished our enemies with weapons, worked

to our enemies' advantage. In time of war this is treason. The excuse that the fourteen copies that he had prepared were only written for his friends is ridiculous. Theodore Wolff of the Berliner Tageblatt is known to be one of Lichnowsky's most intimate friends. Who knows who the others may be! If a Social Democrat or an anarchist writes an inciting pamphlet in the form of a memorandum and doesn't distribute it himself, but has his friends do it, is he then exempt from punishment? If a person commits high treason and does not circulate the document himself, but lets others do it, or at least does not take precautions to see that it is not distributed, does he go free? The German people will hardly understand the decision of the Imperial Department of Justice as just rendered in favor of Lichnowsky. Even at the last session of the Prussian House of Lords Prince Lichnowsky sat beside his friend Dernberg. Will he appear in the House of Lords again?"

GERMANIA WAXED SARCASTIC

Germania, speaking for the so-called moderate section of the Centre Party, called the Lichnowsky case "one of the most disturbing political events that we have experienced in the course of the war," and hoped that the courts would still have a chance to decide as to the Prince's guilt. The newspaper comment was in general spiced with much sarcastic comparison of the Lichnowsky case with the cases of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Deputy Wilhelm Dittmann, and many remarks were passed regarding the difference between the treatment accorded to a member of the Prussian nobility and that suffered by commoners and representatives of the German working class. The Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, in ending its comment as to the paeans of joy with which the enemy press would be sure to welcome the publication of the Lichnowsky indictment, added the following item of news:

"We learn on good authority, in the matter of the distribution of the Lichnowsky pamphlet, that in the beginning of February the police succeeded in seizing 2,000 copies of this pamphlet" which the

Neues Vaterland Society had had sent to it from South Germany through its business manager, Else Bruck. She, together with Henke, a bookseller, was placed under charges, but was acquitted by the court-martial, presumably because the court was not able to foresee the far-reaching result of the document."

Under the heading "The Blind Argus" the Bremer Nachrichten opined that the man who should have been using a thousand eyes in London in the interest of Germany was blind, and it referred to the Lichnowsky case as "the most gloomy chapter in the history of German diplomacy."

PAN-GERMANS CAUSTIC

Prince Lichnowsky's aversion to the old Triple Alliance drew much caustic criticism, especially from the Pan-German press, and excerpts from the semi-official Vienna Fremdenblatt and other Austrian papers, indignantly repudiating the Prince's charge that the Dual Monarchy had always regarded Germany as a shield under which it could make raids upon the Near East and otherwise stir up trouble, were eagerly reprinted in Germany.

The Berlin Vorwärts, speaking for the pro-Government Socialists, said:

"The Ambassador returned with the feeling of a man who had seen his life work knocked to pieces. No doubt he felt at that time not very different from us German Socialists who had also worked for reconciliation with France and England and now, in the face of the unchained elemental forces, had to recognize our impotence with gnashing of teeth. In Germany, Prince Lichnowsky, who had believed in the possibility of agreement as every toiler must believe in his work, was greeted with the scorn of the Pan-Germans, who asserted that he had allowed himself to be softsoaped by the English and had never recognized their real intentions. * * *

"And who can deny that this pamphlet casts a deep shadow upon the German foreign policy before the war? They can say that everything that Lichnowsky writes is the result of a diseased imagina-

tion and that all is distorted and badly drawn. But this would merely mean that the most important Ambassadorial post that Germany had at her disposal was occupied by a fool and a blockhead. So, if one wishes to spare the German policy this compromising implication, the only thing to do is to take the memorandum and its author seriously and argue the points with him in an expert manner."

The Vorwärts concluded its comment by saying that, no matter how the war started, the German people were now determined to see that Germany was not defeated, but if Prince Lichnowsky's article would help the people of Germany to adopt a more conciliatory attitude toward England and thus hasten a negotiated peace, it was worth reading. Comment of other Socialist papers was along the same lines.

Comment of an English Editor

Valentine Chirol, former foreign editor of The London Times, published the following in that newspaper on March 26, 1918:

THE publication of Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum furnishes evidence which even the most skeptical Englishman can hardly question of the peculiar system of dualism practiced by the German Foreign Office in the conduct of its diplomacy abroad. To those who had opportunities of observing its methods at close quarters this is no new revelation. The German Foreign Office has almost invariably conducted its diplomatic work abroad through two or more different channels, for it was always too tortuous and complicated to be intrusted to any single agent. There was the public policy directed toward more or less avowable ends to be propounded in official dispatches and conversations, and there was "the higher policy" to be promoted by means of discreet propaganda in the press and in society, and especially by appropriate appeals to the prejudices or interests of political and financial and commercial circles. Hence in the more important posts abroad it was the habit of the Wilhelmstrasse to rely mainly upon the Councilor of Embassy both to check the proceedings of the Ambassador and to manipulate all the complicated threads of its diplomatic network in which, for various reasons, it was deemed inexpedient for the Ambassador to get himself entangled, sometimes lest inconvenient disclosures might impair his influence with the Govern-

ment to which he was accredited, and sometimes—as in the case of Prince Lichnowsky in London, and of the late Prince Radolin in Paris—because the Ambassador's personal sense of honor or his belief in the superiority of honorable statesmanship recoiled from the duplicity of "the higher policy." * * *

I gained an insight into this complex machinery when I went to Berlin as correspondent of The Times, in the early years of the present Emperor's reign, through Baron Holstein, who was then known as the "eminence Grise" of the German Foreign Office from the commanding influence he wielded without the slightest ostentation of power. Owing to accidental circumstances, I came into much closer intimacy with him than he was wont to allow, not merely to journalists, but even to the chief foreign diplomats in Berlin; and, subject to occasional intermittences when he resented somewhat ferociously my expositions of German policy, I maintained friendly relations with him long after I had ceased to reside in Berlin and he had himself outlived the Emperor's favor, for which he lacked the courtier's obsequiousness. He had been bred in the Bismarckian tradition; he had been a member of the old Chancellor's staff throughout the Franco-Prussian war, and had acted as his confidential agent when he was Councilor of Embassy in Paris under Count Harry von Arnim, whose sensational downfall he helped to bring about at Bismarck's behest. Although in other respects a man of great

integrity and with many admirable qualities, including, besides a certain rather cynical frankness, a thoroughly un-Prussian contempt for the gewgaws of official life, he was so saturated with the Wilhelmstrasse tradition that he was rather proud than otherwise of the unsavory part he had played toward his Paris chief, and had, therefore, the less hesitation in disclosing to me, when he thought it served his purpose, the existence of equally peculiar relations between Count Wolf-Metternich, then Councilor of Embassy in London, and the then Ambassador, Count Hatzfeld.

In the face of such a confession as Prince Lichnowsky's, it would be amusing, were it not so pitiful, to see the same British politicians who were so egregiously duped by Germany's "secret" diplomacy before the war still venting their chagrin in the House of Commons, not on their German "friends," by whom they were constantly fooled, and are apparently quite prepared to be fooled again tomorrow, but upon the British Foreign Office, whose timely appreciation of the German menace they invariably derided and whose endeavors to forearm the country against it they did their utmost to defeat.

Dr. Liebknecht's Indictment of Germany

A COPY has been received of an open letter by Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, which proved an important factor in his imprisonment—which still continues. It bears date May 3, 1916, and was addressed to the Berlin District Court-Martial. The German authorities suppressed it, and made it a criminal offense for any one to be found in possession of it.

After stating his view of the war as a struggle of the masses against the classes throughout the world, Dr. Liebknecht wrote:

"The German Government is in its very social and political being an instrument for the exploitation and suppression of the laboring masses. It serves at home and abroad the interests of Junkerdom, capitalism, and militarism. It is the reckless representative of world political expansion, the strongest driver of competition in armaments, and therewith one of the weightiest exponents in the creation of the causes for the present war. It plotted this war in conjunction with the Austrian Government, and so burdened itself with the chief responsibility for its outbreak. It arranged this war while misleading the masses of the people and even the Reichstag.

"Compare, for instance, the keeping silent about the ultimatum to Belgium, the making up of the German White

Book, the alteration of the Czar's telegram of July 29, 1914, &c. It seeks to maintain the war feeling in the nation by the most blameworthy means. It carries on the war by methods which, even regarded from the hitherto customary level, are monstrous. Such, for instance, are the invasion of Belgium and Luxemburg, poison gases, the Zeppelins, which are designed to destroy everything living, combatant or noncombatant, in a wide circle below them; the submarine trade war; the torpedoing of the Lusitania; the system of hostages and contributions, especially in the beginning, in Belgium; the systematic trapping of Ukrainian, Polish, Irish, Mohammedan, and other war prisoners in German prison camps for purposes of a traitorous war service and traitorous espionage in the interests of the Central Powers; the treaty of Under Secretary Zimmermann with Sir Roger Casement of December, 1914, as to the formation, equipment, and training of British soldiers from among the prisoners to form an Irish brigade in the German prison camps; the attempts to use civilian subjects of hostile States who were in Germany, by threatening them with forced internment, for war services of a treacherous character against their country; the dictum necessity knows no law, &c.

"The German Government has tremendously increased the want of political rights and the exploitation of the masses of the people by the conditions it imposed under a state of siege. It refuses all serious political and social reforms, while by phrases about the supposed equality of all parties, about the supposed reform of political and social treatment, about the supposed 'neuorientierung,' &c., it tries to maintain its hold on the masses of the people for the purposes of its imperialistic war policy. Because of its regard for the agrarians and the capitalists it has entirely failed in the economic provisioning of the population during the war, and it has prepared the road for making usury out of the people and their very needs. Today still it holds fast to its war objects of conquest, and therefore with forms the chief hindrance to immediate peace negotiations on the ground of no annexations and no force of any kind. By the maintenance of the illegal state of siege, censorship, and so on, it smothers public knowledge of uncom-

fortable facts and criticism of its methods.

"The present war is not a war for the defense of the national inviolability or for the liberty of small nations. From the standpoint of the proletariat it signifies only the most extreme concentration and increase of the political suppression, their economic draining, and militaristic slaughter of the life of the working classes for capitalistic and absolutist advantage. To this there is only one answer of the laboring classes of all countries, namely, a sharpened international class fight against the capitalistic Governments and dominating classes of all countries, for the removal of every form of suppression and exploitation, and for ending the war by a peace in the Socialistic sense. As a Socialist I am on principle an opponent of this war, as of the existing military system. The fight against militarism is a life question for the working classes. The war demands that the anti-militarism struggle shall be carried on with redoubled energy."

Why the German Strike Failed

THE attempt of the German workmen last Winter to force a genuine peace movement by means of a general strike was promptly suppressed by the Government, which proclaimed a state of siege and threatened to force the strikers into military service. The underlying causes of this failure were explained in an instructive article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the leading Austrian labor organ, from which the following is taken:

The most important reason is undoubtedly the lack of unity among the German working classes. Even in Berlin the strike was not general; in many factories only part of the men went out, while the rest continued their work. In many cities, such as Munich, the workmen divided according to party; the Independent Socialists struck, members of the old party went on with their work. The most important industrial districts were only slightly affected. On the Rhine, in Westphalia, in Upper Silesia, even in Saxony, where lie the chief fortresses of independent socialism, only a small sec-

tion struck. And even where they struck there was no kind of uniform action; in many towns, like Nürnberg, for instance, only a demonstrative strike of limited duration was decided upon, while elsewhere the intention was to hold out until the demands were obtained. In Berlin the pressmen struck, but not the compositors; one newspaper could appear, another not.

It was always the weakness of German Social Democracy that it had least influence on the very sections of the working class whose strike would involve the greatest economic danger. The railway men now take the first place in the movement in England, America, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and now in Russia, too; only in Germany have they always stood outside the ranks of the class-conscious workmen. Of the miners and iron founders, too, only part is Socialist; a very considerable part follows the Centre and the Polish Nationalists. These facts explain the weakness of the movement, and also the energy of the Prussian authorities. The German Government would have hesitated to take violent measures if it had had reason to fear that such measures would provoke an extension of the movement to the railways, mines, and

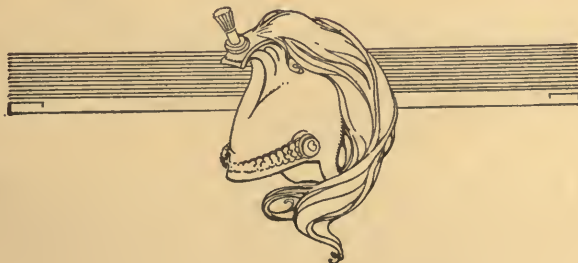
foundries. *The weakness of the movement is not a result of the energy of the authorities; on the contrary, only its weakness made that energy possible.*

How is it, then, that the German working classes, after three and a half years of unheard-of sacrifice and deprivation, are not capable of carrying through a struggle for peace with the same unanimity and clearness of aim as in many former struggles? This is, at least, partially due to the unfortunate development of German Social Democracy during the war. It has united with the Centre and the Liberals in the Reichstag bloc. It has thus scored various successes—the inclusion of progressive parliamentarians in the Government; the Reichstag resolution in favor of peace by understanding; the Reform bill in the Prussian Parliament. But this policy, which made Social Democracy the ally of bourgeois parties and the support of the Government, was fiercely attacked by the Opposition, which finally constituted itself as a separate party. * * * The bloc policy and action of the masses are mutually exclusive policies; those who themselves belong in the Reichstag to the majority which supports the Government cannot create the atmosphere in which alone a united action of the masses is possible. Nor, indeed, was that the intention of the German Social Democratic majority; *the mass-strike came without any act on its part and against its will.* When the strike was there, the leaders (of the majority) none the less placed themselves at its head; but the masses, having been educated for three and a half years to trust the Government's intentions, were naturally not willing to make heavy sacrifices in a struggle against this very Government.

In other democratic lands such a situation can hardly arise. There the parliamentary majority decides the policy of the Government, and if the Socialists form part of that majority, they can effectively influence policy, and so there can be no idea of the working classes having to conduct a political mass-strike against this Government. In Germany it is different. Here the voting of the imperial budget and of the war credits is not much more

than a theoretical confession of faith in the Fatherland; to belong to the Reichstag majority is not a guarantee of real political power. A few Generals, a few influential bank directors and big manufacturers can, under given circumstances, influence policy more effectively than the whole Reichstag majority. Thus, indeed, it can happen that the Government's policy seems very little influenced by socialism, though this latter supports the Government; that, consequently, a considerable part of the working classes decides upon a political strike against the Government which for three and a half years has enjoyed the support of the majority of working class Deputies in the Reichstag. And only thus can we explain the strange spectacle, inexplicable to any other country, that a Government in whose formation Social Democracy has had a share, and which at every division is supported by the Socialists, knows no other means of meeting a strike save by forbidding meetings, introducing a state of siege and militarizing! The bloc policy is dangerous everywhere; but these dangers are incomparably greater in the classic land of Government by authority (*Obrigkeitsregierung*) than in the democratic countries. The unedifying picture which German Social Democracy presents today is at bottom the result of German sham democracy, of the poverty and backwardness of German political life.

But, in spite of all, we hope that even the German strike will not have an unfavorable effect on future development. Many a struggle which had to end without tangible success has, later on, proved fruitful after all! So it will be this time. The German Government did not have to give the workmen any definite assurances; but it had learned that every extension of the war provokes the gravest social dangers; and if this time it still found it easy to dispose of the strike, because a large section of the working classes still trusts in it, all its force (*Machtmittel*) would avail it nothing, if the whole German working class once acquired the conviction that the Government is prolonging the war for the sake of Pan-German lust of conquest.



Last Fight of the Mary Rose

A British Naval Episode

The following story of how the little Mary Rose, a British destroyer, went down with colors flying, when, in October, 1917, she fought against overwhelming enemy forces, has been compiled from official sources:

THE Mary Rose left a Norwegian port in charge of a westbound convoy of merchant ships in the afternoon of Oct. 16, 1917. At dawn on the 17th flashes of gunfire were sighted astern. The Captain of the Mary Rose, Lieut. Commander Charles Fox, who was on the bridge at the time, remarked that he supposed it was a submarine shelling the convoy, and promptly turned his ship to investigate. All hands were called to action stations. The Mary Rose had increased to full speed, and in a short time three light cruisers were sighted coming toward them at high speed out of the morning mist. The Mary Rose promptly challenged, and, receiving no reply, opened fire with every gun that would bear at a range of about four miles. The German light cruisers appeared to be nonplused by this determined single-handed onslaught, as they did not return the fire until the range had closed to three miles.

They then opened fire, and the Mary Rose held gallantly on through a barrage of bursting shell until only a mile separated her from the enemy. Up to this point the German marksmanship was poor, but as the British destroyer turned to bring her torpedo tubes to bear a salvo struck her, bursting in the engine room and leaving her disabled, a log on the water. All guns, with the exception of the after one, were out of action and their crews killed or wounded, but the after gun continued in action, under the direction of Sub-Lieutenant Marsh, R. N. V. R., as long as it would bear. The Captain came down from the wrecked bridge and passed aft, encouraging and cheering his defeated men. He stopped beside the wrecked remains of the midship gun and shouted to the survivors of its crew: "God bless my heart, lads, get her going

again; we're not done yet!" The enemy was now pouring a concentrated fire into the motionless vessel. One of the boilers, struck by a shell, exploded, and through the inferno of escaping steam, smoke, and the vapor of bursting shell came that familiar, cheery voice: "We're not done yet."

As the German light cruisers sped past, two able seamen, (French and Bailey,) who alone had survived among the torpedo tubes' crews, on their own initiative laid and fired the remaining torpedo. French was killed immediately and Bailey badly wounded. Realizing that the enemy had passed ahead, and that the four-inch gun could no longer be brought to bear on them, the Captain went below and set about destroying his ciphers. The First Lieutenant, (Lieutenant Bavin,) seeing one of the light cruisers returning toward them, called the gunner (Mr. Handcock) and bade him sink the ship. The Captain then came on deck and gave the order "Abandon ship." All the boats had been shattered by shellfire at their davits, but the survivors launched a Carley raft and paddled clear of the ship. The German light cruiser detailed to administer the coup de grace then approached to within 300 yards and poured a succession of salvos into the already riddled hull.

The Mary Rose sank at 7:15 A. M. with colors flying. The Captain, First Lieutenant, and gunner were lost with the ship, but the handful of survivors, in charge of Sub-Lieutenant J. R. D. Freeman, on the Carley raft, fell in some hours later with a lifeboat belonging to one of the ships of the convoy. Sailing and rowing, they made the Norwegian coast some forty-eight hours later, and were tended with the utmost kindness by the Norwegian authorities.

PRESIDENT WILSON



The first portrait of President Wilson since America entered the war,
taken at the White House March 19, 1918

(© Sun Printing and Publishing Association)

FERDINAND FOCH



Generalissimo of the allied armies on the western front

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED APRIL 19, 1918.]

AN EPOCH-MAKING MONTH

THE month covered by this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was the most fateful in a military way since the beginning of the war. The most desperate and sanguinary battle in history, begun with the great German offensive in France March 21, 1918, was at its most furious phase when these pages were printed. No less than 4,000,000 men were engaged in deadly combat on a front of 150 miles.

General Foch, by agreement of the Allies, was made Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France, March 28. This decision, long regarded as of supreme importance, was hastened by the new emergency. The United States on April 16 officially approved the appointment. The result of the change was to co-ordinate all the allied forces in France into one army. Early fruits of this new unity were apparent in the news of April 19, when it was announced that heavy French reinforcements had come that day to the relief of the hard-pressed and weary British troops in Flanders, and had halted the Germans; the same day the French counterattacked in the Amiens region and thrust the Germans back, thus giving a brighter aspect to the entire situation in France. The story of the battle of Picardy up to April 18 is told elsewhere in detail.

The separation of Russian provinces from the old Russian Empire continued during the month; the resistance of the Bolsheviki in Finland, the Ukraine, Lithuania, the Caucasus, and other provinces that had been alienated either by secession or by German acquisition grew feebler as the weeks elapsed, and the stability of the new republics under German suzerainty was correspondingly strengthened.

The chief political events were the exposure by France of Austria's duplicity in seeking a separate peace, which caused the downfall of the Austrian Premier, and the application of conscription to Ireland, to be followed by

home rule. On April 18 Lord Derby was appointed British Ambassador to France, succeeding Lord Bertie, and was succeeded as Secretary of State for War by Viscount Milner. Austen Chamberlain, son of the late Joseph Chamberlain, was made a member of the War Cabinet.

Secretary of War Baker, who had left for England, France, and Italy early in March, returned on April 17 and spoke in enthusiastic terms of the American forces abroad. He expressed firm confidence in the ultimate defeat of Germany.

General Pershing offered all his available forces to General Foch when the storm of the German offensive broke, and many American units were at once brigaded with British and French forces. The appeals of France and Great Britain for man power met with instant response on this side of the Atlantic, and every ton of available shipping was employed in the transport of American troops. Developments in this regard gave promise of fulfilling the War Department's expressed intention of having an American Army of 1,500,000 in France by the end of 1918.

All American war preparations were visibly speeded up as the situation grew more serious for the Allies, and the spirit of the nation became one of widespread determination to win, even though it should require years of warfare and the entire physical and financial resources of the United States.

* * *

EXECUTION OF BOLO PACHA

BOLO PACHA, who was convicted by a French court-martial of treason, was executed at Vincennes April 17 by a firing squad. The chaplain, after the execution, found lying over Bolo's heart two embroidered handkerchiefs, which had been pierced by the bullets. One was given to Bolo's brother and the other to his widow.

A few days before the execution the

condemned man sent for the public prosecutor, and, it is stated, made important revelations regarding former Premier Caillaux and Senator Humbert, against whom similar charges are pending.

It was proved that Bolo Pacha, whose real name was Paul Bolo, was a poor man before the war, a pensioner of his brother, Mgr. Bolo, a prominent French prelate. The testimony revealed that \$1,683,000 had been transferred by the Deutsche Bank at Berlin on the recommendation of Ambassador Bernstorff to Bolo's credit in New York for the purchase of Senator Humbert's newspaper, the *Paris Journal*; Bolo made an offer of \$400,000 for *Le Figaro*, bought 1,500 shares in *Le Rappel* for \$34,000, and even approached Clemenceau's *Homme Enchaîné*. Papers he got control over included *Paris-Midi*, *Le Cri de Paris*, a satirical weekly, and *La Revue*, of which Jean Finot is editor. The curious thing about the method employed to make these newspapers serve German interests was that under Bolo's control they became exponents of "defeatism" carried to the extreme of ultra-French militarism. The explanation is that the German war party could use quotations from the Bolo papers to persuade the German people that their existence was threatened by the French, thereby justifying the German Government and rekindling in the people the war fervor which was fast oozing out of them. Then, when the opportune moment came, the same ultra-patriotic papers, so it was expected, would suddenly turn pacifist and thereby stir up dissension in the nation and destroy the efficiency of its war measures.

* * *

THE NUMBERS IN THE WORLD'S GREATEST BATTLES.

THE stupendous character of the battle of Picardy is realized when the numbers engaged in previous noted battles of history are considered. Setting aside the mythical five millions of the army of Xerxes and the ten thousand of Xenophon, accurate figures in Greece are recorded for the campaigns of Philip of Macedon and his more famous son. At Cheronæa, fought in B. C. 338, Philip had 30,000 infantry and 2,000

cavalry, the latter led by Alexander, then 18 years old. Alexander's cavalry attack on the flank won the battle, driving back the Athenians and Thebans, who were slightly outnumbered. At Arbela, in October, 331, Alexander the Great, with 47,000 Macedonians, defeated a Persian force three or four times as great, piercing between the Persian left and centre. Pyrrhus of Epirus had, at Asculum, in the year 279, 45,000 infantry against an equal number of Romans, but he had elephants, practically equivalent to artillery.

Hannibal at Cannæ, in 216, had 50,000 veterans against Varro's 50,000 Romans, who were drawn up with their backs to the sea, and were thus unable to withdraw before Hannibal's overwhelming onslaught. Julius Caesar at Alesia had 50,000 Romans against 80,000 Gallic infantry and 15,000 cavalry. At Pharsalus, in the civil war, the Pompeians, with 60,000, were routed by the Caesareans with 25,000, losing 15,000, while Julius Caesar lost only 200. Augustus Caesar formed a standing army of 300,000, his legions consisting of 3,000 heavy infantry, 1,200 light infantry, and 300 cavalry each.

Genghiz Khan began with a small force of 6,000, with which he fought and conquered his father-in-law, who had 10,000. At the Battle of the Indus, Genghiz Khan commanded a huge army of 300,000 Tartars. At the battle of Karakin, in 1218, he led 700,00 Tartars against 400,000 Kharismians, completely defeating them. Oliver Cromwell's army, in its most complete form, numbered about 80,000. The army of Frederick the Great, at its highest point of efficiency, numbered 200,000, while the army of Louis XIV. numbered 240,000 men.

In 1793, when Republican France was threatened with invasion, and Carnot was "organizing victory," the effective French forces probably numbered 300,000, though the total number available under the newly introduced system of conscription was four times as many, about a million and a quarter. At the battle of Auerstadt-Jena, on Oct. 14, 1806, Napoleon had a French Army of

160,000, against some 140,000 Prussians. About this time Napoleon made the army corps the practical unit instead of the division, as formerly. The Grand Army, which invaded Russia in 1812, totaled 467,000, but this included 280,000 foreign troops. At the battle of Leipsic, a year after the retreat from Moscow, Napoleon, with 155,000, faced 160,000 Austrians, 60,000 Prussians, and 60,000 Swedes under the recreant Frenchman Bernadotte, the ancestor of the present King of Sweden.

At Waterloo, the French Army is said to have numbered 72,000, against whom were drawn up, at the beginning of the battle, 24,000 British and 43,500 Dutch and Belgian troops. The Dutch and Belgians withdrew before the end of the battle, their place being taken by Blücher's contingent.

The forces commanded by George Washington were always numerically small, a few thousand only, and were in ceaseless flux. In 1790, the American Army consisted of 1,216 men. In the war of 1812, the invading force, which burned the national capital, numbered 3,500 men. At the beginning of the American civil war, the regular army numbered 15,300. Between April, 1861, and April, 1865, the total Federal forces enrolled amounted to 2,759,049, while the Confederates enrolled about 1,100,000, making a total of practically 4,000,000 from a population of 32,000,000; this would be equivalent to an army of from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 with the present population of the United States. The total furnished for the war with Spain was 10,017 officers and 213,218 men.

The Austrian Army at Sadowa numbered 200,000; the French Army at Sedan some 120,000. At the battle of Mukden, Russians and Japanese each had a force of about 300,000, the largest number in any modern battle up to that time, though greatly outnumbered by Genghiz Khan.

* * *

EMPEROR CHARLES'S SEPARATE PEACE PLAN

THE disclosures regarding Austria's efforts to make a separate peace with France, which are dealt with elsewhere

in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, took a more sensational turn April 11, 1918, when the following official note was issued by the French Government:

Once caught in the cogwheels of lying, there is no means of stopping. Emperor Charles, under Berlin's eye, is taking on himself the lying denials of Count Czernin, and thus compels the French Government to supply the proof. Herewith is the text of an autograph letter communicated on March 31, 1917, by Prince Sixtus de Bourbon, the Emperor of Austria's brother-in-law, to President Poincaré, and communicated immediately, with the Prince's consent, to the French Premier:

My Dear Sixtus: The end of the third year of this war, which has brought so much mourning and grief into the world, approaches. All the peoples of my empire are more closely united than ever in the common determination to safeguard the integrity of the monarchy at the cost even of the heaviest sacrifices.

Thanks to their union, with the generous co-operation of all nationalities, my empire and monarchy have succeeded in resisting the gravest assaults for nearly three years. Nobody can question the military advantages secured by my troops, particularly in the Balkans.

France, on her side, has shown force, resistance, and dashing courage which are magnificent. We all unreservedly admire the admirable bravery, which is traditional to her army, and the spirit of sacrifice of the entire French people.

Therefore it is a special pleasure to me to note that, although for the moment adversaries, no real divergence of views or aspirations separates many of my empire from France, and that I am justified in hoping that my keen sympathy for France, joined to that which prevails in the whole monarchy, will forever avoid a return of the state of war, for which no responsibility can fall on me.

With this in mind, and to show in a definite manner the reality of these feelings, I beg you to convey privately and unofficially to President Poincaré that I will support by every means, and by exerting all my personal influence with my allies, France's just claims regarding Alsace-Lorraine.

Belgium should be entirely re-established in her sovereignty, retaining entirely her African possessions without prejudice to the compensations she should receive for the losses she has undergone.

Serbia should be re-established in her sovereignty, and, as a pledge of our good-

will, we are ready to assure her equitable natural access to the Adriatic, and also wide economic concessions in Austria-Hungary. On her side, we will demand, as primordial and essential conditions, that Serbia cease in the future all relation with and suppress every association or group whose political object aims at the disintegration of the monarchy, particularly the Serbian political society, Narodni Ochrana; that Serbia loyally and by every means in her power prevent any kind of political agitation, either in Serbia or beyond her frontiers, in the foregoing direction, and give assurances thereof under the guarantee of the Entente Powers.

The events in Russia compel me to reserve my ideas with regard to that country until a legal definite Government is established there.

Having thus laid my ideas clearly before you, I would ask you in turn, after consulting with these two powers, to lay before me the opinion first of France and England, with a view thus to preparing the ground for an understanding on the basis of which official preliminary negotiations could be taken up and reach a result satisfactory to all.

Hoping that thus we will soon be able together to put a limit to the sufferings of so many millions of men and families now plunged in sadness and anxiety, I beg to assure you of my warmest and most brotherly affection. CHARLES.

The reply of Emperor Charles to the foregoing letter was in the form of the following telegram to Emperor William:

Clemenceau's accusations against me are so low that I have no intention to discuss longer this affair with France. My cannon in the west is our last reply.

In faithful friendship, CHARLES.

As a result of the publication of the letter, whose existence it is claimed was unknown to him, Count Czernin on April 15 resigned his portfolio as Foreign Minister and Premier, and accepted appointment as a Major General in the Austrian Army. He was succeeded by Baron Burian, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs from Sept. 15, 1914, to Dec. 23, 1916, when he was succeeded by Count Czernin.

It was authoritatively announced that the letter was communicated to the British, French, and Italian Premiers at a meeting which took place at St. Jean de Maurienne, April 19, 1917, and unanimously judged as insincere and intended

to mask some subtle manoeuvre for stirring up friction between the Allies.

The day before the letter was published Emperor Charles sent a telegram to Emperor William, in which he said:

I accuse M. Clemenceau of piling up lies to escape the web of lies in which he is involved, making the false assertion that I in some manner recognized France's claim to Alsace-Lorraine as just. I indignantly repel the assertion.

To this the German Emperor replied as follows:

Accept my heartiest thanks for the letter in which you repudiate the assertion of the French Premier regarding your attitude toward the French claims on Alsace-Lorraine as entirely baseless and once again accentuate the solidarity of the interests which exist between us and our empires. I hasten to tell you that in my eyes there is no need whatever for such assurance on your part, for I have not for a moment been in doubt. You have made our cause your own; in like measure we stand for the rights of your monarchy.

The heavy battles in these years clearly demonstrate this for every one who will see. They have only drawn the bond closer. Our enemies, who are unable to do anything against us in honorable battle, do not recoil from the most sordid and lowest means. We must put up with that, but all the more it is our duty ruthlessly to grapple with and beat the enemy in all the war theatres.

After the publication of the letter the Austrian Government announced that it was "garbled" and intimated that portions of it were forged before it reached Prince Sixtus. The German press accepted the letter as genuine with caustic and hostile criticism. It was announced April 18 that the original letter of the Emperor was in the possession of Prince Sixtus, who sent a copy of it to President Poincaré.

* * *

WHEN AUSTRIA RULED PRUSSIA

EMPEROR KARL'S effort to make a separate peace recalls the period, beginning with the Summer of 1849, when Austria and Prussia were literally at daggers drawn. Twenty-eight North German States had just formed a Prussian League, under the leadership of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia. Austria, under the leadership of Franz Josef, organized a counterleague of South German States, and had the support of

Nicholas I. of Russia, who had helped Austria to subdue Hungary. Schwarzenberg, the fighting man of the Austrian Confederation, announced his policy: "First humiliate Prussia, then destroy her." The practical collision between Prussian North Germany and Austrian South Germany came when the Elector of Hesse quarreled with his people. The Hessians appealed to the Council of the Prussian League, of which Hesse was a member, while the Elector of Hesse appealed to the Emperor of Austria. Austria and Prussia both set armies in movement, the Austrian force being mainly composed of Bavarian troops, and a kind of half-battle was fought on the frontier of Bavaria. But the Prussian Army was weak and inefficient, while Nicholas I. of Russia was open in his support of Austria. Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia met Schwarzenberg in a conference at Olmütz on Nov. 28, 1850, and offered Prussia's submission to Austria. Austria then restored the old Diet and reorganized the German Confederation upon the basis of 1815, the Federal act creating this confederation having actually antedated the battle of Waterloo by a week. In this confederation, which was composed of sovereigns, not of peoples, (thirty-four sovereign Princes and the four "free cities" of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfurt,) and which met in the Federal Diet at Frankfort, the Austrian representatives presided, and Austria's pre-eminence lasted until the battle of Sadowa, in 1866, when the simultaneous attacks of Prussia and Italy brought about Austria's defeat.

* * *

A UNION OF THE JUGO-SLAVS

A PUBLIC meeting held at Rome March 14, 1918, was addressed by Professor Salvemini, a distinguished historian, who advocated the policy of Mazzini that the Italians should ally themselves with the Balkan peoples in order to free them from Austrian and Turkish domination. The speaker opposed the teaching of Cesare Balbo, who advocated a free hand for Austria in the Balkans in return for the cession of the Italian provinces. The leading Serbians

and numerous influential Jugo-Slav exiles from Austria-Hungary have indorsed Professor Salvemini's proposition, and a number of Italian Deputies and publicists have joined the movement,

A conference under the auspices of the Serbian Society of Great Britain was held in London March 13, 1918, which was attended by the Executive Committees of the British-Italian League, the Anglo-Hellenic Society, and the Anglo-Rumanian Society. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

1. This conference learns with gratification of the present understanding between representative Italians and the Jugo-Slavs, convinced as it is that it is in the vital interest of both races that they should unite on the basis, as far as practicable, of the principle of self-determination and in a spirit of mutual toleration and friendliness as allies against German and Austro-Magyar military domination.

2. The conference confidently hopes that such an understanding will not weaken but strengthen the bonds of alliance which exist between Serbia and Greece, and that it will be followed by a similar amicable settlement of all outstanding questions between Italy and Greece, so that the Eastern Mediterranean may present a solid bulwark against the German Drang nach Osten.

3. The conference sends fraternal greetings to Rumania and assures the Rumanian people that, whatever terms Rumania is forced to accept from the enemy by the cruel exigencies of the war, the British people will not cease to regard her as an ally in spirit, and will not cease to strive for the attainment of her national unity as one of the essential factors of a lasting peace.

A convention of Bohemians, Slavs, Jugo-Slavs, Rumanians, Serbians, Italians, and Poles met at Rome on April 10 under the Presidency of former Senator Ruffini, with prominent Italians and Frenchmen present, among them former Ministers Martini, Barzilai, Franklin, Bouillon, and Albert Thomas. Dr. Trumbitch, President of the Jugo-Slav Committee in Great Britain, also attended. It was the first assemblage of representatives of the nationalities that are opposed to Austrian dominion. The Mayor of Rome was a participant. The Italian and Polish representatives for the first time gave their adhesion to the

Jugo-Slav aspiration. The following declaration was adopted:

1. Every people proclaims it to be its right to determine its own nationality and national unity and complete independence.

2. Every people knows that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is an instrument of German domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its rights to free development and self-government.

3. The Congress recognizes the necessity of fighting against the common oppressors.

The representatives of the Jugo-Slavs agree:

That the unity and independence of the Jugo-Slav Nation is considered of vital importance by Italy.

That the deliverance of the Adriatic Sea and its defense from any enemy is of capital interest to the two peoples.

That territorial controversies will be amicably settled on the principle of nationality and in such a manner as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations; interests which will be taken into account at the peace conferences.

The Polish delegates added their declaration that they consider Germany as the principal enemy of Poland, and that they believe that the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is the only way through which they can obtain their independence from Germany.

* * *

CAN A NATION BE WIPED OUT?

IF we pass by the ancient epoch when it was the custom of the conqueror to "take the city, and slay the people therein, and beat down the city, and sow it with salt," and come to more modern times, we shall find cause to question whether any people has been actually exterminated by war.

Probably the worst devastation in modern Europe was that caused by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) when the Germans were fighting among themselves. Season by season, says the historian, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant, who found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family, ceased to labor and became himself robber and camp follower. Half the population and two-thirds of the movable property of Germany were swept away. In many large districts the

facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Württemberg had 50,000 people left out of 500,000. Populous cities had become hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618. So there is justification for the belief that Montenegro, Serbia, and Armenia will come back again to health and strength.

* * *

ON March 21 an order was issued, applying to all of Great Britain, requiring all entertainments, including theatres, to close at 10:30 P. M., and forbidding any shop window lighting. No public meals were allowed after 9:30 P. M. at hotels, restaurants, clubs, and boarding houses, and the tube and train services were reduced; also, by one-sixth, the amount of gas or electricity allowance.

* * *

BRITISH MAN-POWER BILL.

THE British Man-Power bill, which provides for conscription in Ireland and was described in the important address by Premier Lloyd George, (Page 263,) passed its third reading in the House of Commons April 16 by a vote of 301 to 103. The Government announced that a bill giving home rule to Ireland would be introduced, and if it failed of passage the Government would resign. The Man-Power bill was passed in record time by the House of Lords and became a law by the King's signature April 19. Meetings of protest were held by Nationalists, who joined with Sinn Feiners, O'Brienites, Laborites, and Clericals in denouncing the measure.

* * *

AN increase of 1,426,000 in the number of women employed since 1914 is shown in figures announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The greatest increase was in industries, which took in 530,000 more women, but the largest proportionate increase was 214,000 additional women taken into Government service. Women have replaced 1,413,000 men since 1914. Industrial and Government work has taken 400,000 women formerly employed in domestic service or in dressmaking.

THE BATTLE OF PICARDY

Military Review of the Greatest Battle in History From March 21 to April 17, 1918

ON March 21 the Germans began the great battle which military experts of both sides believe may decide the war. What was indicated in broad lines was that they wished to reach the Channel by way of the Somme and thereby isolate most of the British Army and the entire Belgian and Portuguese Armies in the north. A corollary to such an isolation would have been a movement south on Paris.

As to the narrower lines of the German military plan, however, they became clear. The Germans struck from points where their railways allowed them the greatest possible concentration of troops and at points where the lines of the Allies, owing to the uncompleted battles of Flanders and Cambrai and the failures at Lens, St. Quentin, and La Fère last year, were relatively weak or could be out-manoeuvred with superior force of men and material.

In the first phase of the battle, which carried the enemy down the Somme and its southern tributary, the Avre, to within six miles of Amiens, and to within forty-six miles of the Channel, they first eliminated the Cambrai salient so as to protect their northern flank and then concentrated their attack between St. Quentin and La Fère, near the point where the French and the British Armies joined. The flanks of the great salient thereby developed, however, made dangerous further progress down the Somme. On the north it was threatened by the Arras salient with its protecting ridge of Vimy; on the south by the watershed of the Oise and Aisne.

Frontal attacks to eliminate the Arras salient and the Oise-Aisne watershed having failed, a flanking movement against the former, which should also have strategic ramifications further north, followed as a matter of military expediency. Thus on April 9 the second phase began. Again they sought

the line of cleavage between two armies, where differences of language and tactics made military cohesion difficult—between the British and the Portuguese on the Lille front. A successful penetration of this front for a distance of ten miles would have placed the enemy on the left-rear of Vimy Ridge in the south, and in the north on the right-rear of Messines Ridge, which protects Ypres, the capture of which by the British a year ago had made the subsequent battle of Flanders and their occupation of Passchendaele in the direction of Roulers possible.

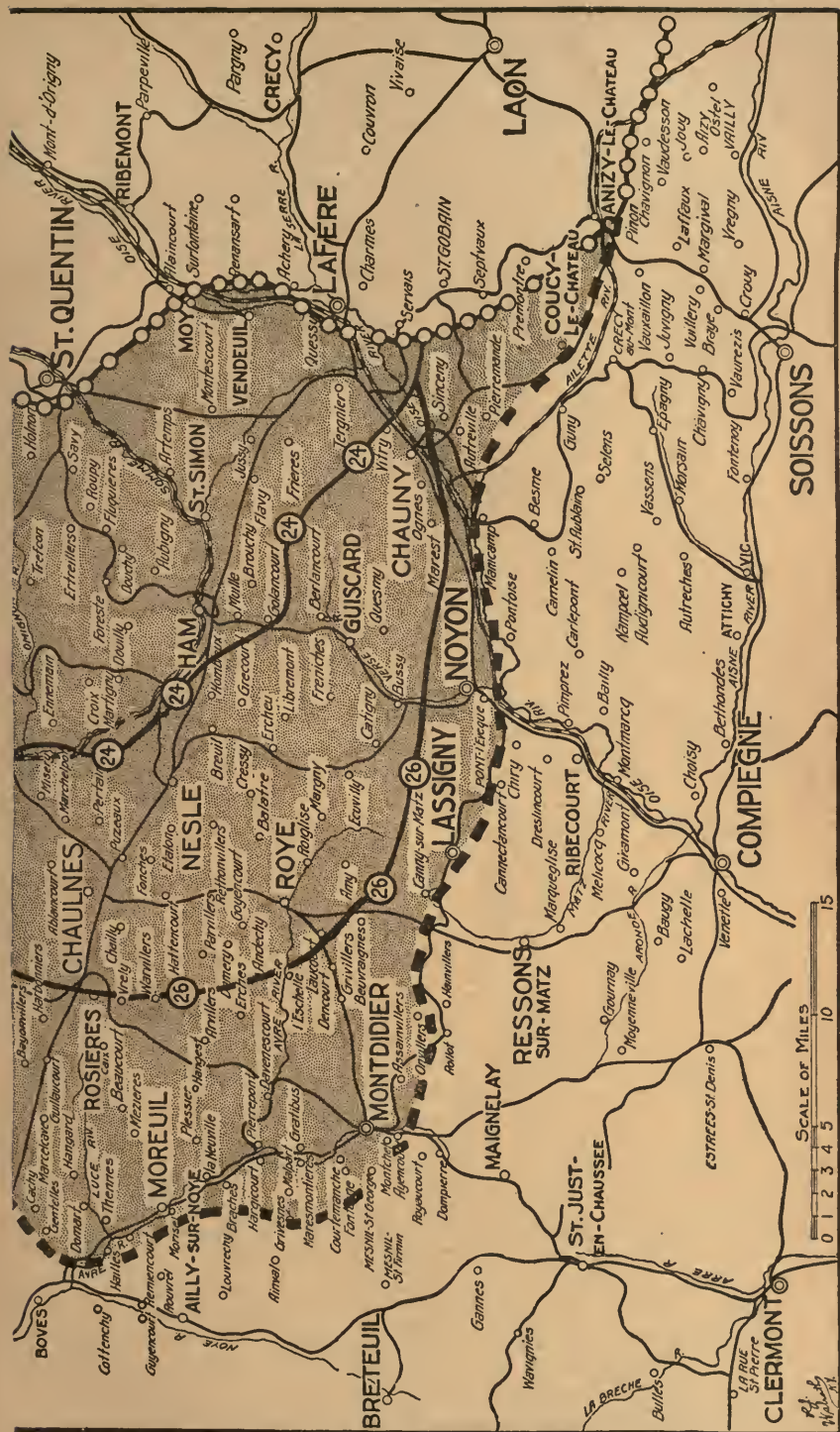
In other words, Vimy Ridge bears the same relation to Arras that Messines and its contiguous hills do to Ypres, but while the former ridge also flanks the great German salient stretching down to the Oise, the latter ridge flanks from the southeast the British salient at Ypres developed by the battle of Flanders.

In this second phase of the great battle the German penetration, through military design or expediency, has so far been developed in the direction of Ypres; not in the direction of Arras.

NUMBER OF MEN ENGAGED

As to the number of men engaged on each side, experts at the front have been wide apart. It has been understood that Great Britain has in France 3,500,000 rifles, and that of these 675,000 were on the front when the attack began, thus (if these figures are correct) leaving an army of reserve and manoeuvre of 2,825,000, minus 150,000 men on leave in England. It was understood that the number of French rifles available on the Continent is between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000, of which 1,575,000 were at the front on March 21, leaving 2,425,000 for reserve and manoeuvre, which to the extent of 500,000 may have been available in the present battle, with the constant deploying of the French line in the south





MAP OF THE BATTLE OF PICARDY. THE CHAIN LINE ON THE EAST SHOWS BATTLE FRONT MARCH 21, 1918. SHADED SPACE INDICATES GERMAN GAINS UP TO APRIL 17. BROKEN LINE SHOWS NEW FRONT AT THAT DATE. INTERVENING LINES INDICATE GERMAN POSITIONS MARCH 24 AND 26

and the taking over of ten miles of the British line.

The potential strength of the Germans in the western theatre before the Russian revolution was estimated at 4,500,000 rifles, more than half of which were on the front. According to Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Minister of National Service, the secession of Russia added to the enemy's potential strength on the western front possibly as many as 1,600,000 men, of whom 950,000 were Germans. If we add 1,000,000 to the 4,500,000 German rifles in the west we have the 5,500,000 thus produced opposing, at least, 8,500,000 Allies, consisting of French, British, American, Belgian, Portuguese, Russian, and Polish troops. [The British official estimates on April 17 appear on Page 207.]

Nevertheless, in nearly all the engagements of the battle thus far, the Allies appear to have been measurably outnumbered in a ratio varying from three to one to five to three. Up to March 26, aside from the French being constantly forced to augment their forces in the south, only the British 3d, 4th, and 5th Armies had been engaged, approximately numbering 600,000 rifles. Against these, up to the same date, the Germans had been able to concentrate ninety-seven divisions, or 1,164,000 rifles, with special concentrations of 120,000 rifles against Bucquoy, on April 6, and 180,000 against the French between Lassigny and Noyon, on March 27 and April 3. On the subsequent development of the Lille front the Germans seemed to have been able to concentrate their forces, where they outnumber the British and Portuguese three to two.

ENORMOUS GERMAN LOSSES

It was inevitable, in the retreat forced on the British from their static positions, that a large number of men and guns should have been captured by the enemy—during the first rush the Germans claimed 75,000 and 600 respectively. But the German casualties, owing to their massed formation, must, according to all accounts, be staggering, having probably already reached the Verdun maximum of 600,000. The attrition of their

war material must also be enormous. And just as the entire armies of the Allies outnumber the enemy eight to five, it may be estimated that their material, actual and immediately available, is 30 per cent. greater.

The most useful guide to the development of the plans of the enemy, their modification, transformation, and failure, either transitory or permanent, is physical geography. The initial impetus of the assault carried the Germans with "shock" and alternating forces beyond a hypothetical straight line of fifty miles extending from the Scarpe on the north to the junction of the Ailette and the Oise on the south. This was done without their moving their heavy guns, probably not even their mid-calibre guns, from their emplacements.

FIRST DAYS' RESULTS

By March 25 they had covered an area of about 500 square miles and had penetrated beyond Croisilles, Bapaume, Péronne, Brie, Nesle, and the forest northeast of Noyon. In the two following days they recovered the entire battlefield of the Somme, occupied the British railway junction and supply depot at Albert, drove the British four miles down the Somme, and took Roye and Noyon from the French, driving the latter across the Oise. On the 29th the French counterattacked and recovered eight square miles between Lassigny and Noyon, but west of this position the enemy, on a twelve-mile front with a penetration of seven miles, enveloped Montdidier. The next day the Germans gained some ground north of the Scarpe before Vimy Ridge and obliterated an ally salient with its vertex at Vrely by straightening their line between the Somme and Montdidier.

From March 29 until April 8 the enemy consolidated his positions on a front which had been expanded from seventy-five miles, including two large salients, to 125 miles, including innumerable small ones, embracing a terrain of about 800 square miles west of the front as it was on March 20.

On April 3 the enemy was strongly counterattacked by the British at Ayette and by the French at Plémont, near



FLANDERS SECTOR OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF PICARDY. THE CHAIN LINE SHOWS BATTLEFRONT, MARCH 21, 1918. SHADED SPACE INDICATES GERMAN GAINS UP TO APRIL 17

Lassigny. Similar counterattacks recovered Hébuterne for the British and Cantigny for the French on April 5; Beaumont Hamel and a strong position west of Albert for the British and a

flanking position north of Aubvillers for the French on April 7.

Meanwhile, April 4, the Germans had occupied Hamel and two villages near Grivenes, driving out the French, and had

made a furious assault upon the positions of the latter between the Luce rivulet and the Avre River, but without success. On the 5th they had made similar attacks at five points: they were successful against the British at Dernancourt, against the French at Casel; they were driven back with heavy losses by the British at Moyenneville and Villers-Bertonneux and by the French at Cantigny. On the 6th the enemy had made concentrated attacks at six points: south of Albert, beyond the Vaire Wood, between Hailles and Rouvrel, and on the Oise east of Chauny he gained ground, but his attempt to take Mesnil beyond Montdidier and Mount Rénaud beyond Noyon were costly failures. On the 7th he attacked the British strategic position at Eucquoy and the French position east of Chauny. At the former place he was repulsed with heavy loss; at the latter his official chronicler asserted that he gained ground.

ON THE LILLE FRONT

Then north of the great salient just occupied, the Germans struck, on April 9, between the important British depots of Arras and Ypres, forty miles apart, concentrating on a twelve-mile front between Givenchy and Fleurbaix. During the two following days the concentration moved north five miles, penetrating between Armentières and Messines. On the 11th it had developed as far north as Hollebeke, four miles southeast of Ypres, had partly enveloped Messines Ridge and entirely Armentières and the town of Estaires on the Lys River. By the 12th it had swelled beyond Merville and Lestrem in the south, was threatening the railway junction of Bailleul in the middle ground, had gained a footing on Messines Ridge, and was investing the neighboring heights of Neuve Eglise and Kemmel in the north. By the morning of the 17th the German penetration had reached Locon in the south, the Nieppe Forest in the middle ground, and had occupied Bailleul and the eastern heights of the ridge in the north and threatened the western and more elevated heights of Mont Rouge and Mont Kemmel. Thus in eight days the Germans had developed a sector on the Lille front of originally twenty-two

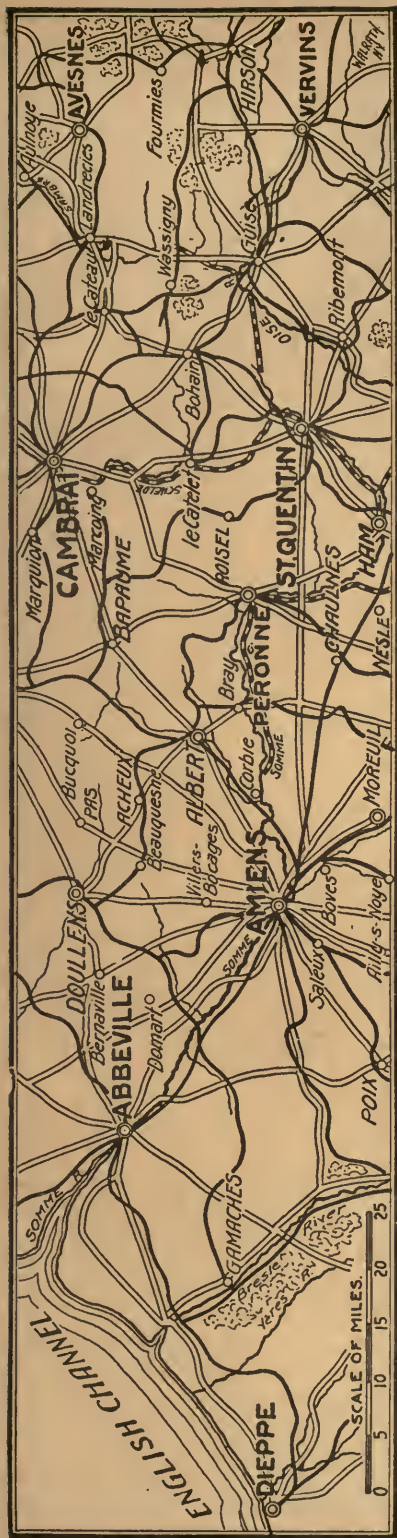
miles, a salient embracing an area of about 825 square miles with a new front of about thirty-five miles.

SUMMARY OF THE FIGHTING

The initial bombardment which preceded the first infantry advance against the Cambrai salient, at 8 o'clock on the morning of March 21, was widely distributed—as far north as Ypres and as far south as the Oise. It consisted mainly of gas and high explosive shells. The first infantry attack, which penetrated the first and second lines on a sixteen-mile front extending from Lagnicourt to Gauche Wood just south of Gouseaucourt, caused a retreat from the salient which had been left exposed to any superior attack since last December. In rapid succession the British positions, now indefinitely exposed on the north, were then attacked between Arras and La Fère, with tremendous concentration between the latter and St. Quentin. According to the German report of the 22d: "After powerful fire by our artillery and mine throwers our infantry stormed in broad sectors and everywhere captured the first enemy line."

From the 22d until the 25th the Germans kept up a heavy fire upon the French front, mingled with raids, both land and air, evidently with the intention of preventing a movement of the French behind the lines as long as the German intentions remained uncertain.

By the 24th, however, these intentions had been measurably revealed, both by documents found on prisoners and by the general tendency of the battle. On that day the enemy succeeded in crossing the Somme south of Péronne, while north of it he forced the British to retire from the line of the River Torille. On the same day Chauny and Ham were captured, the British 3d and 4th Armies were pressed behind Péronne and Ham, and the 5th Army almost lost contact with the French. Here began that wonderful feat which has made the name of General Carey famous. On the 25th the enemy, by a series of drives en masse, managed to envelop Bapaume, while south of Péronne he made still further progress, "west of the Somme."

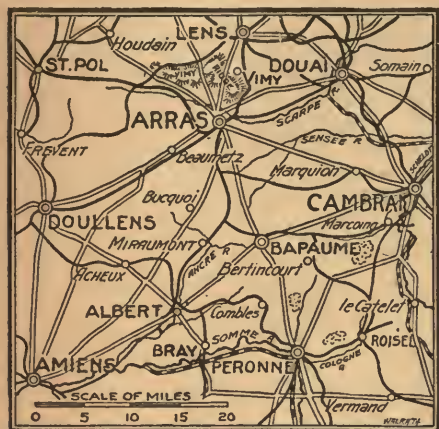


DETAIL MAP OF NORTHERN SECTOR OF BATTLE OF PICARDY, WHERE HEAVY BLOWS WERE STRUCK BY THE GERMANS IN THEIR DRIVE TOWARD AMIENS AND THE ENGLISH CHANNEL. THE FIGHTING WAS ESPECIALLY HEAVY AROUND PERONNE AND ST. QUENTIN



DETAIL MAP OF SOUTHERN PORTION OF BATTLEFIELD, SHOWING LA FERRE AND TERGNIER, WHERE GERMANS TRIED TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH ARMIES. THE BATTLE SWEEP WESTWARD PAST ROYE AND MONTDIDIER

Nesle was lost and recovered several times by the French troops, who had already begun to relieve certain portions of the British right, with its unlucky 5th Army, as early as the 23d. In the engagements between Bapaume and Péronne the German armies of von



DETAIL MAP OF THE STRUGGLE FOR ARRAS

Below, who had just returned from Italy, and von der Marwitz were personally directed by Crown Prince Rupprecht, and outnumbered the British three to two.

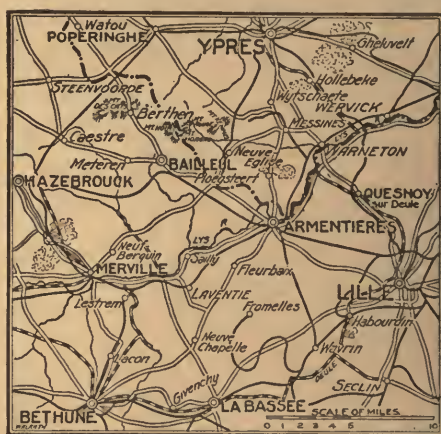
THE STRUGGLE FOR ALBERT

From the 25th to the 27th there was a lull in the north, evidently conceived by the Germans for bringing their heavier guns up to new emplacements, but in the south during this time the enemy heavily concentrated against the new French troops that were appearing upon the lengthening line and forced them to give up Lihons and Noyon. When the German pressure was renewed in the north Albert became the obvious objective, on account of the massed attacks made upon Ablainville near by. In the battle of the Somme, Albert, as a junction and depot, performed for the British in a minor degree what Cambrai later performed for the Germans in the present battle. On March 27 the British began a retreat on a wide front on both sides of the Somme, and in the evening Albert was evacuated. The next day came the great French counterattack between Lassigny and Noyon, already mentioned in connection

with the geographical development of the battle.

On the 28th the German attack was renewed on the Somme, where it pressed back the British near the Chippily crossing, and before Arras, where a frontal attack was repulsed with great enemy loss. This attack was renewed for three successive days. Then on April 3 the French again won near Lassigny and repulsed heavy German attacks around Moreuil.

On April 4 a frightful battle developed, where on a narrow ten-mile front, between Grivesnes, near the vertex of the Montdidier salient, and the



DETAIL MAP OF FLANDERS SECTOR AND BATTLE AROUND ARMENTIERES

Roye-Amiens road, the Germans sacrificed thousands of men in a vain attempt to drive a wedge between the newly discovered junction of the French and British Armies.

From the 4th until the 7th, with the exception of the check the enemy met with at Bucquoy on the latter date, he made a reconsolidation of his lines, partially digging in on the sector before Amiens. The British positions around Arras, to the north of the great salient, which had again and again repelled frontal attacks, and the French positions on the Montdidier salient and the Oise-Aisne watershed on the south, now warned him of the danger of further progress west without augmented protection of his flanks.

Hence, on April 9, the reason for his sudden concentration and attack on the

BENEDICT CROWELL



Assistant Secretary of War and, during Mr. Baker's absence in
Europe, Acting Secretary of War

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AMERICAN ARMY CHIEFS AND EXPERTS



Maj. Gen. George O. Squier,
Chief of Signal Corps



Lieut. Col. Edward A. Kreger,
Judge Advocate General in France
(© Harris & Ewing)



Col. Palmer E. Pierce,
*Director of Purchases for the War
Department*
(© Harris & Ewing)



Maj. Gen. Evan M. Johnston,
*Temporary Commander at Camp
Upton, N. Y.*
(Press Illustrating Service)

Lille front, and particularly upon the junction of the British and Portuguese lines near La Bassée Canal to a point east of Armentières, which is still in progress. The geographical as well as the strategic features of this phase of the battle have already been described. Complete success had marked the German efforts on this sector up to April 17.

During the entire period covered the

airplanes employed on the battlefield were in the ratio of seven to five in favor of the Allies, whose killings have been in the ratio of five to two. This, taken in connection with the destruction of a great German plant and airdrome at Friedrichafen on April 15, is believed to place the dominance of the air with all it includes as to observation and the bombing of transport and arsenal in the hands of the Allies.

The British Reverses and Their Causes

By a Military Observer

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE in his speech of April 9 [printed on Page 263] compared the operations in Picardy with the battle of Cambrai. In fact, the best way to understand what happened in the initial stage of the great German drive is to remember the sequence of events in the German attacks on the positions near Cambrai in 1917. At Cambrai there was a mistaken confidence in the ability to hold the terrain, although German attacks were expected. When these German assaults came, one was a surprise, because there had been an unexpected concentration of German troops; and this attack broke through the defense to such an extent that it forced the abandonment of other positions, with losses of prisoners and guns. All these tactical elements were present at the beginning of the German drive in March, but on a much larger scale, because in this case the German assaults were made on a front of some fifty miles.

The difficult problem for the Allies, in preparing to defend their long front against the expected German offensive, was to provide against the well-known German tactics of assembling superior numbers at the place of battle. In this war the German "massed attacks" have not been so much a matter of formation as of delivering streams of troops at the chosen point of contact to overwhelm their opponents with superior numbers at that point. These German tactics

were again used in the attacks, begun on March 21, against the British front from southeast of Arras as far as La Fère.

FIFTH ARMY'S DISASTER

Here were in position the 3d British Army (General Byng) in the section toward Arras, and, on the right to the south, the 5th British Army (General Gough) in the region west of St. Quentin. On March 21 there was a tremendous bombardment followed by infantry attacks all along the line, which resulted in winning many first-line positions. This was nothing more than had been expected, and provision had been made against it; but, unfortunately, as at Cambrai, the Germans had been enabled to make an unexpected concentration of superior numbers against positions of the 5th British Army.* The assault of this overwhelming force broke through the British lines, even to the extent of involving engineers and laborers behind the lines, as at Cambrai, with the same disastrous results. This breakdown of the defense forced a retreat from the British positions far different from the retirement that had been planned—and it brought about the withdrawal of the whole 5th Army, resulting in what the British Premier called "crippling one of our great armies."

After such a disaster, it was found

*"And the Germans were actually in some parts within a few yards of our front line before any one knew of their approach."—Lloyd George.

necessary to abandon a great amount of terrain to maintain a junction between the two British armies. Péronne and Bapaume were soon captured by the Germans, and on March 27 the Germans reported the occupation of Albert. On the same day Roye and Noyon were taken. On the next day the Germans had pushed as far west as Pierrepont and taken possession of Montdidier. As was to be expected in such a retreat, there soon was a large toll of British guns and prisoners. On March 29 the Germans claimed 1,100 guns and 70,000 prisoners. They had also captured great quantities of material and 100 tanks.

These were heavy losses, but such losses were not the really serious element in the situation. A study of the map will show that, as the 5th Army retreated toward the west, there was left an increasingly long sector south of Noyon and curving north, west of Montdidier to the Avre River—and it was necessary that this dangerous opening should be protected by the French reserves. With extraordinary rapidity and efficiency French troops were rushed to this region, and the almost impossible task was accomplished of repairing the defense. But the drain on the French reserves had been heavy, and the necessity to use them for this purpose had neutralized a force that had been prepared for a different object against such a German drive.

That these reserves were being held as a mobile army was so generally known that, it will be remembered, there was daily expectation of a counterattack by this force. There is no need to point out how great might have been the results of an assault upon an enemy exhausted by days of fighting; but any such plan was rendered impossible at the time by the need to use these troops to defend the new line, which was nearly as long as the original battle line at the time of the attacks on March 21.

FOCH MADE GENERALISSIMO

Yet, on the other hand, from this battle's costly object lesson in the weakness of divided commands, came at last the appointment of the French General, Foch,

(March 28,) to absolute command over all the armies of the Allies on the western front. For a long time a single command has been the one great need to insure military efficiency, and obtaining this is an offset against the losses in the battle which brought such a command into being.

Throughout the war the great outstanding element of failure for the Allies has been lack of co-ordination. The varying aims of the different nations in the war have accounted for this to a great degree, but on the battlefields of France there should have been no delay in giving the command to the chosen General of the nation which had everything at stake. All the influence of the United States had been exerted for a long time in favor of a single command, and at once the unrestricted use of the American force in France was offered to General Foch.

From what has been said of the course of the battle of Picardy, it can readily be seen that the task of the new Commander in Chief was one of the hardest ever given to a General on taking command of an army. After a disaster that had greatly impaired the availability of the troops of the Allies, General Foch was obliged to face the culminating effort of the greatest military machine in all history with a force placed under his command made up of armies that had never been in co-ordination—and after the collapse of one of these armies.

Another serious element in the battle in Flanders is the fact that it has been necessary to send to this front also French troops from General Foch's reserves, making another drain upon these forces. The appointment of General Foch to the chief command literally on the battlefield was formally confirmed by the British and French Governments in the following notice which appeared in *Le Temps* April 14:

The British Government and the French Government have agreed to give General Foch the title of Commander in Chief of the allied armies operating in France.

The United States, after having greatly helped to bring about General Foch's command, has given a large part

of the American force in France to be brigaded with the allied troops wherever there are weak spots. These factors in the military situation may make it possible for General Foch again to assemble a mobile army for a counterstroke against the German offensive.

PHASES OF THE BATTLE

The first days of April saw the end of the initial phase of the great drive. There were other gains that brought the Germans uncomfortably near Amiens, but the character of the fighting was similar to that of the last three years on the western front. The new line of battle extended southwest from Arras, beyond Albert, to the west of Moreuil, about nine miles south of Amiens. It lay to the west of Pierrepont and Montdidier, curving to the south of Noyon and to the region of the Oise. The greatest penetration into the terrain of the Allies had been about thirty-five miles. The Berlin War Office announced the capture of 90,000 prisoners and 1,300 guns in this first phase of the German offensive.

Through the first week of April there was sharp fighting at different points in the line, north of Albert, east of Amiens, and on the River Oise. In this last region the French, in rectifying their new defense, lost 2,000 prisoners, but there was nothing accomplished in any combat that meant a tactical change in the general situation. Suddenly, on April 8, there were heavy bombardments in the region of La Bassée and Armentières, which were followed by strong attacks on this front; and on April 9 General Haig reported: "Favored by a thick mist which made observation impossible, the enemy succeeded in forcing his way into the Allies' positions in the neighborhood of Neuve Chapelle."

These attacks developed into a second stage of the great German offensive, and, as before, the shock of the initial surprise attack seriously impaired the British positions: Portuguese troops were reported as fighting with the British troops on this sector. On April 10 General Haig reported that the Germans had also forced back his line north of Armentières. These reverses resulted in the

capture of Armentières on April 11 by the Germans, as the city was encircled from the north and south. The Germans claimed the capture of the garrison of 3,000 and forty-five guns. The battle had spread to a front of about twenty-five miles on April 12, with the Germans penetrating to Merville, eleven miles southwest of Armentières. On this day the German official report claimed 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns.

A HISTORIC ORDER

General Haig issued the following proclamation to his troops on April 12:

Three weeks ago today the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British Army.

In spite of throwing already 106 divisions into the battle, and enduring the most reckless sacrifice of human life, he has yet made little progress toward his goals.

We owe this to the determined fighting and self-sacrifice of our troops. Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.

Many among us now are tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. The French Army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment.

The situation on April 17 was summed up by General Maurice, Director of War Operations in the British War Office, in these words:

The British Army is playing the rôle which it often has played before. It is fighting a Waterloo while Blücher is marching to the battlefield.

The British Army is under a terrible hammering, but, providing we stand that hammering without breaking down, and providing Blücher is marching to the battlefield, there is no reason for discouragement.

The enormous task which the British Army has performed and still is performing may be shown by a few figures. In this battle of Armentières the Germans

thus far have engaged twenty-eight divisions (392,000 men) and since March 21 they have engaged 126 divisions, (1,764,000 men.)

Of these the British Army alone has engaged seventy-nine, (1,106,000 men,) the French alone have engaged twenty-four, (336,000 men,) and the remainder, twenty-three, (322,000 men,) have been engaged by the British and French together.

Of the German divisions which the British engaged, twenty-eight have been fought twice and one thrice. Of the German divisions which the French engaged, four have fought twice. Of the German

divisions which the French and British engaged together, fifteen have been fought twice and one thrice.

It is unpleasant business standing the hammering, but so long as we can stand it the only question to be asked is, What is happening to Blücher—what has become of the reserves?

Thus the perilous situation stood at the time when this magazine went to press—April 19—with the British fighting fiercely in Flanders and waiting for Foch to strike with his reserve forces and relieve the strain.

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

By JOHN OXENHAM

*Great work! State work!—willingly done
and well,*

*For the men who are doing so much for
us*

Ay—more than words can tell!

*Right work! White work! faithfully,
skillfully done,*

*But the whole of the soul of it will not be
known*

Till the war is properly won.

They mend the men; they tend the men;
They help them carry on;
They drop a little veil upon
The woes they've undergone.

They feed the men; they speed the men;
They make their daily bread;
They mend them while they're living,
And they tend them when they're dead.

There's many a lonely man out there
They've saved from black despair;
There's many a lowly grave out there
Made gracious by their care.

They toil for them; they moil for them;
Help lame dogs over stiles,
And do their best to buck them up
With cheery words and smiles.

They're just a little bit of home,
Come out to lend a hand.
They're gleams of warm bright sunshine
In a dreary, weary land.

They are sweet as pinks and daisies,
Just the sight of them is good,
When you've lived for eighteen months
or so
In a sink of Flanders mud.

*New work, true work, gallantly, patiently
done,*

*For the men who are giving their all for
us—*

Your brother, your lover, your son.

*High work! Thy work, if truly to Thee
it's done!—*

*But we never shall know all the debt we
owe*

Till the war is really won.



Four Epic Weeks of Carnage

By Philip Gibbs

Special Correspondent with the British Armies

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The first phase of the battle of Picardy, which began March 21, 1918, was a vain attempt of the German forces to drive a wedge between the French and British Armies at their point of juncture; the second was an equally unsuccessful attempt to wrest Arras and Vimy Ridge from the British; the third sought to annihilate the British armies in Flanders and break through to the English Channel. The last-named phase was still undecided when this magazine went to press, (April 19.) All three phases were vividly described from day to day by Philip Gibbs. The following narrative is compiled from his dispatches to The New York Times, which are available for Current History Magazine as an affiliated publication of the Times:

THURSDAY, March 21.—A German offensive against the British front has begun. At about 5 o'clock this morning the enemy began an intense bombardment of the lines and batteries on a very wide front—something like sixty miles, from the country south of the Scarpe and to the west of Bullecourt in the neighborhood of Croisilles, as far south as the positions between St. Quentin and the British right flank.

After several hours of this hurricane shelling, in which a great deal of gas was used, the German infantry advanced and developed attacks against a number of strategical points on a very wide front.

Among the places against which they have directed their chief efforts are Bullecourt, Lagnecourt, and Noreuil, both west of Cambrai, where they once before penetrated the British lines and were slaughtered in great numbers; the St. Quentin Ridge, which was on the right of the Cambrai fighting, and the villages of Ronsoy and Hargicourt, south of the Cambrai salient.

Friday, March 22.—The enemy flung the full weight of his great army against the British yesterday. Nearly forty divisions are identified, and it is certain that as many as fifty must be engaged. In proportions of men, the British are much outnumbered, therefore the ob-

stinacy of the resistance of the troops is wonderful. Nine German divisions were hurled against three British at one part of the line, and eight against two at another. All the storm troops, including the guards, were in brand-new uniforms. They advanced in dense masses, and never faltered until shattered by the machine-gun fire.

The enemy introduced no new frightfulness, no tanks and no specially invented gas, but relied on the power of his artillery and the weight of the infantry assault. The supporting waves advanced over the bodies of the dead and wounded. The German commanders were ruthless in the sacrifice of life, in the hope of overwhelming the defense by the sheer weight of numbers.

They had exceeding power in guns. Opposite three of the British divisions they had a thousand, and at most parts of the line one to every twelve or fifteen yards. They had brought a number of long-range guns, probably naval, and their shellfire was scattered as far back as twenty-eight miles behind the lines. During the last hour of the bombardment they poured out gas shells, and continued to send concentrated gas about the British batteries and reserve trenches. The atmosphere was filled with poisonous clouds.

Saturday, March 23.—The enemy has

been continuing his attacks all day along the whole battlefield and has made further progress at various points in spite of the heroic resistance of the British troops, greatly outnumbered owing to the enormous concentration of the enemy divisions, which are constantly reinforced and passing through one another, so that fresh regiments may pursue the assaults.

ATTACK AT ST. QUENTIN

The St. Quentin attack began along the whole sweep of the front with six hours' bombardment and intense gas shelling of the British batteries, and afterward an attack was launched by overwhelming numbers of German storm troops. The British battleline was held by some three divisions, from a point south of Pontruet to Itancourt, south of the St. Quentin Canal. Along this sector the enemy line had been held before the attack by three divisions also, but the night before the battle they were reinforced until eight German divisions [upward of 100,000 men] were massed for assault on a front of some 2,000 yards. I believe this is a greater strength than has ever been brought into battle on such a narrow front during the whole of this war.

On this sector, the front north and south of St. Quentin, and opposite the British line further south, the enemy's intention, as is known from prisoners, was to reach the line of the St. Quentin Canal—or the Crozat Canal, as it is sometimes called—on the first day, and then advance in quick stages westward. The rate of progress was to be eight miles on the first day, twelve on the second, and twenty on the third.

In spite of their intense gunfire of massed batteries, supported by Austrian howitzers and large numbers of heavy trench mortars, the Germans' plans were thwarted so far as this rapidity of progress was concerned.

The heavy fog of the early morning on Thursday threw their assault troops at some points into wild confusion. The first line of assault, each division apparently advancing with two regiments in line, with two battalions in line, with the other strength of the divisions following in depth, with light machine-gun com-

panies at intervals of 100 yards, and then heavy machine guns and field artillery, sometimes became hopelessly mixed up with the third and fourth lines, while right battalions were confused with left battalions.

This fog and the British machine-gun fire, which caught the German waves, checked the pace of their onslaught and caused heavy losses.

The German high command relied entirely on weight of guns and man power to break the British resistance, and the driving power of the whole monstrous machine was set in movement. The British line was not strong enough to hold all the old positions against such a tide of brute force. The men served their guns and rifles, but as attack followed attack and column followed column, and their own losses increased as the hours passed, they were ordered at certain points to give ground and fall back, fighting heroic rearguard actions from one position to another.

BRITISH LINE BENDS

The main attack, just south of St. Quentin, was directed against Urvillers and Essigny, and the enemy forced his way through these places by great drives. The British garrison there was partly destroyed by his stupendous gunfire. He gained possession of Essigny before midday, March 21, and captured Contescourt, on the edge of the canal. This gave him important high ground, of which he made full use.

He succeeded by this movement in bending in the British line at the right flank of the Ulster division, north of the canal, which he crossed hereabout, and by advancing his field artillery was able to bombard the line to which the main body of the British troops had been withdrawn. Down from Maissemy and Holnon Wood to Savy and Rouppe he pressed forward against this line.

The enemy was so densely massed that there was a division on about a kilometer of front. None of them spread out on more than two kilometers for a division, with a battalion for every 500 yards.

German storm troops were able to

force their way to Vendeuil, Lyfontaine, and Benay, south of Essigny, and to strike against Jussy and Tergnier, on the St. Quentin Canal, on the evening of the first day.

They brought up two more divisions, and that night, owing to the pressure of their attacks, it was decided that the British withdraw to a prepared line further west, which was the best defense. This was done during the darkness, the retirement being covered by gallant rearguards.

This morning the Germans followed up our withdrawal by clearing up all the ground in the bend formed by the acute angle of the St. Quentin Canal, which has its apex at Ugny, six kilometers east of Ham, and it was reported that their patrols had entered the town of Ham itself.

CROSSING THE SOMME

Monday, March 25.—The enemy fought fiercely yesterday to gain a crossing over the Somme south of Péronne. He flung across a pontoon bridge and rafts, and his men tried to cross, but the British field artillery, firing at short range, smashed up many of these bridges and killed his engineers and infantry. Gallant counterattacks by some of the British flung him back across the river at several points, but elsewhere he held his crossing long enough to put over some of his forces.

All the fighting in this part of the country since March 21 has been a continuous battle, in which the British divisions holding the front line below Gouzeaucourt to Maissemy have shown magnificent powers of endurance, as indeed have all the others engaged, and have only yielded ground under pressure of overwhelming numbers and great gunfire.

There was a bloody struggle in some old chalk quarries, where many German dead now lie, and after the enemy had come some way forward ten British tanks drove into him and shattered some of his battalions with their machine-gun fire, dispersing groups of his advancing units. The tanks manoeuvred about, firing continually on each

flank and causing terror among the enemy's foremost assault troops. The British fought a number of rearguard actions and made many counterattacks in the neighborhood of Roisel, and fell back to the line of the Somme only when new masses of Germans passed through those battalions which they had met and beaten.

SLAUGHTER OF GERMANS

The British gunners were firing hour after hour at large bodies of Germans moving so close to them that the guns were laid directly on to their targets, and caused deadly losses in these ranks of field-gray men who never ceased to come forward in a living tide at whatever cost of life and bore down on the defensive lines. Under this ceaseless tide some of the British guns had to be abandoned, but many of them were withdrawn to the other side of the Somme, and the gunners were wonderful in the skill and courage with which they made this passage, took up new positions, and went into action again like exhibition batteries at Earls Court.

By Saturday morning the German troops were exhausted and spent, and in some parts of the line made no further effort for a time, but halted to gain some sleep and await fresh rations. On Saturday and Sunday the British, who had had no rest from fighting, were reinforced and given some relief, though many of them were again engaged, and, weary as they were, put up gallant fights against the enemy, who also had been reinforced by great numbers and came on again in an unending onslaught.

FIGHTING AGAINST ODDS

Tuesday, March 26.—Since yesterday morning the enemy has continued his violent thrusts against the British line westward from Bapaume and Péronne, and his massed troops, mostly Brandenburgers and picked troops, are now advancing in the direction of Roye and Nesle, where French troops are heavily engaged.

At the same time he is passing on over the old Somme battlefields down from

Delville Wood, High Wood, and Maurepas toward the old lines the British held before the beginning of the Somme battles in 1916.

The enemy has paused since he began the great offensive, on Thursday last, only to bring up new divisions and pass them through and beyond those divisions exhausted by attack or shattered under the British fire while they reform and rest and then come on again, relieved once more by reserves and continually crowding over the captured ground. By this means, and owing to the enormous forces at the disposal of the German command, they are able to pursue any advantage gained with fresh troops against the hard-pressed British, who have been fighting without respite since the beginning of the battle, six days ago, except where on the right some of them have now been replaced in the front line by French battalions.

In spite of the gravity of these hours and the progress made by the enemy, there never has been a more glorious spirit shown by British troops throughout history, and when one day all the details of this battle may be written it will be an epic of heroism more wonderful than the world now realizes, for the British troops and their officers have withstood an onslaught of enormous forces which have never been less than two to one, and in most parts of the line have been four to one and six to one and eight to one, nine divisions against three around Croisilles, eight divisions against two from the Cambrai sector westward, and in many places one division against one battalion.

WEARIED BY ENDLESS BATTLE

Our men have been fighting for six days and nights like this, after the first storm of shells and gas, until their beards have grown long and their faces haggard and worn for lack of sleep, and their clothes have become torn on wire and covered with dust of mud and chalk. I saw a small party of them today so weary with this endless battle they could hardly walk, and they were holding hands like tired children and leaning against each other like drunken men, but

for the most part they hold their heads up gamely, because so far luck has been against them.

The whole movement of the army under the necessity of withdrawal from fixed positions is as orderly as though on manoeuvres in England. I can say honestly I have seen no officer show sign of being flurried.

It is all an amazing drama, because this open warfare is a new thing to the army, and the menace of the enemy is strong and serious, and retirement under the terrific pressure of the human avalanche now hurled against the defenders is by no means pleasant. But in the inevitable turmoil of this situation, in roads crowded with traffic of men and guns, in villages seething with troops rushed up toward the battle line, on the field of battle itself, the British Army retains its self-control, its will power, and its supreme, inspired courage.

THE ATTACK AT ALBERT

Wednesday, March 27.—The enemy has not made further advances on a big scale between the Arras-Bapaume road on the left of the battlefront and the village of Bray, on the Somme, but has paused in his massed attacks in order to reorganize his line and bring up artillery.

There are heavy concentrations of German storm troops behind Maurepas, Ginchy, and Beugnatre, and the roads around Bapaume have been crowded with men and guns and transport passing down through Le Sars, with German cavalry along the Bapaume-Gudecourt road and a steady drift downward to the town of Albert.

That poor, stricken city of the golden Virgin, head downward, with her babe in her outstretched arms, which I described so often in accounts of the battles of the Somme in 1916, when that falling statue was lit up by shellfire, was yesterday in the centre of the fighting north of the Somme. [The golden Virgin and tower were destroyed later.] The night before their assault yesterday they bombed it heavily from the air, using the brilliant moonlight, which lay white over all the battlefields and these

roofs, to fly low and pick their targets wherever they saw men moving or horses tethered.

In several cases it was not men they hit, but women and children who, when the war seemed to have passed from this place a year ago, crept back to their homes and built little wooden booths in which they sold papers and picture postcards to the troops. Now suddenly the war has flamed over them again and they were caught, before they could escape, by thunderbolts out of the shining moonlight, terribly clear and revealing dead horses about the ruined streets.

TRYING TO TAKE ARRAS

Friday, March 29.—The enemy's pressure has for the time being relaxed a little across the Somme, east of Corbie, and whatever effort he has made during the last day and night has been repulsed with the most heavy losses.

Yesterday the most exciting situation and the fiercest struggle was on the left of the British battleline, from Gavrelle southward to below the Scarpe. It was a deliberate, resolute effort by the enemy to capture Arras. Three divisions of special storm troops, the 184th, 12th, and 27th Reserve, had been brought up for this purpose, though one of them had been engaged before and roughly handled. They were ordered to take Arras yesterday at all costs, and before their advance very heavy bombardment was flung over the British lines from about 5 o'clock in the morning for several hours.

Their main thrust was toward Roeux, that frightful little village, with its chemical works, which I used to write about so much in April and May last. Once again yesterday it became a shambles. The British had machine guns well placed with a wide field of fire, and as the Germans came down the slopes they were swept with streams of bullets, which cut swaths in their formations, but once again, as on March 21, the enemy was reckless of life, theirs as well as the British, and always his tide of men flowed forward, passing over dead and wounded, and creeping forward like flowing water. The British field guns raked

them while the heavies pulled further back to avoid being blown up or captured.

FIGHT FOR ORANGE HILL

On and about Orange Hill and Telegraph Hill British battalions who know this ground of old fought tenaciously under murderous machine-gun fire, the enemy's screen of infantry covering machine-gun batteries which were rushed forward very quickly and took up positions in shell holes and behind bits of broken wall and any kind of cover, in ditches and sunken roads.

A footing gained by the enemy on part of Orange Hill and Infantry Hill rendered it necessary to fall back yesterday toward the old German support lines before that battle in April, 1917. The British fought like tigers, and would not retire until the pressure on them made it impossible to resist the continual thrust of new attacks by fresh troops. There were heroic actions by small groups of men struggling to hold up the front line, and some of them stayed so long after the enemy had broken beyond them that they were cut off.

Frightful fighting was happening not far from Neuville, Vitasse, and Mercatel and in this neighborhood the British held out with wonderful determination until exhausted by battle and until only a poor remnant of men had strength to stand against these massed attacks.

By the end of the day the enemy's assaults weakened, and then died out because his losses were enormous and the spirit of his attack was broken by such stubborn resistance.

ENEMY FAILS AT ARRAS

Sunday, March 31.—We now have knowledge that the attack on Arras was prepared on a scale of enormous strength by divisions arranged in depth, preceded by a bombardment as great as that which fell upon any part of the British line on the morning of March 21, and that the enemy had determined to capture not only Arras itself but Vimy Ridge.

It was the heroic resistance of the British troops that defeated this furi-

ous onslaught and destroyed by enormous losses to the German troops this dark scheme of their high command. Seven German divisions were in position north of the Scarpe and twelve south, in an arc around the defenses of Arras.

The brunt of this attack, preceded by colossal gunfire, fell upon London troops, and against these the German tides dashed and broke. By artillery fire, machine-gun fire, and rifle fire, the enemy's advancing waves of men were swept to pieces, and though they came on again and again this massacre continued until at last it must have sickened even the high German officers directing the operations from behind. The attacks died out and the night was quiet around Arras while the enemy collected his wounded. It was an utter defeat which will at least check German efforts around Arras.

On this Easter Sunday, under bright sunshine which is breaking through the storm clouds, the fields of France are strewn with death. A year ago it was the same around the old City of Artois, for it was on Easter Sunday, April 2, that we began the battle of Arras and fought over that ground which is again our battlefield, and it was a great anthem of gunfire which rose up to the sky on Easter morn.

Apart from all regrets at having had to fall back at all and at having suffered losses for which there is mourning in our hearts, because so many splendid men have fallen on the field of honor—that terrible field of honor which will be watered with tears for all time—we may at least rejoice that by the skill of our fighting officers and the steady courage of our men our line was brought back unbroken.

Heroic Cavalry Charge

Monday, April 1.—The battle of which I have been trying to give a daily narrative has been on so vast a scale, filled with so many episodes of terrific adventure and with so many hundreds of thousands of men moving along its lines of fire that I find it impossible to give a picture of the emotion and spirit of it. We out here, who knew this thing was coming upon us, creeping nearer every day with its monstrous menace, held our breath and waited. When at last the thing broke it was more frightful in its loosening of overwhelming powers than even we had guessed. Since then all our armies have lived

with an intense understanding of the greatness of these days, of their meaning to the destiny of the world, and every private soldier, or transport driver, or linesman, or laborer, has been exalted by an emotion stronger than the effect of drugs.

In the wood of Moreuil this morning British cavalry performed a feat as fine as the Balaklava charge, and this also should be made into a ballad and learned by heart.

Twelve hundred men who had been riding through the night went forward in three waves and charged that dark wood next morning at a hard gallop. The first wave rode to the edge of the wood, and the second to the centre, and the third wave went right through to the other side, riding through the enemy and over his machine guns and in the face of a hail of bullets from hidden machines. They cleared the wood of Moreuil and brought back prisoners and thirteen machine guns, but there were many empty saddles, and many men and horses fell.

That was the finest exploit of the British cavalry, but elsewhere it did splendid work, and everywhere the men were gallant and cool, as when some of the dragoons came under a heavy shrapnel fire near Gentille, and many men had to shoot their wounded horses to put them out of their agony.

Dashing Canadians

Away from Arras and down on the south of the line a certain body of Canadians have been having some of the most astounding adventures in all this battle, and fighting with valor and heroic audacity. They are officers and men of a machine gun detachment organized in the early days of the war by a French Canadian officer.

For ten days these Canadians have fought running fights with the German artillery, have engaged German cavalry and smashed them, have checked enemy columns crossing bridges and pouring onward, have scattered large bodies of men surrounding British troops, and in ten days of crowded life have destroyed many German storm troops and helped to hold up the tide of their advance. Their own losses have not been light, for these Canadians have been filled with a grim passion of determination, and when the supreme test came they fought and died.

Sometimes they fought in long gray open cars, and sometimes they fought dismounted, with machine guns on the ground; but always they fought through the ten days and nights, with less than twenty hours' sleep all that time. These cars near Maricourt gathered together 150 men who had been cut off and held the enemy at bay, covering the withdrawal of some of the British heavy guns and tanks. At that time they fought dismounted, with Vickers guns, in front of the barbed wire. The Canadians had many casualties, and a Captain's arm was torn away by an explosive bullet, and at last only a Sergeant and two men of the battery were

left unwounded. One of them mounted a motor cycle and brought back cars and took back the wounded. Two cars found the enemy massing up a road, and their machine guns enfiladed the field-gray men and killed them in large numbers.

Near La Motte they fought heavy bodies of German cavalry, killed a number, and put the rest to flight. They have not been seen since. At Cerisy a battalion of Germans, 600 strong, was encountered at a crossroads by one car, which brought them to a standstill and dispersed them with heavy losses. Everywhere they have been these Canadian armored cars have helped to steady the line and give confidence to the infantry.

British Airmen at Work

Thursday, April 4.—It has been raining hard these two nights past and this morning. For the German gunners trying to drag up field artillery or long-range guns there is now sticky bog and slime to come through. It is hard work for the German field companies, pressed furiously, to lay narrow-gauge lines over these deserts. All that spells delay in their plans and loss of life.

There is terror for the enemy over these fields in daylight and darkness, for the British flying men have gone out in squadrons to scatter death and destruction among them. This work has reached fantastic heights of horror for the German troops under the menace of it. There have been times when, I believe, the British have had as many as 300 airplanes up at one time. One squadron alone on one night dropped six tons of bombs over enemy concentrations, and each man went out six times. Another squadron went out four times in one night, and was bombing for eleven hours.

When the enemy was advancing in masses the British flying men flew as low as 100 feet, dropping bombs among them and firing into them with machine guns. They attacked German patrols of cavalry and scattered them and machine-gunned trenches full of men, batteries in action and transport crowding down narrow roads. They fought German scouts and crushed them, and there are several cases in which they fought German airplanes at night, so that it was like a fight between vampire bats up there where the clouds were touched by moonlight.

North of the Somme

Friday, April 5.—Heavy attacks by the enemy are in progress north of the Somme, from Albert to Aveluy Wood. Further north there is separate fighting in progress round about the village of Ayette—such a wretched little place of brickdust and broken walls when I saw it last on the way from Arras to Bapaume—and the enemy is trying to recapture this, his fire reaching to villages several thousand yards behind the British front.

The British troops in this district are defending their positions resolutely, and the

first reports indicate that the German storm troops are suffering under their machine-gun fire, after being shelled in their assembly places by heavy and field artillery.

A Valley of Death

Sunday, April 7.—Since the heavy fights on Friday, when the enemy made a series of vain attacks against the British north of Albert, there has been no battle. The Germans are still struggling hard to get their guns, especially the heavy guns, further forward and to reorganize their divisions.

They have no peace or quiet, for they are under a harassing fire, and along the valley of the Ancre, above Albert, in that stinking ditch between Bouzeincourt and Aveluy and Mesnil and Thiepval, where foul water lies stagnant below rows of dead, lopped trees and frightful smells arise from the relics of battles two weeks ago, their men are very wretched. Here in this valley of death, for it was that, and behind in the old fields of the Somme, the German troops have no cover from storms or shellfire.

Battle of Armentières

Tuesday, April 9.—A heavy and determined attack was begun against us this morning a considerable distance north of our recent battles on about eleven miles of front between Armentières and La Bassée Canal. This new attack was preceded by a long, concentrated bombardment, which had gradually been increasing during the last day or two, until it reached great heights of fury last night and early this morning. The enemy used poison gas in immense quantities; during the night he flung over 60,000 gas shells in order to create a wide zone of this evil vapor and stupefy the gunners, transport, and infantry.

His gunfire reached out to many towns and villages behind the allied lines, like Bèthune and Armentières, Vermelles and Philosophie, Merville and Estaires, and this did not cease around Armentières until 11:30 this morning, though further south from Fleurbaix his infantry attack was in progress at an early hour, certainly by 8 o'clock, and his barrage lifted in order to let his troops advance.

Part of the line was held by Portuguese troops, who for a long time have been between Laventie and Neuve Chapelle, holding positions which were subject to severe raids from time to time. They are now in the thick of this battle, most fiercely beset and fighting gallantly.

Formidable New Offensive

Wednesday, April 10.—It is now clear that the attack between Armentières and Givenchy is a new and formidable offensive. It also is made certain by this new thrust that the German high command have decided to throw the full weight of their armies against the British in an endeavor to destroy their forces

in Northern France instead of dividing their efforts by striking also at the French. It is a menace which calls for a supreme effort of the armies of Great Britain and her allies.

Yesterday the enemy struck north on the British left, beginning in the flat grounds opposite Neuve Chapelle as the centre of the thrust, with Fleurbaix to the north and Givenchy to the south, and extending this morning further north still above Armentières, and including the ridge of Messines.

An enormous gunfire was directed against the British positions along all this line last night again after yesterday morning's bombardment, and continued without pause through a very unquiet night, when all through the hours this tumult of great guns beat upon one's ears with continued drum-fire, and all the sky was full of flame and light.

This morning again when I went up into French Flanders and through the villages which the enemy had been shelling regardless of the women and children there, this frightful, unceasing thunder was as loud as ever and told one without further news that the battle was still going on and that the Germans were extending its zone.

Portuguese Are Hard Hit

It was a tragedy for the Portuguese that the heaviest bombardment in the storm of gunfire, as terrible in its fury as anything of the kind since March 21, was directed against the centre, which they held. It was annihilating to their outposts and smashed their front-line defenses, which were stoutly held. It beat backward and forward in waves of high explosives from the trench line opposite Neuve Chapelle to the second line, opposite Fauquissart and Richebourg St. Vaast. Large numbers of heavy guns also searched behind these defense systems for crossroads, ammunition dumps, railways, villages, and headquarters or units, while the Portuguese batteries were assailed with gas shells and flying steel.

The Portuguese front line was overwhelmed by the intensity of the bombardment, and, although some of their outposts held on, fighting gallantly to the last man, their line had to fall back to the second system. This was attacked by enemy assault troops and between 6 and 7 in the morning they had reached Fauquissart. The barrage lifted at 7 o'clock for a general attack on the second line. Here the strongest body of Portuguese troops fought stubbornly, but by 11 o'clock the Germans forced their way through to Laventie and the position round Fleurbaix was threatened.

The Portuguese field artillery served their guns as long as possible and destroyed the breechblocks whenever it became inevitable that they would have to leave a gun behind. The Portuguese gunners were attached to the British heavy batteries and behaved with special courage.

Bloody Valley of the Lys

Thursday, April 11.—Yesterday afternoon and today the enemy exerted all his strength in men and guns in the battle now raging from the River Lys to Wytschaete. Once again the British are outnumbered, and it is only by the courage and stubborn will of battalions weakened by losses and of individual soldiers animating their comrades by acts of brave example that the enemy has been unable to make rapid progress and, as at Wytschaete and Messines, has been flung back with most bloody losses.

The British had to give ground along the Lys Canal south of Armentières, blowing bridges behind them and the railway bridge at Armentières, and the enemy is now trying to thrust forward south of Merville by bending back the British line from Lestrem and getting his guns across the Lys.

This morning there was a ceaseless tumult of gunfire, loud and terrible, over all this countryside. There were strange and terrible scenes on all the roads leading to the battle zone where British infantry and gunners were going forward to stem the tide. Masses of transport moved and civilians passed them in retreat to villages outside the wide area of shell range, and wounded men came staggering down afoot, if they could walk, or were brought down by ambulances, threading their way through all this surge and swell of war.

Here and there stretcher bearers waited with their burdens on the roadsides. Among them were men of the Black Watch, with the red hackie in their bonnets, calm and grave like statues beside their wounded comrades lying there with white, upturned faces and never a murmur or groan. They were the heroes who yesterday, with gallant hearts, came up at a great pace when the enemy was in Wytschaete and Messines, and in a fierce counterattack drove him off the crest of the ridge and dealt him a deadly blow there on that high ground, which was won in the battle of last June, when English, Irish, and New Zealand troops stormed the ridge and captured thousands of prisoners.

The enemy yesterday fell in great numbers and his dead lie thick, and though he came on wave after wave, after all his day's agony and struggle he had not gained a yard of the crest, but was beaten back.

English in Death Struggle

Friday, April 12.—The enemy is playing a great game in which he is flinging all he has into the hazard of war. He has, of course, a stupendous number of men, and, while holding his lines across the Somme after his drive down from St. Quentin and playing a defensive part against the French on the British right, he has moved up to the north with secrecy and rapidly a large concentration of troops and guns for new and tremendous blows against Haig's forces. This is continuing his now determined policy to crush Eng-

land before either France or America is able to draw off his divisions by counteroffensives.

So now the British troops in the north are faced by enormous forces. Nearly thirty German divisions are against them from Wyttschaete to La Bassée Canal, and with those troops are innumerable machine guns, trench mortars, and massed batteries of field guns, very quick to get forward in support of their infantry.

This northern offensive is as menacing as that which began to the southward on March 21, and the gallant men among these little red brick villages in French Flanders and in the flat fields between Bailleul and Béthune are greatly outnumbered and can hold back the enemy only by fighting with supreme courage.

Horrors Amid Beauty

The scene today along the line of this hostile invasion was most tragic, because all the cruelty of war was surrounded by beauty so intense that the contrast was horrible. The sky was of Summer blue, with sunshine glittering on the red-tiled roofs of the cottages and on their whitewashed walls and little windowpanes. All the hedges were clothed with green and flaked by snow-white thorn blossoms.

In a night, as it seems, all the orchards of France have flowered, and cherry and apple trees are in full splendor of bloom, fields are powdered with close-growing daisies, and the shadows of trees are long across the grass as the sun is setting. But over all this and in the midst of all this is agony and blood. On the roads are fugitives, wounded soldiers, dead horses, guns, and transports.

There are fires burning on the hillsides. I saw their flames and their great, rolling clouds of smoke rise this morning from places where the day before I had seen French peasants plowing as though no war were near, and young girls scattering grain over the fields harrowed by their small brothers, and old women bending to the soil in the small farmsteads where all their life was centred, until suddenly the frightful truth touched them and they had to leave their homes.

Sometimes today I wished to God the sun would not shine like this nor nature mock at me with its thrilling beauty of life. However, the British are full of confidence. If they were forced back they are glad to know that they made the enemy pay heavy prices and that their line is still unbroken. They are full of faith that against all odds they shall hold their own in the last battle of all.

Men Utterly Weary

Sunday, April 14.—The Commander in Chief's order of the day should reveal to the British people and to the world what is happening out here in France—the enemy's object to seize the Channel ports and destroy the British Army, and the frightful forces

he has brought against it to achieve that plan, and the call that has come to the troops to hold every position to the last man. "Many among us now are tired. * * * With our back to the wall each one of us must fight to the end."

Yes, the men are tired, so tired after weeks of fighting, after these last days and nights, that they can hardly stagger up to resist another attack, yet they do so because their spirit wakes again above their bodily fatigue; so tired that they go on fighting like sleep-walkers, and in any respite lie in ditches and under hedges and in open fields under fire in deep slumber until the shouts of their Sergeants stir them again. Some of these men have been fighting since March 21 with only a few days' rest.

To people living in the villages of Flanders, from which one can see the whole sweep of the battleline, Friday night was full of terror, and from the windows they watched the burning of places from which they had escaped and the bonfires of their homes, and these refugees while sleeping with children at their breast wept.

Yesterday it was a drama of noise, beating against one's ears and against one's heart, and it was a strange, terrible thing to stand there, blind, as it were, listening to the infernal tumult of gunfire south of Bailleul, with knockings and sledgehammer strokes, loud and shocking, above the incessant drum-fire of field artillery.

The German shells came howling over into fields and villages beyond Bailleul, bursting with gruff coughs, and there was an evil snarl of shrapnel in the mist. It was the noise of the greatest battle in history.

Fall of Neuve Eglise

Monday, April 15.—In the attempt to surround Bailleul two heavy attacks were made—one on the west toward Meteren, and one on the east at Neuve Eglise. Near Meteren the enemy failed utterly and suffered immense losses. There has been fierce fighting around a place called the Steam Mill, near Meteren, the enemy having been ordered to capture the Meteren road and the high ground beyond it at whatever sacrifice. They made the sacrifice, but did not get the ground.

Neuve Eglise, however, is now theirs. Last night the British troops who had held it through three days and nights of intense strife withdrew, unknown to the enemy, to a line a short distance back from the village, in order to avoid remaining a target for unceasing shellfire.

It is now the enemy's soldiers who this morning are in the ruins under the great bombardment. This battle at Neuve Eglise has been filled with grim episodes, for the village changed hands several times. Each side fought most fiercely, with any kind of weapon, small bodies of men attacking and counterattacking among the broken walls and bits of houses and under the stump of the

church tower deathtrap, as it now is for them. Without yielding to the direct assaults, the British obeyed orders, stumbled out of the place, silently and unknown to the enemy, and took up a line further back.

On the night before last the British line fell back from near La Chèche and swung around in a loop south of Neuve Eglise toward Ravelsberg Farm. It was then that Neuve Eglise itself became a place of hellish battle.

The enemy broke through into its ruined streets, and small parties of Wiltshires, Worcesters, and others sprang on the Germans or were killed. They fought desperately in backyards, over broken walls, and in shell-pierced houses, wherever they could find Germans or hear the tattoo of machine guns.

Several times the enemy was cleared out of most of the town, and the British held a hollow square containing most of the streets and defended it as a kind of fortress, though with dwindling numbers, under a heavy fire of shells and trench mortars and machine guns.

Capture of Bailleul

Tuesday, April 16.—It seemed inevitable after the British loss of Neuve Eglise that the enemy should make a quick and strong effort to capture Bailleul, and this he did last night by putting into the battle three divisions of fresh assaulting troops not previously used, and thus encircling that city by fierce attacks on ground southeast and east, including the ridge of Le Ravetsberg and Mont de Lille. His troops included his Alpine corps of Jaegers and possibly a Bavarian division and the 117th Division. Among the men defending the city against these heavy forces were the Staffords and Notts and Derbies.

Yesterday when I was in the country around Bailleul the enemy's guns were working up for this new attack, and there was a continual bombardment spreading up to Wytschaete Ridge. Heavy shells were being flung into Bailleul itself, and the smoke of fires was rising like mist from small towns and villages like Meteren and Morbecque down to Merville.

The British guns were also pounding the enemy's positions, and through that the concentrations of Germany—infantry, guns, transport, and cavalry—were moving up the roads in and north of Merville. The enemy must have lost severely again, for the British were stubborn in defense, but their machine-gun fire must have been of a deadly nature owing to their positions along the railway and on the ridge; but the enemy advanced upon them in waves, striking upon both sides of Bailleul, so that after great resistance the line was withdrawn beyond the town.

The capture of this city belongs to the third great attack which has been delivered by the enemy since March 21. Always he has massed his strength opposite the British lines and struck with full weight against their

troops. In the first phase down from St. Quentin and the Cambrai salient the French came to their help and relieved them by their gallant aid, but the Germans then edged away from the French to strike the British again, this time at Arras, where they failed.

A third phase has now followed in this northern blow and once again the British have had to sustain the abominable pressure of German divisions constantly relieved and supported by fresh divisions passing through them, while the British troops fight on and on, killing the enemy in large numbers, but having to withdraw to new lines of defense. Under these enormous odds their heroism and their sacrifices are beyond words that may be uttered except in the silence of one's heart.

Wonderful Panorama

Wednesday, April 17.—Yesterday morning the fortune of war seemed again in favor of the enemy by the capture of Wytschaete Ridge down to Spanbroekmolen and by the entry of Meteren, west of Bailleul. The hard-pressed British troops were forced to give ground at both these places, after a grand resistance which cost the enemy many lives, but in the evening counterattacks hurled the enemy back from Wytschaete village, that pile of brick dust above stumps of dead trees which were Wytschaete Wood, and in a separate battle west of Bailleul the British regained, at least for a time, a part of Meteren. This morning renewed counterattacks gave them back all of Meteren and the enemy garrison there was destroyed.

I watched the battle last night and again this morning from the centre of the arc of fire, which was like a loop flung around from Wytschaete to Bailleul and in a sharp curve around to Merris and the country about Merville, so that the great gunfire and whole sweep of battle were close about on three sides.

It was an astounding panorama of open warfare, such as I never dreamed of seeing on this western front, where for so long both sides were hemmed in by trenches. Bailleul was still blazing. In the early evening, after a wet, misty day which filled all this battlefield with a whitish fog, one could only see that city under a cloud, but as the sky darkened and the wind blew some mist away enormous flames burned redly in the poor dead heart of Bailleul, and in their glare there were dark masses of walls and broken roofs outlined jaggedly by fire.

To the left the village of Locre was aflame under a storm of high explosives, and the enemy's guns were putting heavy shells down the roads which lead out to that place.

There were fires of burning farms and hamlets as far southward as Merville behind one, as one stood looking out to Bailleul, and lesser fires of single cottages and haystacks, and the wind drifted all the smoke of them across the sky in long white ribbons.

Drumfire Rocks Earth

It was just before dusk when the counter-attacks began northward from Wyttschaete and southward from Meteren, and although before then there had been a steady slogging of guns and howling of shells, at that time this volume of dreadful noise increased tremendously, and drumfire broke out in fury, so that the sky and earth trembled with it. It was like the beating of all the drums of the world in muffled tattoo, above which and through which there were enormous clangoring hammer strokes from the British and German heavies.

It went on till evening, with a few pale gleams of sun through storm clouds and the smoke of guns, and for miles all this panorama of battle was boiling and seething with bursting shells and curling wreaths of smoke from the batteries in action.

When darkness came each battery was revealed by its flashes, and all the fields around were filled with red winkings and sharp stabs of flame. There was no real darkness of night, for every second the sky was crossed by rushes of light and burning beacons in many places, and gun flashes etched outlines of trees and cottages.

The general situation today is in our favor for the time being by the recapture of Wyttschaete and Meteren and the repulse of many German attacks, but it is with natural regret one hears of the withdrawal from the heights east of Ypres in order to straighten the line and economize men. There was one other regret today, though only sentimental. The enemy knocked down the Albert church tower, the tower of the golden Virgin, who had bent head downward over that ruined city with her babe outstretched. It was a great landmark bound up with all our memories.

How General Carey Saved Amiens

A Pivotal Episode in the Great Battle

ONE of the most dramatic episodes of the battle of Picardy was the disaster which befell the 5th British Army, under General Gough, and the brilliant way in which it was retrieved by Brig. Gen. Sandeman Carey, who was warmly complimented by Premier Lloyd George in his man-power speech, (Page 263.)

Sir Hubert Gough's army was sent down in January to take over from the French a sector forty to fifty miles long. Clearly such a line as this could be held only if it were strongly located and cunningly constructed, and there is no doubt that it was. Three lines were designed: First, an outpost line, then a "line of resistance," and then a "battleline." The outpost line was designed with special care. It consisted of a number of separate posts so located as to provide for a cross-fire on any enemy that penetrated them. It was intended to be held until the last gasp, and it was presumed that the Germans might pass through it, but that they would be terribly punished by the garrisons of the isolated posts.

In one way the attack was not a surprise. General Gough had known for days that it was imminent, and had moved his men up to their positions and made every preparation possible. But

one thing he could not foresee or guard against—the mist and fog. Under cover of the mist, which prevented sight for more than thirty yards, the Germans crept forward, and the outpost line was overrun before the alarm could be given. It was simply swamped, and the cross-fire on which so much depended was never delivered.

Consequently the fight began at the line of resistance instead, and before many hours had passed by sheer weight of numbers the Germans had forced the British back on the battleline. Then the fewness of numbers began to tell, and, as always at points of junction between divisions, the Germans got through between the 7th and 19th, the 19th and 18th, and the 3d and 18th. The whole line was broken up, and it seemed as if the road was open to Amiens.

Meanwhile it was impossible for the French reinforcements to come up as quickly as was necessary, and the retreat began. Bridges were not blown up for the simple reason that the parties of engineers were all killed. Every kind of soldier that could be collected was hastily thrown into action to fill the gap—including a strong contingent of American engineers.

Close to where the gap occurred was a

training school for machine gunners. Of course, the men in training had long since been hurried into action, but a large supply of machine guns remained. It is not every soldier, however, who understands how to use these weapons, and the officer found himself with a large supply of them which at all costs he must prevent from being captured, and very few men able to handle them. Those who could were put in charge of squads, and whenever they had a moment's respite from turning them on the Germans they set to work to give hurried instructions.

Orders came to General Carey at 2 A. M., March 26, to hold the gap. He went to work at once to develop the plans that had been hurriedly laid out. He organized a scratch force by telephone, messengers, and flag signals. Every available man—laborer, raw recruit, sapper, engineer—was rounded up. By the middle of the next morning Carey had found a considerable number of men, and by the early part of the afternoon he had organized them into some sort of force and had selected and marked out the position it must hold.

For a time he had some guns, but these were hurried away to another point that was even more seriously threatened. He had fifty cavalymen to do a little scouting, but in the main he had to depend entirely on the sheer grit of his scratch force, who lay in their shallow trenches, firing almost point blank at the gray hordes of Germans, and at every moment of respite seized their shovels to improve their shelters.

For nearly six days they stuck to it, and, as Lloyd George said, "they held the German Army and closed that gap on the way to Amiens."

After a time they got some artillery behind them and things were easier, but at first it was just a ding-dong fight, with soldiers taking orders from strange officers, officers learning the ground by having to defend it, and every man from enlisted man to Brigadier jumping at each job as it came along and putting it through with all his might.

During all that six days General Carey was the life and inspiration of the entire

force. Careless of danger, he rode along the hastily intrenched line, giving an order here and shouting words of encouragement there to his weary and hard-pressed men.

His staff was as hastily recruited as his men. He had no knowledge of how long he must hold out. He was not even certain of getting supplies of ammunition and provisions.

All he had to do was to hang on, and hang on he did against an almost endless series of formidable attacks. He never lost heart or wavered. The gap to Amiens was closed and held.

Three companies of an engineering regiment were caught in the early bombardment and ordered to fall back. To one of the American companies, which had been consolidated with the British Royal Engineers, was delegated the task of guaranteeing the destruction of an engineers' dump, which it had been decided to abandon. This detachment destroyed all the material, made a rapid retreat, caught up with the larger group, and immediately resumed work, laying out trenches. These operations lasted from March 22 to 27. As the German attack became more intense, the engineers were joined by cooks, orderlies, and railway men as a part of General Carey's forces. The commanding officer of an American regiment took charge of an infantry sub-sector and directed the action of his troops for one week, until the emergency passed at that point. To this officer General Rawlinson, commanding the British Army engaged in that sector, sent the following letter:

The army commander wishes to record officially his appreciation of the excellent work your regiment has done in assisting the British Army to resist the enemy's powerful offensive during the last ten days. I fully realize that it has been largely due to your assistance that the enemy has been checked, and I rely on you to assist us still further during the few days which are still to come before I shall be able to relieve you in the line.

I consider your work in the line to be greatly enhanced by the fact that, for six weeks previous to taking your place in the front line, your men had been working at such high pressure erecting heavy bridges on the Somme. My best congratulations and warm thanks to all.

RAWLINSON.

BRITISH COMMANDERS IN FRANCE.



Gen. Sir H. S. Horne



Gen. Sir H. C. O. Plumer
(Bain News Service)



Gen. Sir Julian Byng
(Underwood)



Gen. Sir H. S. Rawlinson

GERMAN COMMANDERS IN FRANCE



Gen. Ludendorff,
Quartermaster General of the Army



Gen. von Katten



Gen. Otto von Below
(Press Illustrating Service)



Gen. von Gallwitz

Battle Viewed From the French Front

By G. H. Perris

Special Correspondent with the French Armies

George H. Perris was with the French Armies in Picardy throughout the German offensive. The aim of the Germans was to drive a wedge between the British and French Armies at the point of juncture near La Fère, and Mr. Perris was admirably situated to obtain not only the story of the fighting on the allied right, but a good general view of the whole great battle and of the strategic methods adopted by the German command. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, through its connection with THE NEW YORK TIMES, has full use of these important dispatches, which are copyrighted.

[See Map on Page 198.]

A LITTLE before 5 A. M. on March 21, between the Scarpe and the Oise, there began an extremely violent artillery preparation, including barrages largely composed of gas shells, especially near Cambrai, and toward the Oise a strong counterbattery fire and a plentiful bombardment of the allied rear and communications.

At 9:45 A. M. an infantry attack began. Each German division engaged had a front of attack of about a mile and a half, and seems to have been disposed as follows: Two regiments, less a battalion of each, were in the first line, and one regiment was in reserve. Battalions were echeloned in a depth of two companies, each with six light machine guns, constituting the first wave. The second wave of two companies, carrying heavier machine guns, followed at an interval of 100 yards. These were followed at 200 or 300 yards' distance by light bomb-throwers and the battalion staff. Finally there came one-inch and other very light field guns, called "artillery of accompaniment," which deployed as required. The divisional reserves consisted of five infantry battalions. No new gas was used, and although the enemy has tanks they were not brought into action.

FIFTY GERMAN DIVISIONS

The first attack was made by perhaps fifty divisions, or about 750,000 men. Of these at least ten divisions, and perhaps thirteen or fourteen, were thrown into the corner of the field between St. Quentin, La Fère, and Noyon. They were divided into six columns.

The first consisted of a division with three battalions of chasseurs, which, debouching from La Fère, quickly took Tergnier, and on the evening of March 22 came to a stop before Vouel, the next village westward, and a division which came into action on the evening of the 22d passed the first, and on the following day pushed on toward Chauny.

The second column consisted of two divisions. The former advanced from the old line near Moy, on the Oise, through La Fontaine and Remigny and to the southwest. It stopped at Liez, on the Crosat Canal, on the 22d. That night it was passed by the other division, which, on the 23d, captured Villequier-Aumont, on the St. Quentin-Chauny road. To the right of this was the third column, composed of two divisions. The first attacked through Cerizy to Benay and Hinacourt, and was stopped on the evening of the 22d at Lamontagne. It was passed that evening by the other division on the canal, which, after occupying Genlis Wood, closed up to the second column.

The fourth column included the 1st and 10th Divisions, of which the former attacked through Essigny to Jussy, and on the 23d was at the north of Ugny, while the latter on its right passed the canal and reached Ugny and Beaumont.

Of the fifth column, which occupied the region of Villeselve, and the sixth, in the Ham-Noyon sector, my information is slighter, owing to the severity of the trial of the British contingents there before the French took over the front.

One division of the sixth column attacked at Le Plessis, north of Guiscard, on the 24th, and on the following day took Muirancourt, Rimbercourt and Croisilles. Its right was then prolonged by a division at Freniches.

BRITISH FRONT BROKEN

On the evening of the 22d the front of the British Army ran along the Crozat Canal from Tergnier, through Jussy, to the east of St. Simon.

Very well do I remember the bridgehead of Jussy as I saw it after the German retreat a year ago. The town, built almost wholly of brick, was absolutely leveled to the ground, not a single wall standing. I saw it again last Summer, when General X., a fine soldier and an enlightened gentleman, had set up a camp hospital and swimming bath, and the bridge had been decorated to celebrate the entry of America into the war. It was seven miles behind the front, and I confess we never thought to see the boche there again.

At 6 P. M. on the 22d General — received the news that the British front had been broken between Beauvois and Vaux, nine miles due west of St. Quentin, and that his corps must fall back to Ham and the villages of Sancourt and Matigny, immediately north of it. At 8 or 9 o'clock next morning the news came in that the enemy was just debouching from the south of Ham toward Esmery-Hallon. The British 5th Corps was then in the region of Guiscard-Beaumont-Guivry ready for relief.

On the morning of the 24th two German divisions, the first and second columns, continued their movements in the Oise Valley, while the third and fourth columns took Ugny and Genlis Wood. On the 25th one division reached Croisilles, while another attacked Baroeuf on the north of the Oise, half way between Noyon and Chauny.

On the 26th one division was near Noyon, another at Larbroye, southwest of that town, and a third at Suzoy, two miles west of it. Clemenceau's classic phrase, "Remember that the Germans are at Noyon," had unexpectedly come alive again.

ALLIED TEAMWORK

Noyon, unlike Chauny, Ham, and other neighboring places, was not greatly damaged by the Germans before their retreat last year. South of the town rises a conical hill called Mont Renaud, which is capped with a wood hiding the château built on the site of an ancient abbey. On Thursday, when the Germans were ensconced on Mont Renaud, a French General expressed in the presence of the English General commanding a cavalry division his intention of retaking it. The British commander at once asked that his own troops should have the honor of making the attack. This was agreed to, and the British cavalry, dismounted, carried the hill by assault in face of a stubborn defense by the enemy.

I am assured that along the line where the French relieved the British troops, or where they have been acting together, the best relations have prevailed, and that the co-operation of the staffs and field officers has been most cordial.

The French, like the British, aviators, by the boldness of their bombing and their machine-gun work on the line of the German advance, have done much to compensate for the allied losses and the unavoidable delay in getting the French batteries into their new positions. Prisoners say the German 88th Division was nearly wiped out, and that the 206th suffered almost as badly.

VON HUTIER'S METHODS

Details of the first advance from St. Quentin to Noyon illustrate the new method pursued in this offensive in the particular way in which one large unit passes through another in order to carry the movement forward as rapidly as possible.

Another feature is its readiness to change the direction of march when great difficulty is found by the Germans or a marked weakness on the allied side invites such a change. Of the divisions named above, six disappeared from that front in the course of the concentration toward Noyon. They had been diverted

westward when it was recognized that the Oise could not be forced, and Amiens became the chief objective.

It is certain that General von Hutier's plans were based upon his experience in the capture of Riga. * * * Western resistance, whether French or British, is a very different thing from that which the Russians put up at Riga. Enormous as are the forces the enemy put into this blow, though for the last week they outnumbered and generally overwhelmed those hurried up to meet them, they had to pay terribly for their success. German war doctrine recognizes this as inevitable in what is intended for a decisive operation against great antagonists. Against soldiers less experienced, disciplined, and inspired than those of the western Allies Hindenburg would have succeeded.

The adaptability of direction of attack which I have indicated is remarkable, but the same adaptability in the attack upon Verdun, where the right and left banks of the Meuse were alternately tried, gave no result. This time the main direction has been thrice changed. It began with the wings at St. Quentin and Croisilles; it then moved to the right centre from Bapaume to Albert; finally it is concentrated on the left centre on both sides of Montdidier.

Because of its methods and speed the battle thus far has been mainly one of artillery. German cavalry has been met in small numbers, but it has not taken a brilliant part. The enemy's aviation service has been notably inferior to that of the Allies. Only light guns with a few four-inch pieces have been able to keep up with the advance, and trench mortars do not seem to have been brought up quickly. On the other hand, groups of allied machine gunners and machine riflemen, taking advantage of the depressions of the ground, have everywhere taken heavy toll of their adversaries. By the time they can transport their heavier guns the Allies will have their former superiority ready to answer them.

FAILED TO BREAK THROUGH

March 26.—A full third of the German forces on the western front have been engaged on one-eighth of its extent. It

is not impossible that a secondary offensive may be declared, but it may be taken that we now know the worst, and that the utmost possible strength has been put into the first blow.

The choice suggests the need of obtaining a rapid decision and the hope of shaking the will of our people. If it resulted in a break-through it would be justified as good strategy; if not, a number of prisoners and miles of ravaged territory have been taken, with no compensation for the costs.

So far there is nothing like a break-through. The French are holding strongly in the Oise Valley, in safe connection with the British on the Somme.

FRENCH SOLDIERS CONFIDENT

March 27.—I have been along the French front today, and the news is that, although the battle broke with extraordinary violence, it found the French prepared, and all is well.

As I watched the sun set in a crimson flood yesterday behind the Noyon hills there seemed to be a pause in the struggle. At least, the bombardment had slackened, and at one of the headquarters of the French Army on the Oise there was no news of an attack then proceeding.

The result of this momentary lull was to enhance the impression of calm order and confidence which is one's usual experience in passing from the rear to the front. One goes up in a state of suppressed agitation over the latest reports and rumors, and finds himself suddenly wrapped around by an atmosphere of businesslike quietude that extends nearly to the front trenches. Even in the firing line the stoical silence of the men and their immobility, except in spasmodic crises, seem to dominate the hellish roar of bursting shells.

From this point backward the machine works with a smoothness that rebukes our anxieties. In a circuit of forty miles, ending on the hills overlooking the left bank of the Oise, between Noyon and Chauny, I did not see a single sign of confusion, and there were many signs of satisfaction that the war had entered upon a decisive stage.

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clenched teeth on good positions and were hourly adding to their strength in men and guns. Amiens appeared to the enemy like a mirage on the western horizon, and the two Crown Princes may have reflected that there would be accounts to pay at home if this time, after sacrifices such as can only be paralleled in rare episodes of military history like the retreat from Moscow, they did not bring back a victorious peace.

BLOW AT JUNCTION POINT

A smashing blow at the Franco-British junction was then to be decisive. It was begun with means believed to be adequate to this aim and was directed westward on both sides of Montdidier toward the Beauvais-Amiens railway, with a supporting thrust from the threatened flank west of Lassigny.

Further south, toward Montdidier, which they already held, the Germans crossed the river, again suffering very heavy losses, but were arrested on the hills of the western bank. In the evening the struggle, despite the exhaustion of both sides, attained its fiercest intensity. Moreuil was recaptured on Saturday night by a mixed Canadian and French force, lost again during the night, and once more carried by storm in the old-fashioned way yesterday morning. No Stosstruppen, (shock troops,) no expert grenadiers or flame pumpers this time. Mixed in the same ranks, the British colonials in khaki and the French in light blue went forward irresistibly with the bayonet.

"The Canadians," says one of my informants, "performed prodigies of valor, and when the boches fell back they had lost half their effectiveness."

Full of their success, our troops turned northward and would not be satisfied till they had been firmly set on the wooded heights near the town. Later in the day several violent enemy attacks were made south of the Somme, but they seem to have been of rather a local and scattered kind, as though, at least for the moment, fresh efforts of the dimensions of those of Friday and Saturday were impossible.

The British have made some progress in the valley of the Luce, and two strong

German attacks were repulsed between Marcelcave and the Somme, as were others in the British sphere on the north of the river. On the other hand, the British line was beaten back to the village of Hangard, [Hangard was lost and finally retaken and held by the French,] on the north bank of the Luce, nearly opposite Demuin.

Like the actions of the preceding days, this battle has been in the main a conflict of infantry. On neither side has it been possible to get heavy artillery in position in time, but on the allied side French and British guns, freshly detraind, gave support of moral as well as material importance. When the 75 has a target of masses advancing in close, deep waves, its effects are terrible beyond words. In the open country the air squadrons of the Allies have also worked havoc in the enemy's ranks, besides bursting tons of explosives on his camps and lines of communication.

AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS

April 8.—It is evident that the German onslaught has failed to break through. What the Allies have lost in ground they have saved in men; and, on the other hand, the enemy, who wanted not these miles of desolate territory, but a final decision, has paid inordinately without getting any nearer the desired result.

For five days his advance, though somewhat behind his ambitious program, was not seriously interrupted. On March 25 a certain General reached the region of Montdidier and began to build a human barrier. On March 23 began what may be called a four days' battle of arrest. Three French divisions had to meet and did meet the onset of fifteen German divisions. There were smaller units that fought one against ten.

The main German effort was against the Moreuil-Grivesnes-Montchel line, the object being (with 150,000 men in play there could be no less ambitious aim) to break right through to the south of Amiens and completely separate the French and British Armies. It culminated on the 31st with a suicidal assault by the pick of the Prussian Guards and other chosen divisions at Grivesnes, when

a certain gallant Colonel, rifle in hand, directed the barricading of the windows of the château, and with not more than 500 men kept off three or four times as many assailants and had strength enough left at last to sweep those who remained out of the park.

I need not measure again the trivial gain for the enemy of this four days' battle. Perhaps the most significant fact about it is that while, overwhelming as was his original force, the enemy had repeatedly to withdraw and renew his units, not one French unit was relieved in that time. At Mesnil St. Georges one infantry battalion, with some groups of chasseurs, drove off five successive attacks by a whole German division. I might multiply such instances, but space would fail me to make them real with detail.

A pause of four days followed this failure. Then, on April 4, twelve divisions were again launched in the northern part of the same narrow field—10,000 men per mile of front. They won at great cost the ruins of two hamlets and a slice of fields beside them.

FIRST PHASE REVIEWED

April 14.—The first phase or act of the offensive, launched with unprecedented masses of troops, completely failed to reach its aim and entailed losses that no lesser success could warrant. Begun on March 21, with three armies—those of von Below, von der Mauvitz, and von Hutier—counting nearly fifty divisions, about forty more had to be brought in before the first week was out.

By that time the French armies had been pushed northwestward with admirable rapidity and characteristically splendid spirit, and by the last day of the month the host of the Prussian Crown Prince, including the Guard and others of the best German units, had been fought to a standstill from Noyon and Lassigny to the Avre and the Somme.

Several hard combats in the last fortnight, the latest ending in the French recovering the village of Hangard on Friday and their useful advance yesterday near Arvillers, do but confirm this

result. That the German losses are fully commensurate with the ambition of their aims and the prodigal method pursued is shown by another fact unprecedented in the history of war.

At the end of three weeks of the offensive about 1,500,000 men have been cast into the battle, and seventy-five divisions have become so dislocated as to have to be withdrawn for reorganization. It is therefore probable that the total German casualties up to date approach 500,000.

SECOND PHASE SUMMARIZED

The second phase may be regarded as having opened March 28 with the entry of General von Below's right wing into action east of Arras, and as culminating with the battle of Armentières, involving the army of General von Quast and the left wing of General von Arnim's army at Ypres, while a subsidiary operation by General von Boehm's army threatened the French between the Oise and St. Gobain Forest.

This northern battle began in a much smaller way than the original offensive, with about twenty divisions on a twenty-mile front, and it may have been its initial success that determined its prompt extension.

While it may fairly be said to have constituted a confession of failure in the earlier adventure, its development not only creates a new danger, but strengthens the German position athwart the Somme. The situation, therefore, must be looked at straightforwardly and spoken of without mincing words.

In the middle of March the German armies consisted of 4,000,000 men at the front, 1,300,000 on the lines of communication and in the interior, and others who can be added to the present effectiveness.

From the village of Hangard to Abbéville is about forty miles; from Merville to Calais is the same distance; to Boulogne a little more; from the Ypres front to Dunkirk is about thirty miles; to Nieupport a little less. These are the limits of the allied power of manoeuvre for the defense of the Channel.

Caring for Thousands of Refugees

LONG processions of civilian refugees lined the roadsides in the invaded area during the days of battle—the pitiful hosts of those fleeing from the German guns and the terrors of German occupation. Many thousands of villagers and farmers whose little homes had been devastated by the first German occupation and by the battle of the Somme had been trying bravely to restore their ruined houses and cultivate the tortured soil again. With the aid of American friends hundreds of cottages had been built, heaps of shattered masonry cleared away, shops and schools opened, and French, British, and American committees had formed a nucleus around which new life was gradually growing up. No less than 5,500 acres of the devastated land evacuated by the Germans a year ago were again under cultivation—enough to feed 16,000 persons a year.

All this work of the stricken inhabitants, with their replanted fruit trees and scanty stores of new implements, had to be abandoned almost at a moment's notice. Many of the peasants, stunned by the new catastrophe, had to be aroused to flight by the friendly orders of the retreating British officers. The Red Cross workers, the Dames de France, and a group of courageous American women—the Smith College girls—aided the refugees day and night in their retreat from town to town until the German advance was checked a few miles short of Amiens.

The American Red Cross transported thousands from the towns and villages behind the British lines, working thirty automobiles night and day, and carrying 2,000 to friends in Paris in the first few days. These were mostly women, children, and aged persons who had been awakened by the Red Cross workers on the morning of the 25th, taken to the railroad in trucks, and thence transported by rail in special trains. Most of the refugees were able to save only a few of their belongings, which were wrapped up in shawls and bed sheets, or carried in baskets or handbags. One woman, 81 years old, carried only a basket of live

chickens, and cried because she had been unable to save two rabbits. Another woman carried a few cooking utensils under her arm. Many women and children were crying because they had been separated from relatives and friends. Children only a month old and people who had reached the age of 90 were alike numbered among the unfortunates.

TRAGIC SCENES

"I saw the first tide of these poor people when the Germans came near to Ham and Péronne and Roye," wrote Philip Gibbs on March 29. "Some of them had been once in the hands of the Germans, and at this second menace they left their homes and their fields and their shops, and came trekking westward and southward.

"One's heart bleeds to see these refugees, and it is the most tragic aspect of these days. There are many old people among them, old women in black gowns and caps who come hobbling very slowly down the highway of war, and old men with bent backs who lean heavily on their gnarled sticks as the guns go by, and the fighting men.

"I saw one old man near Ham who was trundling along a wheelbarrow, and on this was spread a mattress, and on that was his wife. She looked 90 years of age, with her white, wringled face, and she was fast asleep, like a little child. Many children are on the roads, packed tight into farm carts with household furniture and bundles of clothing, and poultry and pigs and new-born lambs. The noise of the gunfire is behind them, and they move faster when it grows louder. They are very brave, these boys and girls and these old people. There is hardly any weeping or any look on their faces of grudge against this unkind turn of fate. They seem to accept it with stoical resignation, with most matter-of-fact courage, and their only answer to pity is a smile and the words, 'C'est la guerre.' Those are words I first heard in the early weeks of the war and hoped never to hear again.

"Many of these people trek in family groups and gatherings of families from

one village. Small boys and girls drag tired cows after them. The other day one of these cows leaned against every tree she passed and then sat down, and the girl with her looked around helplessly, not knowing what to do. This morning I saw the girl wearing a veil and dressed in an elegant way, taking the cow with her. She was quite alone on the road. It is queer and touching that most of these fugitives wear their best clothes, as though on a fête day. It is because they are clothes they want to save and can only have by wearing them in their flight.

"In one small town the fear of the German entry came at night, a bright, moonlight night into which there came many German bombing squadrons. The citizens had shut up their shops and stood about talking anxiously. Then fear and rumor spread among them, and all through the night there was an exodus of small families and solitary girls and comrades in misfortune, stealing away like shadows from homes they loved, from little fortunes or their shops, from all their normal life into the open country, where the moonlight lay white and cold on the fields. Behind them bombs were being dropped, and some of their houses were destroyed.

"C'est la guerre!"

WORK OF AMERICAN GIRLS

The heroic work of the Smith College girls was described by a correspondent at the French front under date of March 29:

"Working unceasingly under a constant shellfire, for days without sleep, the girls demonstrated admirable initiative and ability and the extreme coolness of the tried soldier. They are still in the field today, ministering to old men, women, and children. I have talked to the first persons to come in from the front, who saw them last Saturday, when shells were falling at Grecourt, the tiny Somme village where the unit has been quartered for months, aiding the folks of a dozen surrounding villages.

"When it became evident that the Germans were coming the girls worked frantically with auto trucks, gathering

together all the people in their territory. In one village they went three times to try to persuade an aged woman to leave, but she refused to move unless the ancestral bedstead on which she lay could be transported with her. In final desperation the girls brought a big supply wagon and loaded the bedstead and the woman into it, leaving the village fifteen minutes before the first of the Uhlans arrived.

"The girls organized themselves into small units and each unit was charged with the evacuation of a single village. Cavalcades of refugees, generated by the Smith girls, marched or rode from their abandoned homes to Roye, where a special train was waiting to carry them westward. Even cows, chickens, dogs, and cats helped to form the cavalcade which reached Roye on Saturday morning. Here the refugees vainly tried to crowd the animals into the train.

"The girls of the Smith College unit then proceeded to Montdidier. There, with W. B. Jackson of Washington, a former Red Cross delegate at Ham, assisted by a group of American Quakers and Red Cross workers, they organized a canteen and began giving out blankets and other comforts and making a marvelous bean soup and a special food for babies, the basis of which was condensed milk. As the refugee trains, some containing as many as 1,000 men, women, and children, poured into Montdidier the arriving refugees were fed until the supply of food was exhausted.

"Then Montdidier became too hot under the increasing shellfire and the workers were forced to split, some going to Amiens and others to Beauvais, where they continued their work. Since then practically all the Smith College girls and some other workers have gone to Amiens, where they are weathering the enemy bombardment in cellars, but carrying on their work as usual."

FLEEING IN BEST CLOTHES

An Associated Press correspondent added this further bit of eyewitness testimony under date of March 27:

"The French refugees of the better class departing from the zones of actual

operations are coming out clad in all their finery, which represents the styles of four or five years ago. Then there are sturdy peasants with wooden shoes and clumsily constructed clothes, riding in vehicles drawn by horses or donkeys or in carts pushed by men, and some are even in wheelbarrows. Upon these queer transports are stacked strange assortments of personal belongings.

"There is deep pathos in all this, but none struck the correspondent more forcibly than the appearance of a tiny girl who trudged in her wooden shoes along a hard, dusty road, her eyes fastened anxiously upon a dirty rag doll perched precariously at the top of household effects which were being pushed along by an old man. This child was perhaps representative of all the refugees—she was coming away with her most cherished possession, her baby doll, and was prepared to guard it at all costs; her aching feet were as nothing, so long as the doll was safe.

"These refugees are from the towns within the Somme battlefield and adjoining it. All these villages have been emptied of their inhabitants. So far as possible everything which might be of use to the Germans has been removed. In particular, large numbers of cattle

have been taken away by the owners, who patiently drive the beasts on ahead of them along the roads.

"There are few tears or hysterical outbreaks among the refugees, most of whom are of the peasant class. They know they must go, and they seem to be trusting implicitly in the British, but the misery in their eyes as they turn from all they love to a world they do not know is touching. Aged women clinging to the hands of little grandchildren, men stooped with years, youths and maidens—all fall into a picture such as only a catastrophe can produce."

Fifty members of the American Friends' unit of the Red Cross were in the region of the great battle, at Ham, Liancourt, Esmery-Hallon, Golancourt, and Gruny on the Somme and Aisne. These devoted workers, with the aid of many Red Cross trucks that were rushed to them, helped thousands of refugees to safety.

The French Government had several hundred tractor plows at work on the stricken lands. The American relief units also had a few tractor plows and other agricultural materials, all of which had to be abandoned to the enemy. All members of relief units were reported safe.

Castor Oil for Airplanes

How an important agricultural enterprise was initiated to meet one of the requirements of the Aviation Section of the American Army is disclosed in the minority report of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, presented on April 12, 1918. In the course of a description of the initial difficulties encountered in producing battle planes, the report says:

"Remember again that when these combat planes were contracted for the only known lubricating oil adapted to their delicate parts was an oil made from the castor bean. There were not enough beans in this country to make anywhere near the amount of oil required. Neither were there enough seeds with which to grow the needed quantity of beans. The Signal Corps had to search the globe for seeds, and finally secured a shipload from distant India. Then the corps had to contract for the planting of the seeds in this country, and has succeeded in having about 110,000 acres planted. It is now claimed that a form of petroleum has been developed that will answer the same purpose. This, however, is still in the experimental stage, while the oil from the castor bean is known to be entirely adequate and reliable."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
March 18, 1918, Up to and Including April 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

The German Government announced on March 18 that American property in Germany would be seized in reprisal for the seizure of German property in the United States.

Drastic restrictions were placed by the War Trade Board upon the importation of many nonessential commodities, the regulations to become effective April 15.

The terms of the Third Liberty Loan were announced by Secretary McAdoo on March 25. The bill authorizing it was completed by Congress and signed by President Wilson on April 4, and on April 6 the drive began.

Secretary Daniels, in a speech in Cleveland on April 6, disclosed the fact that a great fleet of American vessels, including battleships, was operating in the war zone.

Announcement was made in Tokio on March 28 that an agreement had been concluded under which Japan promised to turn over to the United States 450,000 tons of shipping.

President Wilson issued a proclamation on April 11, giving Secretary McAdoo control of the principal coastwise steamship lines.

Charles M. Schwab was appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation April 16.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Sir Eric Geddes gave in the House of Commons on March 19 figures of shipping losses which are given in detail elsewhere in this number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, also figures made public by the British Admiralty on March 21 are given elsewhere.

The Royal Mail steamer Amazon and the Norwegian steamship Stolt-Neilson, commandeered by the British, were sunk March 19.

The steamship Conargo was torpedoed in the Irish Sea March 31, and the lifeboats were shelled.

The armed boarding steamer Tithonus was sunk March 28, and the sinking of the steamship Carlisle Castle was reported April 2.

On April 1 the Celtic was torpedoed off the Irish coast, but reached port in safety.

The American steamer Chattahoochee, formerly the German Sachsen, was sunk off the English coast on March 25.

The Spanish steamers Arpillao and Begona were sunk March 25.

The Italian steamer Alessandra was sunk off the Island of Madeira April 2.

The Ministre de Smet de Naeyer, a Belgian relief ship, was sunk in the North Sea on April 6, and twelve members of the crew were lost.

As a result of the commercial agreement between Spain and the United States, German submarines began a blockade of Spanish ports, April 11.

Because a German submarine had captured a Uruguayan military commission bound for France, the Government of Uruguay on April 11 asked Berlin, through Switzerland, whether it considered that a state of war existed with Uruguay.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

March 18—Belgians repulse German raids in the region of Nieuport, Dixmude, and Mercken.

March 19—French penetrate German line near Rheims; British carry out successful raids in the neighborhood of Villers-Guislain, La Vacquerie, and Bois Gienier.

March 20—German airplane drops balls of liquefied mustard gas on American lines northwest of Toul; Americans shell Lahayville, causing a heavy explosion and forcing the Germans to retreat; French repulse violent raids in the Souain sector of Champagne.

March 21—Germans open terrific drive on British lines on a fifty-mile front from southeast of Arras as far as La Fère; French lines bombarded north and southeast of Rheims as well as on the Champagne front; Paris bombarded by long-range guns.

March 22—Germans claim 16,000 prisoners in big drive; General Haig reports them gaining at some points and repulsed at others; American artillery fire destroys German first and second line trenches east of Lunéville; violent gun duels in the Alsne and Champagne sectors; French repulse three German raids near Souain.

March 23—Germans smash British front, win victories near Monchy, Cambrai, St. Quentin, and La Fère, and penetrate into second British positions between Fontaine les Croisilles and Moeuvres; British evacuate positions in the bend southwest of Cambrai; Germans penetrate third British position between the Omlignon stream and the Somme; Paris again shelled by gun seventy-five miles away; ten persons killed and fifteen or more wounded; fierce artillery fire on the French front

- from the Oise River to the Vosges Mountains.
- March 24**—Germans capture Péronne, Chauny, and Ham, and cross the River Somme at certain points south of Péronne; assaults further north repulsed; Paris again bombarded by gun located in the Forest of St. Gobain.
- March 25**—Germans take Bapaume, Nesle, Guiscard, Blaches, Barleux, and Etalon; French take over sector of British battlefront south of St. Quentin and around Noyon; General Pershing announces that two regiments of American engineers are on the Somme battlefield; long-range bombardment of Paris continues; one long-range gun explodes, killing ten men; American gunners shell St. Bausant and the billets north of Boquetau.
- March 26**—Germans take Noyon, Roye, and Lihon, and cross the battleline of 1916 at many points; Americans in the Toul sector drive Germans out of Richécourt.
- March 27**—British, reinforced, beat back German attacks, capture Morlaincourt and Chipilly, north of the Somme, and to the south of the river advance their lines to the village of Proyard; Germans announce the capture of Albert and the crossing of the Ancre north and south of the city; French forced to yield ground east of Montdidier, but check assaults near Lassigny and Noyon.
- March 28**—British repulse all-day attacks at Arras; Germans capture Montdidier and push their lines as far as Pierrepont, and regain some ground south of the Somme which they lost in 1914; French advance at Noyon for a mile and a quarter on a six-mile front.
- March 29**—British line south of the Somme pushed back to a line running west of Hamel, Marcelcave, and Demuin; German drive slackens in the north; French in the Oise Valley retake Monchel; seventy-five persons killed and ninety wounded in church near Paris by shell from long-range gun.
- March 30**—Paris again bombarded by long-range guns; eight killed, thirty-seven wounded; Germans wrest six villages in the Montdidier sector from the French, and Demuin and Mézières from the British, but are repulsed in the Boiry-Boyettes region.
- March 31**—Germans lose ground near Feuchy; British advance near Serre; French recapture Ayencourt and Monchel and gain considerable ground near Orrillers; American Army starts for the battlefront; Paris again bombarded; one person killed, six injured.
- April 1**—French repulse German attacks against Grivesnes; Germans mass troops near Albert for renewed drive; bombardment of Paris resumed.
- April 2**—British carry on successful minor operations between the Avre and the Luce Rivers and in the neighborhood of Hébuterne; French repulse Germans southwest of La Fère and shell enemy concentrations east of Cantigny.
- April 3**—British occupy Ayette, check Germans near Moreuil; French extend their lines north of Plémont and take over another sector of the line, extending their holdings northward to Thennes; Americans heavily gassed in a sector other than Toul.
- April 4**—Germans deliver terrific attack against the French along a front of nearly nine miles, from Grivesnes to north of the Amiens-Royes road, and occupy the villages of Mailly-Raineval and Morisel; British lose ground north of Hamel and in the direction of Vaire Wood.
- April 5**—French forces, by vigorous counterattacks, improve their positions in the region of Mailly-Raineval and Cantigny; Germans attack British lines from the Somme northward to a point above Bucquoy and reach the Albert-Amiens railway, but are driven back.
- April 6**—Germans attack at several points along the French front from the region of Montdidier eastward to the east and south of Chauny, but are repulsed everywhere except on the left bank of the Oise in the Chauny sector.
- April 7**—Germans push on south of the Oise and take Coucy Wood and Pierremande and Folembray; British retake Aveluy Wood and repel attacks opposite Albert and south of Hébuterne.
- April 8**—British lines around Bucquoy heavily shelled; Germans drive French back to the western bank of the Ailette River and take Verneuil and the heights east of Coucy-le-Château; Americans rout German patrol northwest of Toul; French airmen locate and bombard the gun that fired on Paris.
- April 9**—Germans force back the British-Portuguese centre on the River Lys between Estaires and Bac St. Maur, and take Richeboucq-St. Vaast and Laventie; British repulse attacks at Givenchy and Fleurbaix.
- April 10**—Germans cross the River Lys at several points between Armentières and Estaires; British forced back north and south of Armentières; French repulse Germans in the Hangard region; first American troops reach the British front.
- April 11**—Germans hurl troops at British front from La Bassée to the Ypres-Comines Canal, and force the British to give ground at some points, notably at Estaires and Steenwerck.
- April 12**—Germans launch heavy attacks against the French in the Hangard-en-Santerre sector, penetrate Hangard, but later lose half of the village to the French; Americans help to repel an attack in the Apremont Forest; British forced back west and northwest of Armentières to Neuve Eglise; Merville lost.

April 13—French advance northwest of Orvilles-Sorel and repulse attack near Noyon; British regain Neuve Eglise, but beat off German attacks southeast of Bailleul; Americans repulse two attacks in force in the Toul sector, winning the first all-day battle in which they have been engaged.

April 14—British hold Neuve Eglise against repeated German assaults; Germans attack near Bailleul and Merris; Americans repulse attacks north of St. Mihiel; bombardment of Paris by long-range gun continues.

April 15—Germans take Neuve Eglise, and hurl huge forces toward Bailleul and Wulverghem; British straighten out their salient around Wytschaete; definite announcement made of the appointment of General Foch as Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France, with enlarged powers.

April 16—Germans take Wytschaete and Spanbroekmolen, after forcing the British out of Bailleul; sixteen killed, forty-five wounded in long-range bombardment of Paris.

April 17—British re-enter Wytschaete and Meteren, but are forced out; Germans occupy Poelcappelle, Langemark, and Passchendaele.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

March 21—British advance in Palestine, taking Beit Rima, Kefrut, and Elowsallabeh.

March 22-23—British advance nine miles on the left bank of the Jordan; Arabs destroy Turkish camel corps company near Jedahah.

March 26—British carry Turkish main positions north of Khan-Baghdadi; entire Turkish force in the Hit area captured or destroyed.

April 1—British advance seventy-three miles beyond Anah and menace Aleppo.

April 4—Armenians recapture Erzerum from the Turks.

April 7—Turks take Ardahan from the Armenians.

April 11—British in Palestine advance their line to a depth of one and a half miles on a front of five miles, and capture the villages of El Kefr and Rafat.

April 17—Turks capture Batum.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

March 22—Fighting becomes more active along the entire front; Italians drive back patrols on the Trentino front and eject an Austrian detachment from an advanced post in the Frenzela Valley sector.

March 28—Artillery engagements east of Badeneoche; forty Austrian divisions transferred to the Italian front.

AERIAL RECORD

James Ian Macpherson, Parliamentary Secretary of the British War Office, an-

nounced in the British Commons on March 19 that 255 flights into Germany, constituting 38 raids, had been made since last October, and that forty-eight tons of bombs had been dropped.

Italians bombed Metz on the nights of March 17 and March 23 and the railway station at Thionville on March 24.

Paris was raided on the night of April 12 and twenty-six were persons killed and seventy-two wounded.

Bombs were dropped on the east coast of England on the night of April 12. Five persons were killed and fifteen injured.

NAVAL RECORD

Ostend was bombarded by British monitors on March 21. On the same day two German destroyers and two torpedo boats were sunk off Dunkirk by British and French destroyers.

The Alexander Agassiz, a small boat formerly of American registry, which was outfitted by the Germans at Mazatlan for service as a raider, was captured in the Pacific Ocean by an American cruiser on March 19.

The Belgian relief ship Flandres was sunk by a mine on April 11.

The German transport Frankland struck a mine and sank at Noorland, March 22, and all on board, including Admiral von Meyrer, were drowned.

Ten German trawlers were sunk by the British in the Cattegat on April 15.

RUSSIA, RUMANIA, AND POLAND

Leon Trotzky asked the American military mission for ten American officers to aid as inspectors in organizing and training a new volunteer army, and requested the aid of American railway engineers and transportation experts in the reorganization of the railways, March 20. The same day he addressed the Moscow Soviet, calling for a new army of from 300,000 to 750,000, commanded by trained officers.

Japanese and British marines were landed at Vladivostok on April 5, following the invasion of a Japanese office by five armed Russians, who killed one Japanese and wounded two others. The Siberian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates protested to the Consular Corps, but the Japanese representatives at Vologda explained that the landing was only a local incident and that Admiral Kato had acted on his own initiative.

The Trans-Caucasian Constituent Assembly, in session at Tiflis on March 21, refused to ratify the peace treaty with Germany, and urged immediate war. On March 29 the Caucasus Diet approved the basis of a separate peace agreement with Turkey, including autonomy for Armenia and the restoration of old frontiers.

The Armenians and Georgians refused to

recognize the cession of territory made under the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and on April 3 fierce fighting broke out in the districts of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan, as the Turks began military occupation. The Georgians seized most of the Russian warships in the Harbor of Batum and took them into the Black Sea. On April 4 the Armenians recaptured Erzerum from the Turks, and on April 7 the Turks took Ardahan from the Armenian forces.

Alexander Marghiloman, leader of the Conservatives, was appointed Premier of Rumania March 20. On the same day Germany announced the extension of the armistice until March 22.

On March 21 Germany increased her demands on Rumania, calling for the surrender of all war munitions. Austria demanded the surrender of all territory west of a line extending from a point east of Red Tower Pass to a point on the Danube near Ghilramar, and also a strip of country eighty miles long and ten miles wide in the region of Predeal. On March 23 Germany again extended the armistice because of a delay in the formation of the Rumanian Cabinet. On March 29 Germany demanded that the Rumanian oil wells be turned over to a German-controlled corporation.

German forces continued their advance in Ukraine, taking Kherson on March 21 and burning Poltava on March 31. The Ukrainian Rada protested against the German demand for 85 per cent. of the country's grain supply and practically all of the sugar supply, March 27. On April 5 the Bolshevik Government protested against the invasion by German and Ukrainian troops of Kursk Province.

Finland protested to the German Government, March 29, against the arrest of Major Henry Crosby Emery, representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and his detention on the Åland Islands.

British and French troops were reported on March 31 to be co-operating with the Bolshevik troops in the defense of the Kola and Mourmansk troops against the Finnish White Guards. German troops were landed in Finland April 3, and on the same day the Finnish White Guards captured Tammerfors. The Russian fleet escaped from Helsingfors on April 7. On April 8 Germany sent an ultimatum demanding the removal or disarmament of all Russian warships in Finnish waters by April 12, and on April 11 a German squadron, with several transports, arrived at Lovisa.

On April 14 German troops took Hyving and Finnish White Guards took Bjoerneborg. Helsingfors was occupied by the Germans on April 15.

Abo was evacuated by the Red Guards on April 16.

MISCELLANEOUS

President Poincaré refused to pardon Bolo Pacha, April 7, and the next day the condemned man made a statement concerning other treason cases, thus gaining a reprieve. He was executed on the morning of April 17.

Holland refused the Allies' terms for the transfer of Dutch ships and demanded guarantees that they would not be used for troops or munitions. On March 20 President Wilson issued a proclamation ordering their seizure. The Netherlands Government protested in a statement which appeared in the Official Gazette March 30. On April 1 President Wilson issued an order authorizing the Navy Department to take possession of all equipment and cargoes. Secretary Lansing replied to the Netherlands Government in a statement issued on April 13.

Premier Lloyd George addressed the British House of Commons on April 9 on the military situation and the man-power problem. He asked that the services of every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and 50 be placed at the disposal of the Government and advocated conscription in Ireland. Leave to introduce the man-power bill was carried in the House. The next day the second reading was carried, and on April 12 the bill was passed. On the same day Sir Horace Plunkett submitted to Lloyd George his report on the Irish Convention's plan for home rule. The third reading of the man-power bill was passed by the House of Lords April 17.

Mme. Despina Davidovitch Storch, a woman of Turkish birth; Baron Henri de Beville, Mrs. Elizabeth Charlotte Nix, and a man who called himself Count Robert de Clairmont were arrested in New York City on March 18 on suspicion of being members of an international spy system working in the interests of Germany. President Wilson ordered their deportation to France. Mme. Storch died of pneumonia at Ellis Island on March 30.

Lieutenants Calamaras and Hodjopoulos, who landed in Greece from a German submarine to act as agents of ex-King Constantine, and who planned to arrange a spy system and establish a naval base, were executed on March 30.

The Supreme War Council of the Allies issued a statement on March 18 condemning German political crimes against the Russian and Rumanian peoples, refusing to acknowledge Germany's peace treaties with them, and announcing their purpose to establish a reign of organized justice.

General Ferdinand Foch was made Generalissimo of all the allied forces on the western front on March 23. A definite official announcement of his appointment as Commander in Chief, with enlarged powers, was made on April 15.

Russia Under German Domination

Record of a Month's Events

THE Russo-German peace treaty, signed by the Bolshevik plenipotentiaries on March 3, 1918, and ratified at a session of the All-Russian Soviet Congress held in Moscow on March 14-16, was approved, after a prolonged discussion, by the Main Committee of the German Reichstag on March 22.

Discussing the situation created in Russia by the Brest-Litovsk pact, a Petrograd daily remarks that, while the rest of the world has secret diplomacy and open war, Russia has open diplomacy and secret war. In fact, the final ratification of the "peace" instrument by both sides did not put an end to the military operations of the Central Powers in Russia. Nor did the Russians cease to make feeble and sporadic attempts at resistance.

In the third week of March the fall of Petrograd seemed imminent, but the transfer of the Government to Moscow and the partial evacuation of the northern capital by the civil population apparently changed the objective of the invading German troops to the ancient Russian metropolis. They began to march on Moscow from northwest, west, and southwest, but stopped within the distance of approximately 150 miles from that city. For the last three weeks practically no fighting has been going on in the north of Russia, except occasional guerrilla skirmishes and punitive expeditions, conducted by the Germans and the propertied classes. On the other hand, in the south the Austro-German invaders have been vigorously pushing on, ostensibly under the pretext of assisting the friendly Ukrainian nation in its struggle against the Soviet power.

By March 20 the Teutons were in possession of the whole of Western Ukraine west of the Dnieper. Among other cities they held Zhitomir, Kiev, Nikolayev, and Odessa. The latter city, the most important commercial seaport in Russia,

was reported to have been occupied by four Austro-German regiments without a shot. Kherson was taken March 21. On March 27, the semi-official Russian news agency announced that the Soviet and Ukrainian troops, assisted by naval forces, recaptured Odessa. According to an earlier report, Kherson, Nikolayev, and Znamenka were also recaptured by Red Guards and armed civilians. The retaking of Odessa was officially denied by Vienna, and the city is apparently in the hands of the Teutons at this writing, (April 18.) They are reported to have seized large stores of war materials at Odessa, and 2,500 ships at Nikolayev, which is a port on the Black Sea, with vast docks for building warships. The Austro-Germans also took Poltava, situated midway between the Dnieper and Donetz, and set it on fire. The capture of Poltava was followed (April 8) by that of Yekaterinoslav and Kharkov, the former seat of the Bolshevik Rada.

On April 11 the invaders occupied the small city of Lgov, 130 miles northwest of Kharkov, and an ultimatum was sent to the City of Kursk, demanding its surrender. Both towns are situated in the province of Kursk, which lies beyond the Russo-Ukrainian border as defined by the Central Powers.

The march of the Teutons, coupled with their requisitions of food products, seemed to arouse a good deal of dissatisfaction among the peasants and workmen in the Ukraine. It is reported that the Rada, which had invited the Germans, requested them to stop the advance of their troops, but their request was not heeded. The behavior of the Teutons in Kiev led to a clash between the Ukrainian authorities and the German commandant. The demand of the Austro-Germans that the Ukraine should furnish them 85 per cent. of its grain and all its sugar except that needed for local consumption was particularly resented. On April 7 the Bolshevik Foreign Minister Chicherin signified

to the German Government his willingness to open peace negotiations with the Ukraine. According to some advices the Rada wished to form a federated alliance with the Russian Republic.

IN THE CAUCASUS

Article 4 of the Russo-German treaty provides for the evacuation by the Russian troops of the districts of Erivan, Kars, and Batum, (in the Caucasus,) and the reorganization of these districts in agreement with Turkey. The Transcaucasian Constituent Assembly, meeting in Tiflis, refused to recognize the peace with the Central Powers and pronounced itself in favor of a war against them. On March 29 it was reported that the local Diet declared the independence of the Caucasus and approved the project of a separate peace with Turkey. But when, several days later, the Turks began the military occupation of the Caucasian districts mentioned in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Armenians and Georgians rose against the invaders. On April 4 the Armenians were said to have recaptured Erzerum, in Turkish Armenia, which Russia evacuated after the conclusion of peace. Before the Caucasian uprising Turkey officially announced its intention to send troops to restore order in the Crimea. It was reported that massacres of Armenians were resumed by the Turks and that many thousand women and children had been butchered.

On April 14 the Russian Government forwarded to Germany a protest of the Armenian National Council, addressed to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Reichstag. The document reads in part:

Following upon the withdrawal of the Russian troops Turkish troops already have invaded the undefended country and are not only killing every Turkish Armenian, but also every Russian in Armenia.

In spite of the terms of the peace treaty, which recognizes the right of self-determination for these Caucasian regions, the Turkish Army is advancing toward Kars and Ardahan, destroying the country and killing the Christian population. The responsibility for the future destiny of the Armenians lies entirely with Germany because it was Germany's insistence that resulted in the withdrawal of the Russian

troops from the Armenian regions, and at the moment it rests with Germany to prevent the habitual excesses of the Turkish troops, increased by revengefulness and anger.

INTERNAL SITUATION

The internal situation in Russia proper remains uncertain, nor have any definite changes taken place in the mood of the people or in the Governmental policies of the Bolsheviks. It is charged that the Bolshevik Government suppressed the full text of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. On April 10 the Commissioner of Commerce of the Bolsheviks announced that under the terms of the peace treaty Russia had suffered the following losses:

Seven hundred and eighty thousand square kilometers (301,000 square miles) of territory.

Fifty-six million inhabitants, constituting 32 per cent. of the entire population of the country.

One-third of Russia's total mileage of railways, amounting to 21,530 kilometers, (13,350 miles.)

Seventy-three per cent. of the total iron production.

Eighty-nine per cent. of the total coal production.

Two hundred and sixty-eight sugar refineries, 918 textile factories, 574 breweries, 133 tobacco factories, 1,685 distilleries, 244 chemical factories, 615 paper mills, 1,073 machine factories.

These territories, which now become German, formerly brought in annual revenue amounting to 845,238 rubles, and had 1,800 savings banks.

The alarming sweep of the Teutonic invasion, together with the growing realization of what the Brest-Litovsk agreement really means to Russia, seemed finally to arouse some spirit of resistance in the Russian masses. Patriarch Tikhon declared that the Russian Church could not recognize a peace dismembering the country and subjecting it to a foreign power. Since the ratification the spokesmen of the Bolshevik Government have not ceased talking of organizing a large army for a new war. The prevalent Bolshevik opinion is that the new revolutionary army should be used, in the words of the semi-official Bolshevik organ Pravda, "not to strengthen, as 'the imperialists calculate, this or that 'bourgeois front, but to turn the front 'of the world war into a front of the 'workers' and soldiers' revolution."



The United States Congress in wartime, including nearly all the members of the House, on the steps of the Capitol

(© Harris & Ewing)



An American first aid station in the trenches in France

(© Committee on Public Information)

TALK OF NEW ARMY

In March it was reported that four of the People's Commissaries had gone south to organize troops for guerrilla warfare. This idea, however, was soon abandoned. Trotzky insisted upon the necessity of having a strictly disciplined army of 300,000 to 750,000 men, under regular officers. "We cannot," he said, "pre-serve the illusion that European capital will patiently suffer the fact that in Russia the power is in the hands of the working class. * * * We are surrounded by enemies on all sides. If it were proposed to France to re-turn Alsace, the French Bourse would sell Russia tomorrow." On April 2 M. Podvoisky, Assistant Commissary of War, stated that Russia would form an army of 1,500,000 men, and that the Red Army of Volunteers was steadily growing. The army organization has been changed with a view to limiting the application of the elective principle. According to some reports the Bolsheviks are hoping to have an army of 500,000 by the Fall. Some of the leaders went so far as to advocate compulsory military service. On April 10 Leon Trotzky was appointed joint Minister of War and Marine.

On the previous day the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets unanimously passed a resolution ruling that henceforth Russia's national flag would be a red banner bearing the inscription: "*Rossiyskaya Sotzialisticheskaya Federativnaya Sovetskaya Respublika*," (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.) Proposing the measure, the Chairman said: "The Russian flag will have to wave over the embassies in Berlin and Vienna and we cannot have the old tricolor, so I think it most proper to adopt the red flag under which we fought and gained victory."

BESSARABIA AND RUMANIA

An important event has taken place in the southwestern corner of the former Russian Empire, in the rich province of Bessarabia, where separatist tendencies have recently made themselves strongly felt. A Berlin dispatch, dated April 11, announced that the Bessarabian Diet had

voted, 86 against 5, that Bessarabia should join the Kingdom of Rumania. Thereupon, the Ukrainian Premier filed a protest in Russia against this act, stating that the Ukraine must have her say in the settlement of Bessarabia's fate in view of the fact that this province has a large Ukrainian population and that the Ukraine is controlling an important region on the Black Sea adjacent to Bessarabia.

The Council of the People's Commissaries was notified on April 9 that the Province of Kazan, situated in the east of European Russia and having a population of 2,000,000, had been proclaimed an independent republic by the Congress of Peasants of that region.

RUSSIA AND THE ALLIES

The Entente did not acknowledge the Russo-German peace. In a statement issued March 18 through the British Foreign Office the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy voiced their protest against "the political crimes which, under the name of a German peace, have been committed against the Russian people." Ambassador David R. Francis, when asked whether he would leave Russia in consequence of the ratification of the peace treaty, gave the following reply:

I shall not leave Russia until compelled by force. The American Government and people are too deeply interested in the prosperity of the Russian people for them to abandon Russia to the Germans. America is sincerely interested in the liberty of the Russian people and will do everything possible to safeguard the real interests of the country.

If the brave and patriotic Russian people will forget political differences for the time being and act resolutely and vigorously, they will be able to drive the enemy from their territory, and by the end of 1918 bring a lasting peace for themselves and the whole world. America still counts itself an ally of the Russian people, and we shall be ready to help any Government which organizes a vigorous resistance to the German invasion.

The French, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Serbian, Belgian, Brazilian, Greek, Portuguese, and Siamese representatives, who left Russia when the treaty with Germany was signed, joined the American Ambassador (who did not leave the

country) at Vologda, 300 miles north-east of Moscow, late in March. A dispatch dated March 20 says: "There has been a marked change in the attitude of the Allies toward the Soviet Government. * * * There are many signs of renewed co-operation between Russia and the Allies." The dispatch also quotes M. Chicherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, as saying that "Russia's relations with the Entente are unchanged."

At the same time Trotsky approached the American military mission, established in Moscow, asking it to assist Russia in organizing a volunteer army and in improving the country's transportation. On March 27 the *Petit Parisien* published a statement to the effect that Trotsky had also asked the French to assist him in organizing military resistance to the Germans. A leading article in Premier Clemenceau's *L'Homme Libre* contained the following statement: "The Entente, as long as the war lasts, will regard Russia, the one and indivisible Russia which signed the pact of London, as an ally."

Russia also reckons on the Allies, especially America, for support in rehabilitating her industries and developing her resources. A large order for agricultural machinery has been placed in the United States, and the shipping of the goods has already begun. According to a London dispatch the Bolsheviks are sending a commission to the United States to settle Russia's accounts with American firms and make arrangements for future trade relations.

THE JAPANESE LANDING

After Russia's collapse, and especially after her capitulation, Japan's intervention in Siberia was a subject of lively discussion in the allied countries. Persistent rumors were circulated by the press to the effect that large masses of armed and organized Teuton prisoners, numbering at least 150,000 men, were ready to seize the Trans-Siberian railroad and menace the military stores accumulated in Vladivostok. These rumors were declared by the Bolshevik authorities to be a part of the propaganda to bring dis-

repute on the Soviet power and encourage Japanese intervention, which Lenin's Government regards as an encroachment of world imperialism upon Socialist Russia.

On Friday, April 5, two companies of Japanese sailors landed at Vladivostok. According to the report of the President of the Vladivostok Soviet, the landing was effected in the presence of the Japanese Consul and Admiral Kato, Japanese Marine Minister, without the consent of the other allied Consuls. Later in the day fifty British armed sailors were landed. There was also an unconfirmed report that American marines, too, were landed. On the next day 250 more Japanese sailors entered the city. In a proclamation issued at Vladivostok Admiral Kato explained that the step was taken because of the murder of a Japanese soldier and in order to protect the life and property of Japanese and allied subjects. The Vladivostok Soviet protested to the Consular Corps. Resolutions of protest were also passed by the Municipal Council and the local Zemstvo.

The news of the landing produced much excitement in the Bolshevik headquarters in Moscow. In spite of the statement of the allied diplomats that the act was a purely local affair of no political importance, the Bolsheviks construed it as the beginning of the rumored Japanese invasion. A statement issued by the Commissaries on April 6 declared that the killing of the Japanese soldier was part of a prearranged scheme, and that "Japan had started a campaign against the Soviet Republic." The following day the *Izvestia* spoke of the invasion as the continuation of "the crusade against revolutionary Russia" begun by imperialistic Germany. In a speech at Moscow on April 8 Premier Lenin said: "It is possible that after a short time, perhaps even within a few days, we shall have to declare war on Japan." Two days later it was reported that the Russian Government had requested Germany to permit the postponement of the demobilization of the Russian Army in view of the Japanese landing at Vladivostok.

On April 11 the Consular Corps of

Vladivostok officially informed the local Zemstvo that the landing of allied sailors had been made necessary by conditions of anarchy in the port, and that the troops would be withdrawn as soon as order had been restored.

On March 16 the American Ambassador, Mr. Francis, made the following statement:

The Soviet Government and the Soviet press are giving too much importance to the landing of these marines, which has no political significance, but merely was a police precaution taken by the Japanese Admiral on his own responsibility for the protection of Japanese life and property in Vladivostok, and the Japanese Admiral, Kato, so informed the

American Admiral, Knight, and the American Consul, Caldwell, in Vladivostok. My impression is that the landing of the British marines was pursuant to the request of the British Consul for the protection of the British Consulate and British subjects in Vladivostok, which he anticipated would possibly be jeopardized by the unrest which might result from the Japanese landing.

The American Consul did not ask protection from the American cruiser in Vladivostok Harbor, and consequently no American marines were landed. This, together with the fact that the French Consul at Vladivostok made no request for protection from the British, American, or Japanese cruisers in the harbor, unquestionably demonstrates that the landing of allied troops is not a concerted action between the Allies.

The Czar's Loyalty to the Allies

An Autograph Letter

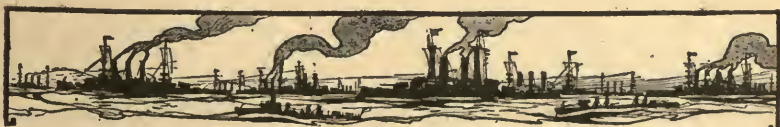
A LETTER written by Nicholas II. to President Poincaré in the Spring of 1916 has recently been made public. Its interest lies in its expression of absolute loyalty to the Allies. It is as follows:

DEAR AND EXALTED FRIEND: At a moment when France and Russia are more closely bound than ever in the unprecedented struggle of which they are supporting the weight with their faithful allies, it has been a great pleasure to me to see the arrival of members of the French Government in Russia. I have had much pleasure in once again meeting M. Viviani, whom I already know, and in recalling the last interview that I had with you. At the time our one idea was to insure the peaceful development of our two countries, while the enemy was already preparing his attack against the peace of Europe in the hope of securing the hegemony of the world. It also gives me great pleasure to meet M. Albert Thomas, the Minister of Munitions, whose talents have rendered such great services to his country and to the cause of the Allies.

Having always attached great importance to an intimate collaboration between

the two Governments, I attach even greater importance to this collaboration at the present time, now that we are thoroughly determined only to disarm by common agreement after gaining the final victory. It is therefore more necessary to co-ordinate our effort in order that our common action may be more effective. It is unquestionable that each of the Allies is animated by a single desire—that of placing its fullest effort at the disposal of the common cause.

It is with this desire that my Government and my officers have devotedly studied, in association with members of the French Government, the methods that should be taken to insure that the greatest possible assistance should be given to our various allies. I hope, consequently, that M. Viviani and M. Thomas will leave here with the absolute conviction that so far as it is materially possible Russia will hesitate before no sacrifice to insure the triumph of the allied cause at the earliest possible moment. My warmest wishes are that our united efforts may soon be crowned with the most striking success, and I am anxious to express to you my admiration of France, which has covered itself with fresh glory in the heroic defense of Verdun.



Pershing's Army Under General Foch

American Troops in France Brigaded With French and British Units for the Great Battle in Picardy

GENERAL PERSHING, in a cablegram to General March, Acting Chief of Staff, announced on March 29, 1918, that the American expeditionary force in France had been placed at the disposal of General Foch, the allied Generalissimo. The message read:

Have made all our resources available, and our divisions will be used if and when needed. French are in fine spirits, and both armies seem confident.

(Signed) PERSHING.

General Pershing had called on General Foch at Headquarters on the previous day, March 28, and made the offer of American troops. His words were reported by the Paris newspaper, L'Information, as follows:

"I come to say to you that the American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. I ask it of you, in my name and in that of the American people. There is at this moment no other question than that of fighting. Infantry, artillery, aviation—all that we have are yours to dispose of as you will. Others are coming which are as numerous as will be necessary. I have come to say to you that the American people would be proud to be engaged in the greatest battle in history."

In a statement given out at the American Headquarters in France on March 30, Secretary Baker said:

"I am delighted at General Pershing's prompt and effective action in placing all the American troops and facilities at the disposal of the Allies in the present situation. It will meet with hearty approval in the United States, where the people desire their expeditionary forces to be of the utmost service in the common cause. I have visited all the American troops in France, some of them re-

cently, and had an opportunity to observe the enthusiasm with which officers and men received the announcement that they would be used in the present conflict. One regiment to which the announcement was made spontaneously broke into cheers."

THE OFFER ACCEPTED

General Foch placed General Pershing's offer before the French war council at the front, which included Premier Clemenceau, French Commander Pétain, and Louis Loucheur, Minister of Munitions. An official note, issued in Paris on March 31, dealing with the operation of American troops with the French and British, said:

The French Government has decided to accede to the desire expressed by General Pershing in the name of the United States Government. The American troops will fight side by side with the British and French troops and the Star-Spangled Banner will float beside the French and English flags in the plains of Picardy.

Further information showing that the time had come for the active participation of the American Army in the new campaign was contained in the following British official announcement, issued in London on April 1:

As a result of communications which have passed between the Prime Minister [Lloyd George] and President Wilson; of deliberations between Secretary Baker, who visited London a few days ago, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, and Lord Derby, and consultations in France, in which General Pershing and General Bliss participated, important decisions have been come to by which large forces of trained men in the American Army can be brought to the assistance of the Allies in the present struggle.

The Government of our great Western ally is not only sending large numbers of American battalions to Europe during

the coming critical months, but has agreed to such of its regiments as cannot be used in divisions of their own being brigaded with French and British units so long as the necessity lasts.

By this means troops which are not yet sufficiently trained to fight as divisions and army corps will form part of seasoned divisions until such time as they have completed their training and General Pershing wishes to withdraw them in order to build up the American Army.

Arrangements for the transportation of these additional forces are now being completed.

Throughout these discussions President Wilson has shown the greatest anxiety to do everything possible to assist the Allies and has left nothing undone which could contribute thereto.

This decision, however, of vital importance as it will be to the maintenance of the allied strength in the next few months, will in no way diminish the need for those further measures for raising fresh troops at home, to which reference already has been made. It is announced at once because the Prime Minister feels that the singleness of purpose with which the United States have made this immediate and, indeed, indispensable contribution toward the triumph of the allied cause should be clearly recognized by the British people.

The action of the United States in thus merging its troops with the other armies was hailed with gratitude and praise by the press and official spokesmen of all the Entente nations.

The first mention of Americans in the battle of Picardy was contained in the War Department's weekly review of the war situation, issued on April 7. American transport sections, it said, had taken an active part in the battle, and the American Aviation Section was co-operating with the British.

THE FIGHTING ENGINEERS

American engineers also took part in the battle, particularly during the first days of the German offensive. Three companies belonging to two regiments of the American Railway Engineers were reported in the German War Office statement as operating in the areas of Chauny and the Crozat Canal. This statement was confirmed in a report from General Pershing to the Acting Chief of Staff at Washington. The Americans had been working in the rear lines with Canadian engineers, under Canadian command. When the German

attack came, they threw down their tools and seized the weapons with which they had been armed for some months, and formed themselves into a fighting unit. The Germans came on, and finally reached the positions where the Americans were waiting. The number of the engineers was comparatively small. They had no intention of retreating, however, and were bent upon killing all the Germans possible.

As the first enemy wave advanced, the American forces let them come until they were within certain range: then opened fire, pouring in a storm of bullets. Gaps appeared in the advancing lines at many places, but the German waves came on, without firing a single shot. The Americans were unable to understand these tactics. By this time their weapons were so hot that they could not be used effectively, and the enemy was close, so that the engineers retired, fighting, took up another position, then turned and began operations again. A British officer who witnessed the engagement is reported to have said: "They held on by their teeth until the last moment, inflicting terrific casualties on the enemy. Then they moved back and waited for the Germans, and repeated the performance." By the time the engineers reached a place somewhere near Noyon they were nearly exhausted and almost without equipment. There they had a chance to rest and re-equip.

On the sectors where American troops had been stationed before the decision to place them at the disposal of General Foch intensive training operations in the front-line trenches, with artillery fire and raiding of the enemy's positions, had been proceeding along much the same lines as during the previous month. A dispatch dated April 3 reported that American troops on a certain sector other than that in the region of Toul had been subjected to an extraordinarily heavy gas attack.

With the acceptance of the American offer to join in the battle of Picardy, troops began to be withdrawn from the sectors thus far occupied and from the American training camps in France, and hurried as rapidly as possible to points

where the French and British required reinforcements.

Casualty lists showed that the Rain-bow Division, (composed of troops from nearly every State in the Union,) the first of the National Guard divisions to cross the Atlantic, had been engaged in the fighting. The 150th Machine Gun Battalion, made up of guardsmen from the old 2d Wisconsin Infantry, had suffered heavily; of the sixty-eight men named as severely wounded in one list fifty-six were identified as members of the Wisconsin machine-gun unit.

AMERICAN WAR CROSSES

General Pershing approved, according to an announcement on March 19, the awarding of the first American military crosses for extraordinary heroism. The recipients were Lieutenant John O. Green, Sergeant William Norton, and Sergeant Patrick Walsh. The crosses were awarded for "extraordinary heroism in connection with military operations against an armed enemy." The exploits of these men were described by the General commanding their division as follows:

I recommend that the Distinguished Service Cross be awarded to the officer and men named hereafter, who distinguished themselves by acts of extraordinary heroism.

Lieutenant Green, while in a dugout, having been wounded by an enemy hand grenade, was summoned to surrender. He refused to do so. Returning the fire of the enemy, he wounded one and pursued the hostile party.

Sergeant Norton, finding himself in a dugout surrounded by the enemy, into which a grenade had just been thrown, refused to surrender, and made a bold dash outside, killing one of his assailants. By so doing he saved the company's log book.

Sergeant Walsh followed his company commander to the first lines in spite of a severe barrage. The Captain being killed, he assumed command of the group and attacked a superior force of the enemy, inflicting severe loss upon them. Though of advanced age he refused to leave the front.

To these recommendations General Pershing appended his approval. Lieutenant Green and Sergeants Norton and

Walsh had all previously received the French War Cross, Norton and Walsh being decorated personally by Premier Clemenceau on March 3.

Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, during a visit to the front-line trenches held by American troops, insisted upon going through a sap to a listening post. Peeping over the parapet into No Man's Land, he expressed his sensations in the words: "Now I am on the frontier of freedom." On the return journey from the trenches a German shell burst within less than fifty yards of Mr. Baker's motor car, hit a roadside dugout, and tore out a large crater.

TOTAL CASUALTIES

For nearly a week in the beginning of April no casualty lists were issued by the War Department, owing to a cablegram from the Secretary of War prescribing the following rules for handling publicity of matters pertaining to troops and operations:

First—All matters pertaining to events, persons, policies, or operations abroad will only be officially given out from the headquarters, American Expeditionary Force in France.

Second—Similar matters affecting forces at home will be given out from the War Department.

Suppression of the casualty lists aroused criticism throughout the country, and on April 9 the War Department, acting on cabled instructions from Mr. Baker, resumed issuing the daily list. The summarized totals up to April 11 were:

DEATHS	
Killed in action.....	228
Killed or prisoner.....	1
Killed by accident.....	181
Died of disease.....	867
Lost at sea.....	237
Died of wounds.....	69
Civilians	7
Gas attack, suicide, executed, unknown causes.....	42
Total deaths.....	1,632
Wounded	1,606
Captured	43
Missing	30
Total of all casualties.....	3,311

Our War Machine in New Phases

Month Ended April 18, 1918

THE outstanding feature of America's part in the war during the past month has been the placing at the disposal of General Foch, the allied Generalissimo, all the men and resources of the United States now available in France. At home preparations were hastened to call up at least another 150,000 men under the draft law to replace those sent from the training camps to France.

The navy is now represented in the war zone by 150 vessels, including battleships, under the command of Admiral Sims.

Drastic changes have been made in various branches of the War Department. The Ordnance Department and Quartermaster Corps have been brought more into line with the requirements of supplying the armies at home and abroad. The Senate Military Affairs Committee has investigated the serious delay in aircraft production, and in a majority report severely criticised the work of the Signal Corps, under which the Aviation Section is organized. The War Industries Board has been reshaped, and its Chairman, Mr. Baruch, has been given very extensive powers.

The crisis which arose out of the shipbuilding program has been passed, and our 150 shipyards are accelerating the rate of production of new ships. Dutch ships in American ports aggregating 500,000 tons have been seized, and 200,000 tons of Japanese shipping has been received by agreement.

The railroads under Government control are becoming more closely adapted to the needs of wartime distribution. Several important coastwise steamship lines have been taken over and placed under the Director General of Railroads.

The food situation still demands strict conservation, and it is recognized that America will have to submit to greater sacrifices in view of the ever-growing world shortage.

Labor questions have been engaging the serious attention of the Government and Congress. The diversion of working

people to industries where they are most needed for war purposes, and legislation to prevent strikes have been under consideration. In addition to the different war industries properly so-called, a large amount of labor is now necessary for agriculture, so as to plant the largest possible crop and to harvest it in the fall.

To finance the war, and incidentally mark the beginning of the nation's second year in the war, subscriptions were opened on April 6 for the Third Liberty Loan of \$3,000,000,000 at 4½ per cent. These bonds are nonconvertible and will mature in ten years.

WAR DEPARTMENT'S GROWTH

The experience gained by officers who have been serving with General Pershing's army in France is becoming an influence in every one of the widely ramified branches of the War Department, while Secretary Baker's visit abroad to get first-hand knowledge of the requirements of the American expeditionary force has been fertile in new ideas.

One of the signs of the growth of the War Department is the appointment of a third Assistant Secretary of War. For this position Frederick P. Keppel, Dean of Columbia University, New York, was selected by the President. On April 12 the appointment was unanimously recommended by the Senate Military Committee. The nomination of E. R. Stettinius as an Assistant Secretary had already been confirmed. Dr. Keppel's duties include the supervision of the nonmilitary activities of the soldiers, their personal welfare and comfort, both at home and abroad.

To improve the work of the General Staff at Washington General Pershing, it was announced on April 12, is sending home certain officers who have become familiar with staff work at the front, and also some practical aviation experts to aid in solving the difficulties which have arisen in the production of aircraft. Other officers include representa-

tives of the Quartermaster Corps who have acquired experience under modern war conditions in France. In this way a greater measure of co-ordination with the army in France is being obtained.

An order issued by General March, Acting Chief of Staff, on April 12, consolidated the Division of Storage and Traffic with the Division of Purchases and Supplies, the one division to be known as the Division of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic. The division was placed under Major Gen. Goethals, who continued to serve as Assistant Chief of Staff and Acting Quartermaster General. Brig. Gen. Palmer E. Pierce, who has been a member of the War Industries Board and of the War Council created by Secretary Baker, was made Director of Purchases in January, 1918, but under this scheme of reorganization it was announced that while remaining on duty with the War Industries Board he would give up his post as Director of Purchases and Supplies. His successor, under Major Gen. Goethals, was Colonel Hugh S. Johnston, who has been General Crowder's right-hand man in the office of the Provost Marshal General.

TWO BILLIONS FOR GUNS

There have also been important changes in the Ordnance Department, it being announced on April 8 that Brig. Gen. Charles B. Wheeler, who recently succeeded Major Gen. William Crozier as head of the Ordnance Department of the Army with the title of Acting Chief of Ordnance, had been succeeded by Brig. Gen. C. C. Williams, Chief Ordnance Officer with the American expeditionary force in France. General Williams was ordered to return to Washington to take up the duties of Active Chief of Ordnance.

A summary of the work of the Gun Division, Bureau of Ordnance, prepared for the Secretary of War, shows that it has been necessary to equip sixteen large plants for the manufacture of mobile artillery and that the total program of the Gun Division calls for an expenditure of approximately \$2,000,000,000. At the outbreak of the war the Gun Division was composed of three officers and seven

civilians. At the end of 1917 it had approximately 500 officers and 3,500 civilians, since increased to 1,500 officers and more than 10,000 civilians. The Ordnance Department has also established a comprehensive repair service for artillery, motor vehicles, and other equipment.

With the creation of a Construction Division in the War Department on March 16, to handle the largest single building program in history, aggregating \$1,084,000,000, a board of eminent experts appointed by Acting Secretary Crowell took over the work of the Cantonment Division, which did the preliminary work of building national army camps. The building program, involving hundreds of thousands of workmen and extensive structures for the army throughout the country, is under the immediate direction of the Chief of Staff. Headed by Professor A. N. Talbot of the University of Illinois, President of the American Society of Civil Engineers, the board includes representatives of leading architectural, engineering, business, and labor organizations.

OUR GROWING ARMY

The year of intensive recruiting for the regular army by volunteer enlistment ended on March 30, 1918. A year previously the enlisted strength of the regular army was 121,797 men, and to bring it to full war strength 183,898 additional soldiers were required. These men were obtained some months ago. The recruiting campaign, however, was continued, and on March 30 the regular army was about 501,000 strong, which represented about one-third of all the men serving under the War Department.

Major Gen. Enoch Crowder, the Provost Marshal General, on April 6 sent out a call to all the States for a total of 150,000 men in the second draft. Instructions were given for the movement of these men to begin on April 26, and for their mobilization to be complete five days later. They were selected from Class A1 of the registration lists and were to replace the men who have been sent abroad from the training camps.

A resolution providing that all young men who have reached the age of 21 years

since June 5, 1917, the first draft registration day, shall be subject to military service was passed by the Senate on March 29. About 58,000 men thus become available each month, and in the year since June 5, 1917, about 700,000 will have been brought under the selective draft law. The Senate rejected a proposal for universal military training

for all males between 19 and 21 by a vote of 36 against 26.

The number of colored citizens registered on June 5, 1917, was 737,626. Of these 208,953 have so far been called up, and 133,256 rejected, exempted, or discharged, leaving 75,697 certified for service and inducted into the national army.

Shortage in Aircraft Production

Senate Committee's Report

THE shortage of aircraft for the American Army in France has been the subject of investigation by the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, following the sensational disclosures regarding German control of the air in the sector held by the Americans, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, April, 1918, Pp. 12-14.] The Senate Committee was not unanimous, and two reports were presented on April 12, 1918, differing as to the causes of delay in the execution of the airplane program.

The substance of the majority report is contained in the following extracts:

The Signal Corps has established and is now conducting twenty aviation training schools in the United States. Four additional schools are in process of construction and are expected to be finished in June next.

The aggregate capacity of the schools now in operation is something over 3,000 cadets; 1,926 have thus far been graduated from this primary training course and commissioned as reserve military aviators. Very few of these have received their advanced training in this country.

In addition to the above, the Signal Corps, acting upon the invitation of the several Entente Governments, dispatched some 1,200 cadets to England, France, and Italy last year, who were to receive primary and advanced training in aviation schools of those countries. The experience of a great many of these men has been most unfortunate in that at some of the schools a very serious delay has occurred in providing them with the training planes, which it was expected would be manufactured in foreign factories in sufficient numbers. As a result, several hundred of the American cadets have been practically idle and

have made no progress. About 450 of them are reported as having completed the primary training, after long delay.

The Signal Corps is giving serious consideration to the advisability of bringing the remainder back to the United States to be trained. With the exception of this severe disappointment, the primary training of our aviators, according to the testimony of the aviation officials, appears to be progressing favorably.

For some time after the inception of the work the output of primary training planes in this country for use in our schools gave ground for grave concern. In recent weeks, however, the output has been greatly increased, and there seems to be no doubt of the Signal Corps having an amply sufficient number in the future. On April 1, 1918, 3,458 primary training planes had been completed. The advanced training planes are being turned out in accordance with the schedule and estimates laid down at the inception of their manufacture. In advanced training planes four types are being made, the total number up to date manufactured being 342. In these planes three types of engines will be used, of which 965 have been completed. The Liberty motor is not suitable for use in these planes.

It is apparent from the evidence that the twelve-cylinder Liberty motor is just emerging from the development or experimental stage. Since the original design and the setting up of the first completed motor in July, 1917, a large number of changes have been found necessary, many of them causing delay in reaching quantity production. Within the last two months changes of considerable importance have been made which, it is hoped, will make the motor serviceable for combat planes of the defensive type and for bombing and observation planes.

Twenty-two thousand five hundred Liberty motors have been ordered, 122 have been completed for the army, and

142 for the navy. Four have been shipped overseas. Some of those already delivered are being altered to overcome the defects ascertained during the last few weeks. It is understood, however, that these alterations will consume but a very short time.

The production of Liberty motors to date is, of course, gravely disappointing. The Government officials having the manufacture of the Liberty motor in charge have made the mistake of leading the public and the allied nations to the belief that many thousands of these motors would be completed in the Spring of 1918.

The production of combat planes in the United States for use in actual warfare has thus far been a substantial failure and constitutes a most serious disappointment in our war preparations. We had no design of our own; neither did we adopt any one of the European designs until months after we entered the war. In all, five types, at one time or another, have been adopted. Two of them have been abandoned after the expenditure of much time and money. The three remaining types still left upon our program are now in the course of manufacture. Of these the largest and most powerful is the Handley-Page heavy bombing machine, designed to carry as many as six men, eight machine guns, and a heavy load of bombs, and to be driven by two Liberty motors. The testimony before your committee shows that the Signal Corps finally decided upon the manufacture of a number of sets of parts of this machine about Jan. 1, 1918. Officials of the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps testify that they do not expect the completion of the first set of parts in this country before June, 1918.

Another type of combat plane, known as the De Havilland, is included in our program. This machine habitually carries two men, four machine guns, a moderate load of bombs and other apparatus and is driven by one Liberty motor. Fifteen have been completed; one has been shipped to France; the remaining fourteen have been very recently completed in this country.

The third type upon the program is known as the Bristol fighter. This machine is lighter and faster than the De Havilland. Its speed is expected to be in the neighborhood of 125 miles per hour. It is what is known as a reconnaissance machine. Another term which might be properly applied to it is "defensive fighter." It carries two men, four machine guns, and is driven by one Liberty motor. The decision to make this type was reached on Nov. 7, 1917. The manufacturers completed the first of these

machines during the week ended March 30, 1918. The machine was tested once during that week with a Liberty motor, and, according to the testimony of the aviation officials, met its preliminary test successfully. This machine, a few hours after its flight, caught fire while standing upon the aviation ground and was entirely destroyed. The officials of the Signal Corps assured the committee that another machine would soon be finished by the manufacturer, and that if it met the tests satisfactorily quantity production might be expected within a reasonable period.

In addition to the American production of engines and airplanes as herein set forth, considerable orders for combat airplanes and engines were last Summer placed with European manufacturers by General Pershing, and we have furnished quantities of material and numbers of mechanics to aid in their construction.

Your committee is convinced that much of the delay in producing completed combat airplanes is due to ignorance of the art and to failure to organize the effort in such a way as to centralize authority and bring about quick decision.

Further light is thrown on the production of aircraft for the American Army by the minority report. One passage reads:

Soon after the war began the Signal Corps arranged with the French Government for the making of 6,100 combat planes at a total cost of \$127,000,000, the planes to be produced as rapidly as American fliers could be trained to operate them. As the American aero squadrons reach the front ready for duty, battle planes are being supplied them under this arrangement. To aid in this foreign manufacture of planes for American fliers, the Signal Corps has shipped to France 11,000 tons of various materials and has sent 7,000 mechanics to release, for French factories making planes for our American fliers, the French workers on motor transports. The Signal Corps then arranged for the making of about 11,500 combat planes in the United States, the term combat plane being here used to embrace all kinds of planes, both offensive and defensive, except training planes.

Let it be said here that when the war began the United States Government had purchased altogether less than 200 airplanes in its entire history, and that of the few airplane factories in this country probably not one was making over five or six a month. It is hardly possible to grasp the magnitude of the task the factories contracting to make the 11,500 combat planes found before them.

America's First Year of War

An Anniversary Summary

APRIL 6, 1918, marked the first anniversary of the participation of the United States in the European War. The period was primarily one of preparation. If America did little actual fighting in the first year, it nevertheless achieved a great deal both in strengthening the cause of the Allies and in getting ready to play its own part on the battlefields of Europe. The increase in the war strength of the army is shown in the following figures:

APRIL, 1917

	Officers.	Men.
Regulars	5,791	121,797
National Guard.....	3,733	76,713
Reserve Corps.....	4,000
National Army.....

Total.....	9,524	202,510
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APRIL, 1918

	Officers.	Men.
Regulars	10,698	503,142
National Guard.....	16,893	431,583
Reserve Corps.....	96,210	77,360
National Army.....	516,839

Total.....	123,801	1,528,924
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Of these 1,652,725 officers and men, several hundred thousand were already in Europe in April, either in training camps or on the battle front. "Over 100,000" was the figure given by General Pershing when he announced the number of adequately trained, fully equipped American troops that were immediately available for use in the battle of Picardy. The War Department had announced its expectation of having 1,500,000 American soldiers in the war zone before the end of 1918. The progress of training in the camps in the United States was unexpectedly rapid, and at the close of the first twelve months our troops were going across the Atlantic as fast as transportation could be provided.

General Pershing and his staff arrived in France on June 15, 1917, and less than a month later the first division of American troops followed him. Exactly 187 days after the United States

declared war the first American soldiers were in the trenches. The first contingents were ordered abroad well in advance of the time intended, or expected, when war was declared.

LABORS IN FRANCE

The preliminary labors in France necessitated by the presence of an ever-increasing army were both diverse and herculean. Docks had to be constructed, railways built and equipped and cantonments, hospitals, and a base constructed. American engineers went into the French forests and there did the work of the pioneers of the American Northwest, cutting down trees to build the permanent camps which were to replace the temporary cities. They built a railroad 600 miles long from the points of disembarkation to the operating base. The rolling stock it carried was all shipped across the ocean from the United States.

All this was accomplished with great rapidity. An army locomotive, for example, was built in twenty-one days and shipped to the expeditionary forces. In a few weeks after the first departures there were urgent calls for other locomotives, for cars, trucks, logging trains, sectional buildings to be assembled on arrival. All these took many ships and appreciably delayed the transport of men. There was sent everything from fabricated ironwork for buildings and trestles to nails and cross-ties for the railroads. Among the items of construction is an ordnance base costing \$25,000,000. Most of this preliminary work was approaching completion as the first year ended. Much of it is finished.

American troops occupy trench sectors of their own in the line northwest of Toul, and in the neighborhood of Verdun. They have taken up positions also in other sectors, and the main body is operating with the Allies in opposing the German advance. Casualties in the first

year of war reached a total of 2,368, distributed as follows:

Killed in battle.....	163
Died of disease or accident.....	957
Lost at sea.....	237
Died of wounds.....	52
Other causes.....	47
Missing and prisoners.....	63
Wounded	829

Total2,368

RAISING THE NEW ARMIES

Most remarkable in the preparations for the struggle was the method of raising the new armies, namely, conscription. With comparatively little opposition the selective draft law was passed by Congress barely five weeks after the declaration of war, and three weeks later 9,600,000 young men were registered for military service. By June 30 the 4,000 local draft boards were ready to begin the task of examination and exemption. Sixteen cantonments, small cities in themselves, were already under construction in various parts of the country for the reception of the drafted men. Ninety days after this work began the initial groups of the first national army were on their way to these camps. In a steady stream since then the men have been called up, organized into military formations, and put under intensive training.

The first half million are now ready and are being sent across the ocean, to complete their training within the war zone and take their place on the battle front. As fast as the camps are emptied new men are being summoned to refill them, new battalions formed, and new forces sent forward. Another 800,000 unmarried men without direct dependents are under notice to report for duty.

The cost of raising the army under the selective draft law has been only 54 cents per registrant, \$1.69 per man called up, and \$4.93 per man accepted for service.

With the national army there have also been made available the 450,000 men of the National Guard, who meantime have been mustered into the Federal service and trained under their own officers. Of these three divisions, the Rainbow, (so called because almost every State in the

Union is represented in its composition,) the New England, and the Sunset (Far Western) Divisions have already gone abroad, and the first two have won honorable mention in the battle zone.

TRAINING NEW OFFICERS

The National Guard had its own officers. There was none, however, to spare for the national army. The regular military establishment could provide only a handful. Two classes at West Point were graduated in advance of the usual time, but they were not enough to affect the situation. The new army was, therefore, provided with carefully selected, specially trained officers, chosen by merit rather than on the old system of political appointments, by the general adoption of the Plattsburg training camp system, initiated in 1915. When war was declared there were already in the United States some 20,000 graduates of the Plattsburg, Fort Oglethorpe, and other training camps, who had undergone at least one month's intensive military training, supplemented by military studies when out of camp.

The Plattsburg organization was taken over by the War Department, and a series of sixteen training camps for officers, in which most of the earlier Plattsburg graduates were commissioned as subaltern and company officers, was opened at advantageous points, and continued until the middle of August, 1917. Of 40,203 candidates enrolled in these camps 27,341 qualified for commissions. Sufficient officers were thus at the cantonments to receive and command the national army when the men arrived. A second series of officers' training camps was begun in August, to add to the line and staff. Approximately 23,000 candidates attended, of whom 17,237 obtained commissions. Many who failed have since been enlisted and appointed non-commissioned officers in the national army. A third series was instituted in January, 1918, to create an officers' reserve force. Only enlisted men were admitted, except for a limited number of students who had received military training in schools under army officers during the last ten years. About 18,000

are in attendance, and the problem of officering the new armies has practically been solved.

PROVIDING THE GUNS

When war was declared, the Army Ordnance Department had ninety-seven officers. It now has 5,000 in America and abroad, and in the first year of the war had spent \$4,756,500,000. To its peace-time task of administering eleven small Government arsenals has been added the problem of getting quick production of shells of all calibres, rifles, ammunition, grenades, and bombs from some 1,400 private manufacturing establishments. It has acquired a total of 2,475,219 square feet of storage space, has 2,701,880 square feet more under construction, and requires 23,000,000 square feet altogether to store its supplies. It has miles of railroad sidings, all inclosed, including 50 miles of track especially built, and it handles 10,000 carloads of explosives a month, with the total steadily increasing. The complexity of the Ordnance Department's task may be seen in the fact that the number of items made and supplied to the troops totals about 100,000, ranging from the small firing pin of a rifle to a complete 16-inch gun and emplacement, or a motor truck or tractor. Reserves of all these spare parts must be maintained and ready for distribution.

The Ordnance Department has had to create organizations, build new plants, finance them and to design as well as to manufacture not only the weapons themselves, but thousands of tools, gauges, and jigs required for their manufacture. For instance, the French Government offered the secret of the recoil mechanism in the carriages of its famous .75 guns. To manufacture these it was necessary to machine steel castings so accurately that they will not be off two-thousandths of an inch in a distance of more than six feet.

BUILDING NEW PLANTS

Never had machinery been built in the United States to work on so large a scale with such a degree of accuracy. The Ordnance Department had to persuade manufacturers to undertake this difficult

work, to assist them financially to build a thirteen-acre plant, to purchase and manufacture \$6,000,000 worth of special tools, and develop an organization to do this. The contract was signed on Nov. 1, 1917, and today the plant is completed and is turning out the recoil mechanisms.

The Nitrate Division has under construction two plants for the manufacture of powder, costing \$45,000,000 each.

The Ordnance Department itself has provided for the army 1,400,000 rifles, has brought the production of them up to 45,000 a week, or enough to equip three army divisions; has secured deliveries on 17,000 machine guns and brought the rate of production of them from 20,000 to 225,000 a year. It has increased the rate of production of field guns, heavy and light, from 1,500 to 15,000 a year, and is manufacturing 35,000 motor trucks and tractors to haul them and their ammunition. It has remodeled the British Enfield rifle so that it can be produced in quantities to take American ammunition and adopted two new types of machine guns, the Browning, heavy and light.

The United States entered the war resolved to win supremacy in the air. Congress adopted an appropriation of \$640,000,000, in addition to \$15,000,000 already granted, to provide the best airplane service possible. The best motor engineers in the country combined their talents to provide a motor, and the result of their efforts was the Liberty motor, asserted to be superior to anything used by any army air corps. Delivery of the new motors in quantity has been delayed by various causes. But the initial difficulties have been solved and quantity production of battle planes, as well as of training planes, is expected during the Summer of 1918. While there are more than seventy different types of airplane motors on the western allied front, the United States is relying on a single standardized type, greatly reducing the ratio of forty-seven men required on the ground by foreign service for every man in the air.

Colossal work has been done by the Quartermaster Corps, which supplies al-

most everything that a soldier needs, except ammunition; which transports those supplies as well as the soldier, feeds him, clothes him, and provides him with shelter. The war found the Quartermaster General's office without funds, Congress having adjourned without voting the Army Appropriation bill. But it tided over the interval until money was forthcoming. It has since spent \$2,789,684,778, has clothed the draft armies and fed them, supplied the oversea forces with the million things they need, and there are at present few complaints of its work. The details are seen in columns of figures all running into millions.

In this first year the Quartermaster Corps has spent \$60,000,000 for horse-drawn vehicles and harness, more than \$50,000,000 for horses, mules, and harness, and now estimates it will need for fuel and forage alone more than half a billion dollars.

ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

In preparation for large numbers of wounded and invalided men, the Medical Corps of the army has enlisted doctors and nurses by the thousand. In addition to the work being done for the Red Cross, which is a separate institution, the Army Medical Corps has enlarged its personnel from 8,000 to 106,000, including orderlies, stretcher bearers, and ambulance drivers. Its 900 doctors before the war are now increased to 18,000. It had 375 army nurses a year ago; now it has 7,000. It had no ambulance service; now it has 6,000 drivers in training. Reconstruction institutions are being provided in the United States on a more comprehensive scale than any other nation at war has attempted. Already a few wounded soldiers are being reconstructed at Medical Corps hospitals so as to be able to support themselves now that they are blind or crippled. Professional men, nurses, and attendants from our most noted civil reconstruction hospitals have been added to the personnel of the Medical Corps for this work.

The hundreds of thousands of men taken from civil life into the army are now showing a death rate from disease

below that of men of military age in civil life.

WORK OF THE NAVY

The navy was ready and began to take part in the war even before the formal declaration, for as early as March 12, 1917, in response to the President's order, it began arming American merchantmen and fighting their battles. Meantime, the navy gathered in recruits and set about building ships and getting in supplies ready for the more important work which followed when the nation was actually at war. At present there are 150 warships, including battleships, with 35,000 personnel, in the war zone.

In a year the navy has more than trebled its personnel. As a beginning it called up its own reserves and also the National Naval Volunteers and the Coast Guard. The following figures show the increased personnel:

APRIL, 1917

	Officers.	Men.
Regular Navy.....	4,366	64,680
*Naval Reserves.....	....	10,000
Naval Volunteers.....	....	10,069
*Coast Guard.....	....	4,500
Marine Corps.....	426	13,266
Total	4,792	102,515

APRIL, 1918

	Officers.	Men.
Regular Navy.....	7,798	192,385
*Naval Reserves.....	10,033	79,069
Naval Volunteers.....	805	15,000
*Coast Guard.....	639	4,250
Marine Corps.....	1,389	38,629
Total	20,604	329,333
*Approximately.		

On May 4, twenty-eight days after the declaration of war, United States destroyers arrived at a British port to assist in patrolling European waters, and on the following day Admiral Sims attended an allied war conference at Paris. The first of the regular armed forces of the United States to land in France were units of the naval aeronautic corps. They arrived on June 8. The first contingent of the army transported and conveyed by the navy was landed safely at a French port early in July. Night and day since then American warships have conveyed transports and supplies across the Atlantic and brought the ships safely

back. Only one empty transport in its care has succumbed to an enemy attack, and only two naval vessels have been sunk by enemy U-boats—the destroyer Jacob Jones, torpedoed Dec. 6, and the patrol vessel Alcedo, a converted yacht, sunk Nov. 5, 1917. The small destroyer Chauncey was sunk in collision with a British transport. The Cassin was torpedoed, but reached port under her own steam, was repaired, and returned to service. Casualties in the navy have been 144 killed or died and 10 wounded; total, 154.

NAVAL AUXILIARIES

At first there was a shortage of the small vessels required for minor naval duties. Some 800 craft of various kinds have been taken over and converted into the types needed, thus providing the large number of vessels required for transports, patrol service, submarine chasers, mine sweepers, mine layers, tugs, and other auxiliaries. Hundreds of submarine chasers have been built besides the new destroyers put into service. There are now four times as many vessels in the naval service as there were a year ago. The destroyer fleet now building in record time is at least as large a fleet of this type of craft as England is believed to have.

The United States battle fleet has grown to twice the size of the peacetime fleet. As schools in gunnery and engineering they are training thousands of gunners and engineers required for the hundreds of vessels added to the navy and the many merchantmen furnished with arms and gun crews. Target practice in past years had been devoted mainly to practice with the big guns. Special attention during the past year has been devoted to the guns of smaller calibre, effective against submarines.

When war was declared there were under construction, or about to be started, 123 new naval vessels:

Battleships	15
Battle cruisers.....	6
Scout cruisers.....	7
Destroyers	27
Submarines	61
Fuel ships.....	2

Supply ship.....	1
Transport	1
Gunboat	1
Hospital ship.....	1
Ammunition ship.....	1

Most of these have now been completed and the few remaining are well under way. Meantime contracts have been placed for 949 new vessels, including submarine chasers designed here which have done good service. Altogether there have been added to the navy since April 6, 1917, vessels to the number of 1,275, aggregating 1,055,116 tons.

When the Government seized the 109 German-owned ships lying in American ports, the German engineers believed that their vessels had been damaged beyond repair for a year at least. Within six months the ships were in running order and have since carried numbers of American troops and huge quantities of supplies to the fighting lines in France. The damage was repaired by navy artificers and engineers under the jurisdiction of naval officers.

BUILDING NEW SHIPS

The vital question of shipping was assigned early in the year to the United States Shipping Board, now headed by E. N. Hurley, while the Emergency Fleet Corporation, since made subordinate to the board, was intrusted with the execution of the building program. Congress appropriated \$1,135,000,000 for this purpose, and on March 1, 1918, \$353,247,000 of this sum had been spent. Friction and consequent delay, however, at the outset caused vital changes in the composition of the Shipping Board. General Goethals, manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, resigned after a controversy with Mr. Denman, the first Chairman of the Shipping Board, over the comparative merits of wooden and steel ships. There have been other causes—labor troubles, lack of material, and of building facilities, of which America had few.

Meantime the seized German ships, with an aggregate of more than 700,000 tons dead weight to manage, have been put in service, vessels under construction in private shipyards have been commandeered and completed, and at least three new ships planned and constructed

by the Shipping Board have been finished and are now at sea. The seizure of 150,000 tons of Dutch shipping in American ports has further added to the Government's immediate resources, while an agreement with Japan has made another 200,000 tons of shipping available.

America's shipping industry had run down, until in the year before war was declared the total output of shipyards in the United States was only 250,000 tons. The Shipping Board drew up a program to construct 8,164,508 tons of steel ships, 1,145 ships in all, and 490 wooden ships, with a total tonnage of 1,715,000. Only a small part of this enormous total could be constructed in the first year of the war with the shipyard facilities available, and it has been necessary to build new shipyards on an enormous scale. Volunteer shipworkers have been enlisted from all quarters, and in April, 1918, work was proceeding at 150 shipyards in various parts of the country.

The following figures show the actual number of ships put into the water since the Shipping Board took control of the situation:

Steel ships requisitioned on ways, completed by Emergency Fleet Corporation and now in service.....	85
Steel ships requisitioned on ways, turned back to former owners and now completed and in service.....	15
Steel ships requisitioned on ways, hulls of which have been launched.....	65
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation which have been completed and put into service..	3
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation, hulls of which have been launched.....	9
Wooden ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation, hulls of which have been launched.....	11
Total.....	188
Steel ships requisitioned which are now actually in service.....	100
Steel ships contracted for by Emergency Fleet Corporation now actually in service	3
Total.....	103

By April, 1918, the Government has been able to put 2,762,605 tons of shipping into the transatlantic service to carry men and munitions to France.

FINANCING THE WAR

The United States has been a great financial factor since entering the war. The Government lent to the Allies on the security of their bonds \$4,436,329,750. For America's own expenses Congress has already authorized \$2,034,000,000, of which one item alone, merchant shipping, accounted for more than \$1,000,000,000. The total expenses in the first year were more than \$9,800,000,000, but about \$800,000,000 of this went for normal activities not connected with the war, so that its total cost has been about \$9,000,000,000, of which more than \$4,000,000,000 has been in loans to the Allies. Expenditures for aircraft alone have amounted to more than \$600,000,000. Naval appropriations, made and pending, are more than \$3,000,000,000; the War Department has taken \$7,464,771,756. The army's annual payroll now exceeds \$500,000,000 and the navy's \$125,000,000, and these items are trifling compared with the cost of ships, ordnance, munitions, airplanes, motor trucks, and supplies of every kind, to say nothing of food. Allotments and allowances to soldiers' and sailors' dependents paid by the Government in the month of February alone amounted to \$19,976,543.

Bonds, certificates of indebtedness, War Savings Certificates, and Thrift Stamps issued by the Treasury up to March 12 totaled \$8,560,802,052.96. To meet expenses the Government has successfully floated two Liberty Loans with total subscriptions of \$6,616,532,300, and on April 6, 1918, the first anniversary of America's entrance into the war, a third loan campaign for \$3,000,000,000 was begun.

TAXES AND PRICES

The income tax has been greatly increased and the exemption limit lowered. New taxes have been imposed on corporate and individual profits, all profits arising out of the war have been penalized, and the old levies greatly increased. War taxes, customs duties, and internal revenue collections have brought in nearly \$1,500,000,000. While the greater part of the war income and excess profits taxes are not due until June, the Treas-

ury had collected in internal revenue taxes a total of \$566,267,000 to March 12, 1918, and had sold \$1,255,000,000 in certificates of indebtedness, which are receivable in payment of internal revenue taxes.

The Government has taken possession of and is operating all enemy-owned enterprises. At the same time, through a Federal Farm Loan Bureau, assistance is being given to farmers at reasonable rates of interest in providing the means for raising crops, needed in greater abundance than ever to feed the army and navy and civilian population and the peoples of the allied countries.

One of the first acts of the Administration after the declaration of war was aimed at putting a curb on the rising prices of the necessities of life. Herbert C. Hoover was appointed National Food Administrator, and after long delay his appointment was confirmed by the Senate. It was criticised, but Mr. Hoover has succeeded not only in bringing down the price of such necessities as wheat, flour, sugar, coffee, meat, and lard, but by various devices and appeals to public sentiment has brought about a voluntary reduction of consumption and a consequent great increase in the amounts of food which America has been able to send abroad.

FOOD PROBLEMS

When the present Food Administration was created in August, 1917, the 1917 crop, in so far as productiveness was

concerned, had already been planted and partly harvested. The available food-stuffs it produced were not sufficient, on the basis of normal consumption, to feed the people dependent on it, and the question of conservation became paramount. So far, "wheatless days," "meatless days," and appeals for food conservation have tided the nation over a dangerous period. The fixing of prices under a Presidential proclamation has greatly aided, speculation in wheat has been wholly eliminated, and the prices of flour and bread have been stabilized at a reasonable level.

Hand in hand with food conservation has gone the gradual control of industry of all kinds in order to concentrate the nation's resources for the purposes of war. The prices of metals necessary to war industries have been brought down by negotiation. Coal and fuel oil are controlled by Government agents, and it is not believed that the suffering caused by the fuel scarcity during the Winter of 1917-18 can be repeated.

The Government has taken over control of the railways and a number of coastwise steamship lines. It now operates 260,000 miles of railway, employing 1,000,600 men, and representing investments of \$17,500,000,000.

The War Trade Board, created for the purpose of cutting off supplies to Germany through the adjacent neutrals, has developed into a powerful economic weapon in the execution of the nation's war policy.

Five Million Soldiers' Garments Made by American Women

A recent bulletin of the American Red Cross contains a report showing that up to Feb. 1, 1918, this organization had supplied 3,431,067 sweaters, mufflers, wristlets, helmets, and socks to the soldiers and sailors of the United States. Of this total 1,189,469 articles were delivered to the fighting services in January of this year. Though official figures were not available for later months, it was estimated that the total to the end of March was in excess of 5,000,000 garments, all knit by American women for the Red Cross. The same bulletin reported the distribution of 5,000,000 francs contributed by Americans for the relief of those French soldier families which have suffered most from the war.

War Department's Improved System

Summary by Benedict Crowell

Assistant Secretary of War

A year of war has changed the United States War Department from a military group to a closely organized business concern. The vast difference between its methods at the time of our entry into the war and at the beginning of our second year of hostilities is summarized in the appended statement and chart, which were given to THE NEW YORK TIMES by Benedict Crowell, the Assistant Secretary of War, in March, 1918. Mr. Crowell is one of the business experts called into the department last Autumn to reorganize it. In describing the changes made he said:

A YEAR ago there were eleven officers, all strictly military men, and about 1,000 privates in the aircraft work. Now in that branch of the war business we have thousands of officers and 100,000 men. But 96 per cent. of those officers are trained business men and engineers from big civil enterprises. Most of them are in military uniform, but that is merely a matter of form that does not go to the substance of the business.

The great military work of America, the work of the soldiers, is being done in France. In this country we have settled down to the purely business undertaking of producing men and material out of which to form the armies.

This chart (here reproduced) shows the latest readjustment of General Staff functions and activities. A very significant change from what used to be is indicated in that line of rectangles under the Chief of Staff, each one representing an Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of a major division of the war work. These divisions, indicated on the chart by the words "storage and traffic," "purchases and supplies," &c., used to be committees, in which every vital question had to be settled by a vote, with lesser officers having as much power in the matter as their chiefs. Now the Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of one of those divisions, which is no longer a committee, has power to act on his own initiative. His subordinates in the division are his expert advisers on the various problems which he must decide, thus eliminating criticisms in the earlier pe-

riod of the war that too much time was lost in getting decisions.

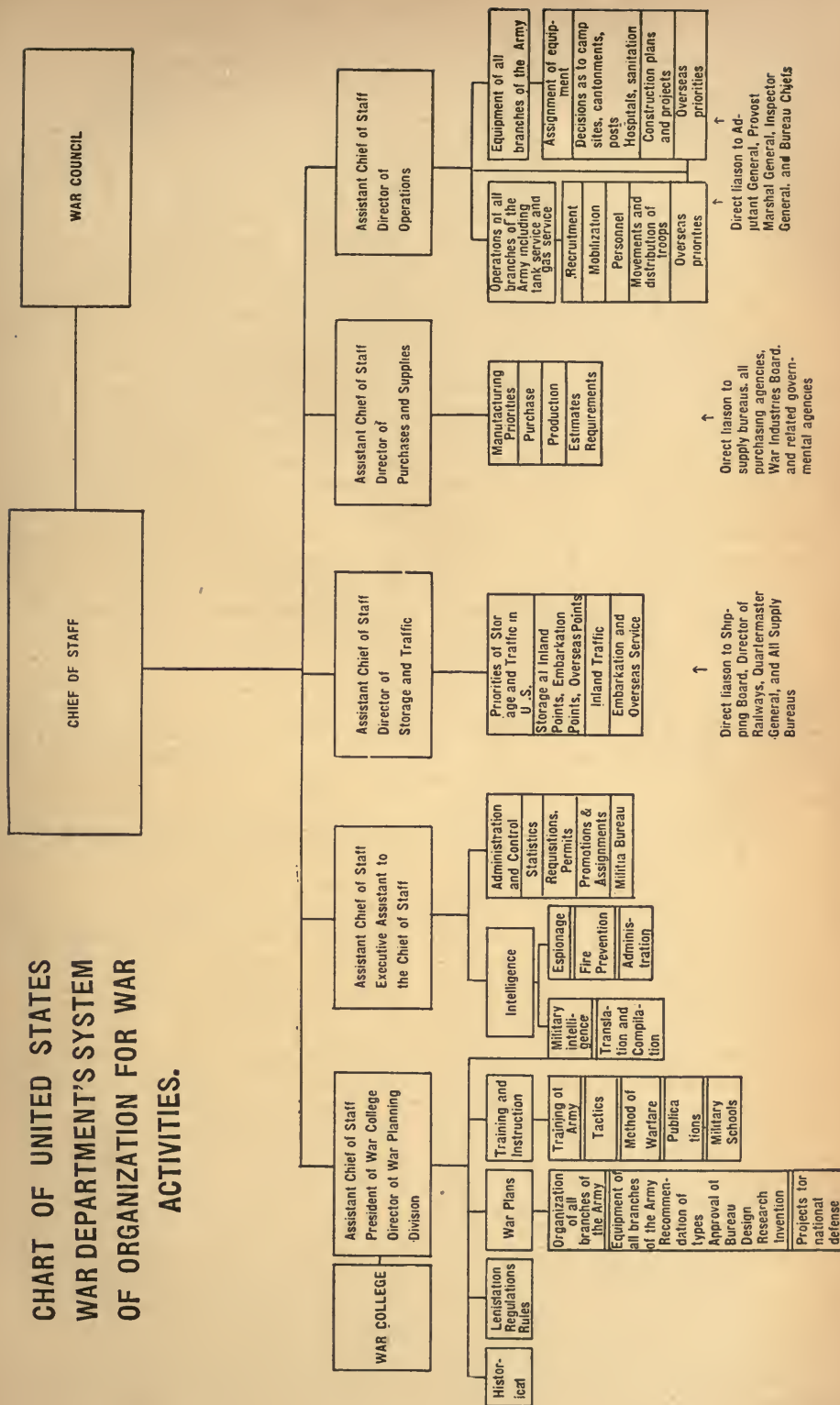
One of the modifications that may be made in this chart of the General Staff in the near future will have to do with that division now in charge of General Pierce, the Assistant Chief of Staff, who is director of purchases and supplies and has authority over manufacturing priorities, purchases, and production based on estimates and requirements. That division, which now leads direct into the office of the Chief of Staff, may later on be short-circuited around the Chief of Staff direct to the office of a new Assistant Secretary of War in so far as its problems have to do with purchases or industrial facilities.

A bill creating two additional Secretaries of War has been passed by Congress. One of these assistants will have to do with social and welfare activities for the benefit of the troops. The other will deal exclusively with purchases and supplies, and the division of the General Staff now under General Pierce will be made a part of it.

The direct lines of connection on this chart are as interesting and as promising as anything else about it. They indicate smooth-working co-ordination and perfected team work. For example, the line of liaison from the division of purchases and supplies is to all supply bureaus and purchasing agencies of the army, to the War Industries Board, and all related Government agencies.

Further co-operation of the War Department, reorganized on a business basis, with those organizations vital to

CHART OF UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT'S SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION FOR WAR ACTIVITIES.



the movement of all equipment to troops here and abroad, is shown by the liaison line from the Director of Storage and Traffic. That line connects the storage and traffic business of the War Department directly with the Shipping Board, the Director General of Railways, and the Quartermaster General.

Major Gen. Goethals is the Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of storage and traffic, and, as such, has full control over all priority of both storage and traffic at and to inland, embarkation, and overseas points. General Goethals is also still acting as Quartermaster General, a place now not so vital under the reorganization as his office of Assistant Chief of Staff in charge of storage and traffic.

The War Council was created because it was necessary to have a group of experts in the War Department who would have time to study. Up to the time of its organization there had been little

time to think about big problems and do nothing else. Everybody was rushed with some form of executive or administrative work.

This council is in session every day and is one of the most effective war agencies that the Government has. There is no man on it who does not bring to its deliberations and conclusions some vital contribution to the welfare of the country and the army. It consists of the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, General March, Acting Chief of the General Staff; General Crowder, Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General of the Army, one of the nation's great lawyers, who is devoting his life to the military welfare of his country; Generals Crozier, Sharpe, Weaver, and Pierce, and Charles Day, an able engineer drafted from the Shipping Board to render expert counsel to the War Department as a member of its War Council.

The Surgeon General's Great Organization

By Caswell A. Mayo

[This account of the first year's work of the United States War Department in mobilizing the medical talent of the nation was prepared in March, 1918, for THE NEW YORK TIMES, publishers of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN April, 1917, the executive offices of the Surgeon General of the United States Army occupied four rooms in the great War, State and Navy Building at Washington, and the functions of the office were performed by six officers and twenty clerks. Now there are attached to the Surgeon General's office 165 officers, who employ 545 clerks, and the staff fills five entire buildings and parts of other buildings, exclusive of the Surgeon General's library, the Army Medical Museum, and the Army Medical School. Within a day 6,000 telegrams and 5,000 other communications have been received, replied to, and filed. The latest and most approved systems of filing records and correspondence have been installed under expert supervision, for the Surgeon General has called to his aid specialists in other fields as well

as in the field of medicine. He has called chemists and statisticians, bankers and efficiency engineers, sanitarians and electrical experts, architects and engineers, and assigned them to duty in his office.

The Surgeon General himself, Major Gen. W. C. Gorgas, was appointed to the office in recognition of the invaluable services rendered by him as Chief Sanitary Officer of the Panama Canal Zone. The story of his work there in protecting the laborers in the Panama Canal from infectious diseases is one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of American medicine. Without that work the efforts of Goethals would have been as fruitless and as costly in lives and money as those of De Lesseps. The Surgeon General's still greater task now is to provide against every emergency

which may affect the health and lives of millions of men taken from the fields, the farms, the factories, and the counting houses of the country, gathered into camps for organization and sent across 3,000 miles of ocean. He must know how many men will be taken sick, and where. He must know how many men will be wounded, and where, and he must have at those points adequate provision of expert surgeons and enlisted men, of medical and of surgical supplies, of food and of clothing, of housing and of transportation, so that at no time will any American soldier be sick without succor, or lie wounded without aid.

In carrying out this gigantic task the Surgeon General has mobilized the medical forces of the country, calling into his office the leaders in every specialty of medicine and of surgery. At their desks as early as 7 o'clock in the morning will be found medical specialists whose professional incomes are written in five and six figures, but who have abandoned these incomes for the modest pay of a Major, who have given up their luxurious homes for a Washington boarding house, and who, instead of enjoying a well-earned leisure, toil ceaselessly from early morning until late at night in their efforts to co-ordinate most effectively the work of the doctors in the war. It is for the purpose of doing justice to the attainments of these men that General Gorgas is advocating scores of new commissions of high rank in the national army.

Every morning at 7:30 the Surgeon General's truck delivers his mail at the Mills Building, at Seventeenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, in which are situated the central executive offices. The mail is distributed and on the desks of the officers for final disposition not later than 9:15. Within twelve working hours practically every communication received will have been acted upon and returned to permanent files. Here, as in every other phase of the work, a specialist has been employed, Captain J. L. Gooch having been called from his position as subscription manager for the Butterick Company to organize the office routine. The most ap-

proved mechanical devices, including statistical machines, have been installed under Captain Gooch's direction.

A complete medical history is kept of every soldier and of every officer from the time he enters the service until he retires, resigns, or dies. A special fire-proof building is now being erected which will be devoted exclusively to the care of these records, the preservation of which may be a matter of vital importance fifty years hence.

Attached to the Surgeon General's office are three representatives of the Royal Army Medical Corps of Great Britain—Colonel T. H. Goodwin, C. M. G., D. S. O.; Captain John Gilmour of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and Lieut. Col. J. J. Aitken of the Royal Veterinary Corps—and two representatives of the French Army Medical Service—Colonel C. U. Dercle and Major Edouard Rist. These four surgeons act as liaison officers, keeping the Medical Department of the United States Army in touch with the medical services of Great Britain and France. They have made many informing addresses to medical societies all over the United States and have given lectures at the Army Medical School.

The immediate staff of the Surgeon General comprises his personal aid, Major M. C. Furbush, M. R. C., of Philadelphia; Colonel George E. Bushnell, M. C., (Medical Corps of the regular army;) Colonel Deane C. Howard, M. C., and Lieut. Col. James V. Van Dusen, M. C. Colonel Bushnell, besides being chief assistant to the Surgeon General, has devoted his special attention to the field in which he has won a unique reputation, that of the treatment of tuberculosis.

General Gorgas has enlisted the co-operation of the leading surgeons of the United States as members of the "Rotary Surgical Staff." Among those Medical Reserve Corps officers who have already served for a period at the Surgeon General's office and who are still subject to call from time to time as occasion requires are Major William J. Mayo, former President, and his brother, Major Charles H. Mayo, now President of the American Medical Association.

The work of the Surgeon General's office is divided up among seventeen general main divisions. The work of each division is practically independent of the others, though the work of all is co-ordinated. At the head of each of these divisions is an expert in that particular field, usually a medical officer of the regular army, who has around him

a group of expert associates, many of whom are drawn from civil life.

On April 1, 1917, there were 700 medical officers and about 10,000 enlisted men in the Medical Department of the United States Army. There are now more than 17,000 medical officers in active service and about 150,000 enlisted men in the Medical Department.

War Work of the American Red Cross

Summary of a Year's Activities

[Data Furnished by Red Cross Headquarters, Washington, D. C.]

PRESIDENT WILSON, as President of the American Red Cross, on May 10, 1917, appointed a War Council of seven members to direct the work of the organization in the extraordinary emergency created by the entrance of the United States into the war. The original appointees were Henry P. Davison, Chairman, of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York; Charles D. Norton, Vice President First National Bank, New York; Major Grayson M. P. Murphy, Vice President Guaranty Company, New York; Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., of Bliss, Fabyan & Co., New York, and Edward N. Hurley, Chicago.

Mr. Hurley resigned from the War Council when he was appointed Chairman of the Shipping Board, and was succeeded by John D. Ryan, President of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Major Murphy, after organizing the Red Cross work in Europe, resigned to re-enter the United States Army, and was succeeded on the council by Harvey D. Gibson, President of the Liberty National Bank of New York, who has been the General Manager of the Red Cross since it began its war activities. Mr. Norton resigned in the Spring of 1918, and was succeeded by George B. Case of the law firm of White and Case, New York, who previously had been legal adviser to the War Council.

The first war fund campaign took place the week of June 18, 1917, which was designated "Red Cross Week" by a proclamation of President Wilson. The

Finance Committee, which had charge of the campaign, was headed by Cleveland H. Dodge of New York; Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was the fund Treasurer. One hundred million dollars was the mark set, and the week's contributions ran slightly above that figure.

At the establishment of the Red Cross organization on a war basis its membership was approximately 500,000. Six months later there were, in round numbers, 5,000,000 members, and the number of chapters had increased from 562 to 3,287. The "Christmas Membership Drive," during the week ended with Christmas Eve, 1917, swelled the membership rolls to more than 23,000,000.

In the period between the birthday anniversaries of Lincoln and Washington—Feb. 12-22, 1918—the school children of the country were brought into the Junior Red Cross organization.

Immediately following the war organization and the raising of the first war fund commissions were sent to the various countries in Europe where war was in progress. Major Grayson M. P. Murphy was appointed General Commissioner for Europe and assumed direct charge of the commission to France, where the greater burden of American Red Cross work has fallen. The commission to France reached Paris during June. Eighteen men constituted the original working force. From this nucleus there developed before the end of the year an organization that oper-

ated all the way from Sicily up the whole western front and into Great Britain.

MILLIONS FOR FRENCH RELIEF

Appropriations from the Red Cross war fund to March 1, 1918, including those to cover budgets to April 30, totaled \$77,721,918.22. Of this amount sums aggregating \$30,936,103.04 were for relief work in France. A chain of warehouses has been established behind the lines all the way across France, from the coast to Switzerland. The greatest motor transport organization there is in the world, outside of those actually operated by the armies, also has been developed. The workers actually engaged in the organization in France number more than 3,000, a large percentage of them being volunteers who are serving without financial compensation, and most of them paying their own expenses as well.

Relief work in France is divided between a Department of Military Affairs and a Department of Civil Affairs. The former department, in addition to maintaining a hospital supply service that provides for 3,800 hospitals, a surgical dressings service that turns out and distributes hundreds of thousands of dressings every week, and three American Red Cross military hospitals, has concentrated a large amount of attention on canteen work, in the interest of both the American and French Armies.

Twelve canteens at the front have been in operation for the French Army, and recently the same service was installed to supply coffee and refreshments to American soldiers in the trenches. It is likely that the twelve canteens will be increased to forty. The record of the front line canteens for a five month period was 700,000 soldiers served. In line of communication canteens, located at railroad junction points, eighty-eight American women workers have served an average of 20,000 soldiers daily. At the metropolitan canteens, in Paris, more than 3,000,000 soldiers have been served since the American Red Cross entered this field of work.

Preliminary to the arrival of the American expeditionary force in France,

the American Red Cross did important work in improving the sanitary conditions in the zone which the United States troops were to occupy. This work is constantly kept up to meet the situation as the army abroad increases in size.

CIVILIAN RELIEF WORK

Civilian relief work in France has embraced a campaign against tuberculosis, care of refugees and repatriés, care of children, reconstruction and repair work in devastated areas and home service among the families of French soldiers. While much of the work in behalf of refugees has been done in the zones of comparative safety to which people have fled from the war areas, the German offensive launched in March found American Red Cross men in large numbers performing actual rescue work in villages that were under fire of the enemy. With the aid of the motor transport service, hundreds of noncombatants were removed to places of safety.

At Evian, on the Swiss border, a corps of workers has been maintained for several months, together with a children's hospital, disinfecting plant, &c., for the care and relief of the children and aged and infirm persons who have been sent back by the Germans from the occupied portions of France and Belgium at the rate of 1,000 or more a day.

Relief for the families of French soldiers has had for its object the double purpose of providing for the wants of the sick and destitute, and strengthening the morale of men at the front. In respect to the latter objective a success has been achieved which has called forth many expressions of praise from the highest French military and civil authorities. A gift of a lump sum of \$1,000,000 for distribution among 50,000 needy families was one of the initial acts in this particular line of relief.

FOR WOUNDED AND PRISONERS

Minor Red Cross activities in France have included assistance in the care of mutilated soldiers, aid in re-educational work and care of the blind, and maintenance of plants for the manufacture of splints, anaesthetic, &c. An important

work in connection with the prosecution of medical research has been the carrying on of experiments to ascertain the cause of trench fever, which in point of wastage is responsible for more than any other sickness.

Since air raids on Paris and other French cities have become a regular feature, the American Red Cross has established a day-and-night service to respond to air raid alarms, perform rescue work, and remove the injured to the hospitals. On many occasions the effectiveness of this work has commanded widespread interest.

Among the newer developments is the establishment of a casualty service, for the gathering of detail information regarding American soldiers who are killed in battle, sick or wounded in the hospitals or taken prisoner by the enemy. The information collected is transmitted to relatives at home.

Prisoner relief is administered through a central office at Berne, Switzerland, where ample supplies of food are stored for shipment to German prison camps as the need requires. Recently plans were started to have emergency rations stored in prison camps, so that American prisoners could have the benefit of them on their arrival there. Through the arrangements made all prisoners in enemy camps will receive rations in plenty at frequent intervals, and special rations will be provided for invalids.

IMPORTANT WORK IN ITALY

Appropriations for relief work in Italy have totaled \$3,588,826. Emergency relief work, rendered at a time when no permanent commission had been established in Italy, stands among the most notable of the Red Cross achievements of the first year of the war. When the Teuton hordes swept into the plains of Northern Italy in October, 1917, driving thousands of panic-stricken men, women, and children before them, American Red Cross veterans from France rushed into the breach, helped to stop the rout, relieved the acute distress, and contributed in no small measure to the saving of the country from complete subjugation. What the American Red Cross did for

Italy in this crisis was made the subject of official commendation on various occasions, and elicited thanks from the King, Prime Minister, and other dignitaries. A most important result accomplished was the cementing of friendship for America on the part of the Italian people, who previously, largely through German propaganda, had been skeptical of the good faith of the United States in the war.

At the outset the American Consuls throughout Italy were supplied with money to afford emergency relief. Forty-eight carloads of supplies were dispatched to the scene from storehouses in France. Several sections of ambulances also were started from France. Soup kitchens were opened, from which the refugees were given the first food they had received since the flight from their homes. Transportation for the refugees was arranged from the north, warehouses were opened at central points, manufacture of surgical dressings was undertaken on a mammoth scale, hospitals for the concentration of contagious diseases were opened, and then, four days after the United States declared war against Austria, the first Red Cross ambulances left Milan for the Italian front, cheered by thousands of persons there and at all towns through which they passed.

By the time the permanent commission reached Rome, in the early Winter, a complete survey of the whole Italian situation had been made by experts and all the more serious emergencies had been met. The American Red Cross was able to supply great quantities of equipment to replace the stores that were lost when the Teuton drive destroyed upward of a hundred hospitals. The present relief work is being continued along the lines of the work in France.

BELGIAN RELIEF WORK

Belgian relief work has called for appropriations aggregating \$2,086,131. There has been a program for improving conditions among the Belgian troops, and to provide recreation and medical service outside the scope of the Belgian war budget. The initial Red Cross gift was half a million francs to the Belgian Red

Cross, to be applied for the cost of the military hospital at Wolveringham. Contributions also have been made to the active field service of the army, in the form of surgical and medical equipment.

In civilian relief work in Belgium the American Red Cross placed its resources at the command of organizations already in the field to care for children and feeble persons, and get them away from the places of greatest danger. In order to have supplies ready at hand for emergencies twenty barrack warehouses were contracted for last Fall.

Special aid has been given to the schools and colonies for children. Establishment of health centres and a 250-bed hospital for the Belgian colony at Havre are among the other activities. A gift of 600,000 francs was made for the construction of a temporary village for refugees near Havre.

AIDING BRITISH WOUNDED

American Red Cross appropriations on account of work in Great Britain have amounted to \$3,078,875. This includes two gifts of \$953,000 and \$1,193,125, respectively, to the British Red Cross and a gift of \$500,000 to the Canadian Red Cross. The gifts to the British Red Cross will be used for relief and comforts to sick and wounded in hospitals, for the maintenance of auxiliary hospitals and convalescent homes in England, and for institutions for orthopedic and facial treatment and for general restorative work for disabled British soldiers. The British orthopedic hospitals serve as training schools for American surgeons. The gift to the Canadian Red Cross was given in recognition of the part Canada has played in the war. The money will be used to alleviate the suffering of wounded and sick Canadian soldiers.

The regular work of the American Red Cross in England includes the maintenance of a hospital at an English port for sick American soldiers and sailors, and support of a hospital at South Devon and of another for officers at Lancaster Gate, London.

Commissions have been maintained in Serbia, Rumania, and Russia, where relief has been administered according to

the needs of the situation in each instance. In Rumania the active relief work was abandoned only when the Red Cross representatives were forced to leave the country following the Ukraine peace. At the present writing [April, 1918] a special commission, accompanied by several medical units, is on its way to take up relief work in Palestine.

The appropriations for Serbian relief have totaled \$875,180.76; for Rumania, \$2,676,368.76, and for Russia \$1,243,845.07. All other foreign relief work, miscellaneous in character, has involved appropriations amounting to \$3,576,300.

IN THE UNITED STATES

For camp service in the United States there was appropriated, up to March 1, a total of \$6,451,150.86. The sweaters, helmets, socks, and other supplies and comforts for distribution to the army and navy had a value of \$5,653,435.86.

There had been appropriated for Red Cross convalescent houses at camps and cantonments throughout the United States \$512,000, and plans for additional houses and nurses' homes at the various camps will call for aggregate expenditures of about \$1,750,000.

More than 19,000 graduate nurses have been supplied to the United States Army for service in this country and abroad by the Red Cross Nursing Service. A total of 25,000 must be supplied before the end of the present year to meet the needs of the growing army and the greater activities of the forces in France.

Fifty base hospital units have been organized, each unit consisting of twenty-two surgeons and dentists, sixty-five nurses, and 152 men of the enlisted reserve corps. Nineteen of these units are now in service in France. The Red Cross has supplied the personnel for ten other units.

Red Cross chapters have organized and are maintaining more than a thousand canteens at railroad stations to serve troops passing to and from camps and to ports of embarkation. In nearly every city, also, women's motor corps service has been established by volunteer workers. Throughout the country plans

have been made on an extensive scale to carry on home service in the interest of the families of soldiers who may need assistance, material or otherwise.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Although war activities required its greatest energies, the American Red Cross rendered prompt relief in cases of overwhelming disaster outside the war zones during the year. There were three major disasters, widely separated, in 1917. They were, respectively, the Tientsin flood, which made 1,000,000 people homeless and caused a crop and property loss amounting to \$100,000,000; the Halifax explosion, which wrecked a large part of the city and resulted in the killing and maiming of thousands of persons, and the Guatemala earthquake, which caused destitution and disease, in addition to the property damage and the toll of death and injury.

In the case of the flood in China, the Red Cross cabled to the American Minister to draw for sums sufficient to meet emergency needs, and later assisted the Chinese Government in providing labor

for 10,000 refugees for a period of several months. The appropriations for relief in connection with this disaster totaled \$125,000.

Within a few hours after the extent of the Halifax disaster was known, special Red Cross trains left New York, Providence, and Boston for the scene, carrying tons of bedding, clothing, food, and medical supplies, as well as doctors, nurses, and experts in relief administration. Every anticipated need was provided for, and unlimited resources were pledged to the stricken city.

Urgent relief needs following the earthquake in Guatemala were met through the Guatemala Red Cross chapter, which purchased \$100,000 worth of supplies from the Government stores in the Canal Zone. A shipload of medical, food, and other supplies was sent from New Orleans at the earliest possible moment, and a Medical Director was appointed to take charge of work on the ground. Expert workers and sanitary engineers also were dispatched from the United States to look after special phases of the situation.

An Example of U-Boat Brutality

One day in the first week of March, 1918, a small Belgian fishing smack was sighted by a German U-boat and was fired upon without the slightest warning. Her masts and sails were shot away, and the skipper was severely wounded. The smack carried a crew of only four men, three of whom entered their small boat and endeavored to persuade the skipper to come with them; but he was so badly injured that he refused to leave. He, however, urged his men to save their own lives. Meanwhile the submarine had come closer to its prey, and a German officer called to the men in the small boat to convey a couple of German sailors on board the smack, in order that they might sink her with bombs. The Germans proceeded to board the smack, and then, finding the wounded skipper, one of them drew his revolver and shot the helpless man dead through the head. The dastardly act was committed in full view of the Belgian fishermen, one of whom was the unfortunate skipper's son. Having placed their bombs in position, the Germans returned to the submarine and cast the remaining three Belgians adrift in their cockleshell of a boat without food or water, and with no means of reaching land, from the nearest point of which they were twenty miles distant. The unfortunate men suffered severely from cold and hunger before they were picked up by a British patrol boat.

Great Britain Faces a Crisis

Historic Speech by Premier Lloyd George on the Picardy Battle and Its Fateful Consequences

The British Government introduced a bill April 9, 1918, to raise the military age up to 50, and in special cases to 55, and to provide for conscription in Ireland. Premier David Lloyd George, in introducing the measure in the House of Commons, delivered an important address, in which he reviewed the battle of Picardy up to that time and gave interesting details of the conduct of the war in the preceding months. The address opened a new phase in the world conflict as affected by the posture of affairs in Great Britain. The full speech was sent by special cable to The New York Times and is reproduced herewith as a historic document of the war:

WE have now entered the most critical phase of this terrible war. There is a lull in the storm, but the hurricane is not over. Doubtless we must expect more fierce outbreaks, and ere it is finally exhausted there will be many more. The fate of the empire, the fate of Europe, and the fate of liberty throughout the world may depend on the success with which the very last of these attacks is resisted and countered.

The Government, therefore, propose to submit to Parliament today certain recommendations, in order to assist this country and the Allies to weather the storm. They will involve, I regret, extreme sacrifices on the part of large classes of the population, and nothing would justify them but the most extreme necessity and the fact that we are fighting for all that is essential and most sacred in our national life.

Before I come to the circumstances which led up to our submitting these proposals to Parliament, I ought to say one word as to why Parliament was not immediately summoned. Since the battle began the Government have been engaged almost every hour in concerting with the Allies the necessary measures to assist the armies to deal with the emergency.

The proposals which we intend submitting to Parliament required very close and careful examination, and I think there is this advantage in our meeting

today, rather than immediately after the impact of the German attack, that we shall be considering these proposals under conditions which will be far removed from any suggestion of panic.

THE BATTLE OF PICARDY

I shall now come to the circumstances which have led to the present military position. It is very difficult at this time to present a clear, connected, and reliable narrative of what happened. There has been a great battle on a front of fifty miles—the greatest battle ever fought in the history of the world. Enormous forces have been engaged; there was a considerable retirement on the part of the British forces, and under these conditions it is not always easy for some time to ascertain what actually happened.

The House will recollect the difficulty we experienced with regard to Cambrai. It was difficult to piece together the story of the event for some time, and Cambrai was a very trivial event compared with this gigantic battle.

The Generals and their staffs are, naturally, engaged and have to concentrate their attention upon the operations of the enemy, and until the strain relaxes it would be very difficult to institute the necessary inquiries to find out exactly what happened, and to furnish an adequate explanation of the battle.

However, there are two or three facts which stand out, and in stating them I

should like to call attention to two things which I think above all must be avoided. The first is that nothing should be said which could give information to the enemy; nothing should be said which would give encouragement to the enemy, and nothing should be said which would give discouragement to our own troops, who are fighting so gallantly at this very hour. And the second question is that all recrimination at this hour must be shut out.

GERMANS SLIGHTLY WEAKER

What was the position at the beginning of the battle? Notwithstanding the heavy casualties in 1917 the army in France was considerably stronger on Jan. 1, 1918, than on Jan. 1, 1917. Up to the end of 1917—up to, say, about October or November—the German combatant strength in France was as two to the Allies' three. Then came the military collapse of Russia, and the Germans hurried up their released divisions from the eastern front and brought them to the west. They had a certain measure of Austrian support, which had been accorded to them.

Owing to the growth of the strength of our armies in 1917 when this battle began the combatant strength of the whole of the German Army on the western front was only approximately, though not quite, equal to the total combatant strength of the Allies in infantry. They were slightly inferior in artillery. They were considerably inferior in cavalry, and, what is very important, they were undoubtedly inferior in aircraft.

The Germans, therefore, organized their troops so as to produce a larger number of divisions out of the slightly smaller number of infantry and slightly smaller number of guns. They had fewer battalions in a division and fewer men in a battalion. That is entirely a question of organization, and it yet remains to be seen that their organization is better than ours. It is necessary to explain that, in order that the House should realize why, with approximately the same number of men, the Germans have a larger number of divisions on that front.

According to all the facts which have come to hand as to the losses of the battle, that roughly represents the relative strength of the combatants on both sides at this moment. The Germans had, however, one or two important advantages. The first, the initial advantage, which is always commanded by the offensive, is that they know where they mean to attack. They choose the

ground, they choose the location, they know the width of the attack, they know the dimensions of the attack, they know the time of the attack, they know the method of the attack. All that invariably gives the initial advantage to the offensive.

Concentrated on the British

The defense has a general advantage, as, owing to air observation, concealment is difficult. At the same time, in spite of all that, owing to the power of moving troops at night, which the Germans exercised in a very large extent, there was a large margin for surprise, even in spite of air observation, and of this the enemy took full advantage.

I should like to say one word here as to the difficulty which the allied Generals were confronted with in this respect. Before the battle the greatest German concentration was in front of our troops. That was no proof that the full weight of the attack would fall on us. There was a very large concentration opposite the French lines. There was a very considerable concentration—I am referring now to the German reserves—on the northern part of our line.

After the battle began, or immediately before the battle, the Germans by night brought their divisions from the northern part to the point where the attack took place. They also took several divisions from opposite the French in the same way and brought them to our front. But it would have been equally easy for them, while concentrating troops opposite our front, to manoeuvre them in the same way opposite the French. I am only referring to that in order to show how exceedingly difficult it is for Generals on the defensive to decide exactly where, in their judgment, the attack is coming and where they ought to concentrate their reserves.

General Wilson's Forecast

I may just say a word here. This problem was considered very closely by the military staff at Versailles, and I think it right, in justice to them, to point out that after a very close study of the German position and of the probabilities of the case, they came to the conclusion, and they stated their conclusion to the military representatives and to the Ministers in the month of January, or the beginning of February, that the attack would come south of Arras; that it would be an attack on the widest front ever yet assailed; that the Germans would accumulate ninety-five divisions for the purpose of making that attack; that they would throw the whole of their resources and their strength into breaking the British line at that point, and that their objective would be the capture of Amiens and the severance of the British and French forces.

That was the conclusion which Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, came to, and which was submitted at that time, two

or three months ago, and I think that it was one of the most remarkable forecasts of enemy intentions ever made.

As a matter of fact, the attack was made up, I think, by about ninety-seven divisions. It was an attack on the widest front that had ever been engaged. Its object undoubtedly was the capture of Amiens and the severance of the British and French forces. So that, almost in every detail, that very remarkable forecast has been verified in the event.

Another remarkable prediction was that it might probably succeed in penetrating the British line to the extent of half the distance of the front attacked. They came to the conclusion from a close examination of the offensives of the war.

Advantage of United Command

There was another advantage. There was, first of all, the advantage which the Germans had from having the initiative. There was a further advantage they had, and this undoubtedly was the greatest advantage, from having a united command opposed to a dual one. The Germans undoubtedly relied on this to a very large extent for their success. They owe much of the success of this attack to this.

It was reported to me on good authority that the Kaiser informed ex-King Constantine: "I shall beat them, for they have no united command." Which shows that that was what they were relying in the main upon; that, although their numbers were slightly inferior, they knew the importance that was to be attached to the fact that they had a perfectly united command.

And that is an obvious advantage, for if the risks in one particular part of the line are great, and in another part of the line are great, but substantially less than in the former, with one command there is no hesitation in the mind of the Commander in Chief as to which risk he will make the greatest provision against.

With two separate commands the problem is a different one. It is more difficult to adjust the balance of risk, and the General is always naturally inclined to give himself and his army the benefit of any doubt. That may be because if anything goes wrong there he alone is to be held responsible to his own countrymen for the safety of his army.

Weather Favored Germans

The enemy had another incidental but, as it turned out, very important advantage—that of the weather. Exceptional weather favored his designs. It was both dry and misty. The attack which succeeded was made on that part of the line where under ordinary Spring conditions the ground would have been almost impassable.

A wounded officer told a friend of mine today, a General, that under ordinary conditions no one could walk across the part

which was traversed by the Germans at this time of the year. But it just happened to be absolutely dry and firm, and they walked across ground which no one had any right to expect at this time of the year would be in that condition.

Not only that, but the fact that it was warm increased the mist, and the Germans were actually in some parts within a few yards of our front line before any one knew of their approach. It was quite impossible to observe them. This was a special disadvantage to us, inasmuch as our scheme of organization in that particular part of the line depended largely upon the cross-line fire of machine guns and artillery. They had, therefore, a very special advantage, of which they made the fullest use.

Closed Up Gap in Armies

With regard to the battle itself, as I have already stated, it will take some time to ascertain the whole facts. At one time it was undoubtedly very critical. The enemy broke through between our 3d and 5th Armies, and there was a serious gap, and the situation was retrieved owing to the magnificent conduct of our troops. They retired in perfectly good order, re-establishing the junction between the two armies and frustrating the enemy's purpose.

The House can hardly realize, and certainly cannot sufficiently thank—nor can the country—our troops for their superb valor and the grim tenacity with which they faced overwhelming hordes of the enemy and clung to their positions. They retired, but were never routed, and once more the cool pluck of the British soldier, that refuses to acknowledge defeat, saved Europe.

I am referring to the whole army, Generals, officers, and soldiers. I mean the whole army, and I draw no distinction. Their conduct has been one of incredible courage and great coolness under the most trying conditions. I do not think that any distinction can be drawn between officers and men. I am referring to the British Army, and that means all.

Praises General Carey's Feat

And I specially refer to what one Brigadier General did. Some reference has been made in the press already to it, where at one point there was a serious gap, which might have let the enemy into Calais.

[At this point the Prime Minister spoke of the critical situation which developed when the German attack began. He said the gap on the way to Amiens was held by Brig. Gen. Carey, who for six days stood off the enemy with engineers, laborers, signalers, and anybody who could hold a rifle. The Premier continued:]

Until the whole circumstances which led to the retirement of the 5th Army and its failure to hold the line of the Somme, at least till the Germans brought out their guns, and

perhaps the failure adequately to destroy the bridges—until all these are explained it would be unfair to censure the General in command of the army, General Gough. But until those circumstances are cleared up it would be equally unfair to the British Army to retain his services in the field. It is necessary to recall him until the facts have been fully ascertained and laid before the Government by their military advisers.

After the retirement of the 5th Army the French reserves came up with remarkable rapidity, when their position before the battle is borne in mind. In fact, the speed with which, when the final decision was taken as to the real designs of the enemy, the French reserves were brought up is one of the most remarkable feats of organization in this war, and between the courage of our troops and the handling of the army—the way the 5d Army held, never giving way a hundred yards to the attack of the enemy—I think it right that it should be said about the army commanded by General Byng—that between the efforts of our soldiers and the loyal assistance given in true spirit of comradeship by the French Army, the position is for the moment stabilized. But it is clear that the Germans, having gained an initial success, are preparing another, and perhaps an even greater, attack on the allied armies.

Teutons Fail in Main Objects

Up to the present the enemy has undoubtedly obtained a great initial success. There is no good in not accepting the facts. It is from that basis we must begin to build. But he has failed so far in his main objects. He failed to capture Amiens. He failed to separate the French and British armies. But we should be guilty of great, it might be fatal, error if we were to underestimate the gravity of the prospect.

The enemy has captured valuable ground, which is too near Amiens for comfort or security, and he has succeeded for the time being in crippling one of our great armies.

I will now tell the House something of the measures adopted by the Cabinet to meet the emergency. I have already explained what was done about the French reserves. The Cabinet took every step to hurry up reinforcements in order to fill up the gap in our armies. No such large numbers of men ever passed across the Channel in so short a time.

As the emergency was great it was impossible to allow those who were summoned to France the usual leave to visit their relatives. It was with the greatest regret that we found it necessary to cancel this permission, and nothing but the gravity of the position would have justified so harsh a proceeding. But the troops accepted the position in a manner which is worthy of the fortitude, courage, and patriotism they have shown throughout.

There was an understanding that boys under 19 years would only be used in case of

emergency. We felt that the emergency had arisen, and in so far as those who were over 18 were concerned, those who had already received six months' training, we felt it necessary that they should be sent to France.

As to the guns and machine guns which were lost, the numbers are grossly exaggerated by the enemy. I am assured that they have also exaggerated very considerably the number of prisoners they have taken. The Commander in Chief assured me last week that it was a gross exaggeration.

I am very glad to be able to say that the Ministry of Munitions were able not merely to replace those guns and machine guns, but that they still have got a very substantial reserve. The same thing applies to ammunition. There is an ample reserve of ammunition both in this country and in France.

Our aircraft strength is greater now than before the battle, and we all know what brilliant service our airmen rendered in this battle. Until the whole story of the battle is told it will be almost impossible to estimate the services they rendered in retarding the advance of the enemy, in destroying his machinery, and in making it difficult for him to bring up his guns and ammunition. We feel confident that our armies, Generals, and soldiers will be quite equal to the next encounter whenever it comes.

America's Dramatic Assistance

The next step to which I should like to call the attention of the House is the material and dramatic assistance rendered by President Wilson in this emergency—one of the most important decisions in the war. In fact, the issue of the battle might very well be determined by this decision.

In America there is a very considerable number of men in the course of training, and the Allies looked forward to having a large American army in France in the Spring. It has taken longer than was anticipated to turn those soldiers into the necessary divisional organizations. If America waited to complete these divisional organizations it would not be possible for these fine troops in any large numbers to take part in this battle in this campaign, although it might be very well the decisive battle of the war.

This was, of course, one of the most serious disappointments from which the Allies had suffered. It is no use pretending it was not one of our chief causes of anxiety. We depend upon it largely to make up the defection of Russia.

For many reasons—reasons, perhaps of transport, reasons connected with the time it takes, not merely to train troops and their officers, but to complete the necessary organization—it was quite impossible to put into France the number of divisions every one had confidently expected would be there. Under the circumstances we, therefore, submitted to the President of the United States a definite proposal. We had the advantage

of having the Secretary of State for War in this country within two or three days after the battle had commenced. Mr. Balfour and I had a long conversation with him upon the whole situation, and we submitted to him certain recommendations which we had been advised to make to Mr. Baker and the American Government.

Proposal of Earl of Reading

On the strength of the conversation we submitted proposals to President Wilson, with the strong support of Premier Clemenceau, to enable the combatant strength of the American Army to come into action during this battle, inasmuch as there was no hope of it coming in as a strong separate army. By this decision American battalions will be brigaded with those of the Allies.

This proposal was submitted by the Earl of Reading on behalf of the British Government to President Wilson, and President Wilson assented to the proposal without any hesitation, with the result that arrangements are now being made for the fighting strength of the American Army to be immediately brought to bear in this struggle—a struggle which is only now beginning—to this extent, and it is no mere small extent, that the German attack has been held up. It has stirred up the resolution and energy of America beyond anything which has yet occurred.

Another important decision taken by the allied Governments I must also call the attention of the House to. It became more obvious after the battle than ever before that the allied armies were suffering from the fact that they were fighting as two separate armies and had to negotiate support with each other. Valuable time was thus lost. Some of us had been deeply impressed by this peril for some time and had done our best to avert it.

But the inherent difficulties to be overcome are tremendous. There are national prejudices, national interests, professional prejudices and traditions. The inherent difficulties of getting two or three separate armies to fight as one are almost insurmountable, and it can only be done if public opinion in all these countries insists upon it as one condition of success.

The Versailles conference was an effort at a remedy. How were the Versailles decisions carried out, and the extent to which they were not carried out? This is not the time to inquire.

Foch Made Generalissimo

I respectfully suggest to the House that no good would come at this stage in discussing this question. But if any one needed conviction as to the wisdom of that policy, this battle must have supplied it. The peril we passed through, by establishing the conviction without challenge, may, I think, be worth the price we paid for it.

A few days after the battle commenced

there were present not merely the Government, but the commanders in the field. We had not merely Field Marshals but army commanders present. We were so convinced—and the same thing applied to the French—of the importance of more complete strategic unity that they agreed to the appointment of General Foch to the supreme direction of the strategy of all the allied armies on the western front.

May I not say just one word about General Foch? It is not merely that he is one of the most brilliant soldiers in Europe, but there is this to be said about him: Foch is the man who, when we were attacked and were in a similar plight at the first battle of Ypres, rushed the French Army there by every conceivable expedient—buses, cabs, lorries, anything he could lay his hands upon. He crowded French divisions through, and undoubtedly helped to win the great battle.

There is no doubt about the loyalty and comradeship of General Foch. I have no doubt that this arrangement will be carried out not merely in the letter but in the spirit. But it is the most important decision that has been taken in reference to the coming battle. This strategic unity is, I submit to the House, the fundamental condition of victory. It can only be maintained by complete co-operation between the Governments and the Generals and by something more than that—the unmistakable public opinion behind it.

Asks Support for Foch

Why do I say that? For this reason: A Generalissimo in the ordinary and full sense of the term may be impracticable. There are three functions which a General wields—strategical, tactical, and administrative. What does administrative mean? It means control of organization, the appointment and dismissal of officers and Generals, and that is a power which it is difficult or almost impossible to give to Generals of another country with a national army.

Therefore, in spite of all the arrangements made, unless there be not merely good-will, but the knowledge that the public of France, Great Britain, and America will assist in co-ordination and in supporting the authority in the supreme strategical plans chosen by the Governments, and in supporting the Governments in any action they may take to assert their authority, any arrangements made will be futile and mischievous. I make no apology for dwelling at some length upon this point. I have always felt that we were losing value and efficiency in the allied armies through lack of co-ordination and concentration.

We have sustained many disasters already through this, and we shall encounter more unless this defect in our machinery is put right. Hitherto, I regret, every effort at amendment led to rather prolonged and very bitter controversy, and these great inherent difficulties were themselves accentuated and

aggravated. There were difficulties of carrying out plans and other obstacles, and, what is worse, valuable time is lost.

I entreat the nation as a whole to stand united for the united control of the strategical operations of our armies at the front. We know how much depends upon unity of concentration. We are fighting a very powerful foe, who, in so far as he has triumphed, has triumphed mainly because of superior unity and the concentration of his strategic plans.

BRITISH FORCES IN ASIA

There is another matter to which I should like to refer, and it is the suggestion that our forces have been dissipated on a subsidiary enterprise. Not a single division was sent from France to the East. With regard to Italy, had it not been for the fact that there are battalions of French and British divisions there, the Austrian Army would have been free to throw the whole of its strength on the western front. If there were not some there now the Austrian Army would be more powerfully represented than it is on the western front.

With regard to Saloniki, the only thing the present Government did was to reduce the forces there by two divisions. In Mesopotamia there is only one white division in all, and in Egypt and Palestine together there are only two white divisions, and the rest are either Indians or mixed with a very small proportion of British troops. I am referring to infantry divisions.

I want the House really to consider what that means. There is a menace to our Eastern empire through Persia, because through Persia you approach Afghanistan, and through Afghanistan you menace the whole of India. Had it not been for the blows inflicted upon the Turks, what would have happened? Before these attacks there were Turkish divisions helping the Germans in Russia. They would have been there helping the Germans on the west, exactly as they helped them on the east.

Germans Sent to Help Turks

But what has happened? They were attacked in Palestine and Mesopotamia and two Turkish armies were destroyed. If we had remained in Egypt and defended Egypt by remaining there on the canal and allowing the Turks to hold us with a small force while they were putting the whole of their force in Mesopotamia and menacing our position in India by that means, the Turks could now have been assisting the Germans in the west as they did in the east.

What is happening now? German battalions at this moment have been sent to assist the Turks instead of the Turks sending divisions to help the Germans. The Germans now have sent battalions to help the Turks in Palestine. After all, if you have a great empire you must defend it.

There was a great empire which withdrew

its legions from the outlying provinces of the empire to defend its heart against the Goths and those legions never went back. The British Empire has not been reduced to that plight yet. We can defend ourselves successfully in France, and we can also hold our empire against any one who assails it in any part of the world at the same time.

May I, before I leave this topic, say how much gratitude we owe to India for the magnificent way in which she has come to the aid of the empire in this emergency?

It is not the fact that we have got three British divisions in Egypt and Palestine and one in Mesopotamia that has enabled us to hold our own, but it is the fact that we have had these splendid troops from India. Many of them volunteered since the war, and they have been more than a match for their Turkish adversaries on many a stricken field.

Great Losses in France

It is too early to state yet with accuracy our losses, because in the case of a battle over such a wide front, fought with such intensity for over a fortnight, with vast numbers of men engaged, the losses sustained must be considerable. The claims of the enemy as to prisoners have been grossly exaggerated, and Field Marshal Haig has assured me that they were quite impossible from the figures at his disposal, and which he showed me, and the enemy's claims seem quite preposterous from the statement he made to me.

But still our losses are very great and our reserves have been called upon to a considerable extent to make up the wastage and refit the units, and if the drain continues on this scale, a drain on the resources of reserves and of man power, it must cause the deepest anxiety, unless we take immediate steps to replenish it.

The immediate necessity is relieved by the splendid and generous way and promptitude with which America has come to our aid, but they are simply lent to receive their training, with a view to their incorporation at the first suitable moment in the American Army in France, and even if they remain with the British right through the battle, the time will come when we shall need large reinforcements, if this battle continues.

I want the House to consider for a moment what the plans of the enemy may be as they are now revealed. It was never certain he would take this plunge, because he knows what it means if it fails. But he has taken it. The battle proves that the enemy has definitely decided to seek a military decision this year, whatever the consequences to himself.

Reasons for German Effort

There is no doubt he has overwhelming reasons. There is the economic condition of his country and the critical economic condition of his allies. He is now at the height



Representatives of the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk (from left to right): Gen. Hoffmann of the German Army;
Count Czernin, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Talaat Pasha, Turkish Grand Vizier, and von
Kuehlmann, German Foreign Minister

(International Film Service)



Panorama of Venice as seen from an airplane in wartime

of his power, and Russia is at the least, while America has not yet come in in its strength. So this year the enemy may put forth something which approaches his full strength. But soon he will grow feebler and weaker in comparison with the allied forces.

Everything, therefore, points to the definite determination of Germany to put the whole of her resources into seeking a military decision this year, and this means a prolonged battle from the North Sea to the Adriatic, with Germany and Austria throwing in the whole of their strength.

There are still seven or eight months within which the fighting can continue, and everything depends upon keeping our strength right to the end, whatever the strain upon our resources may be.

With American aid we can do it. But, even with American help, we cannot feel secure unless we are prepared ourselves to make even greater sacrifices than we have hitherto made. I know what the Government wish. I know also what will happen if the demand which the Government is putting forward is not responded to.

It is idle to imagine, as some people very lightheartedly seem to think, that you have got an unlimited reservoir of man power in this or in any belligerent country. We have already raised in this country for military and naval purposes very nearly six million men. We cannot raise here the same proportion of men per population as you can in other belligerent countries. I have repeatedly emphasized that in the House of Commons.

We have the greatest navy in the world, the command of the seas depends not merely for ourselves, but for our allies, upon the efforts we put forward. That is not only a question of manning the fleet: it is also a question of building, of adding to the numbers of ships, and of repairing the ships. Then you have got a mercantile marine, without which the Allies could not continue the struggle for a single month.

Navy and Shipping First

All that must be borne in mind, and whatever happens and whatever proposals we put forward today, it would be folly to do anything which would interfere with the one fundamental condition of success to the Allies—that the navy and shipping must be first.

We have also got to supply coal largely to our allies, as well as steel. But, owing largely to improved organizations in the various industries, to the way they are adapting themselves from day to day to new conditions, and to the increased numbers and greatly increased efficiency of woman labor, there is a reserve of men which, consistent with the discharge of these obligations, may yet be withdrawn in great emergency for our battle line; not without damage to industry—I do not forget that—and not without, to a certain extent, weakening the economic

strength of the country, and not without imposing restrictions and perhaps privations, but without impairment to the striking power of the country for war. Nothing could justify such drastic action except an overwhelming emergency precipitated by a great military crisis.

I want to point out especially why the steps taken now are steps which will be useful in this battle. First of all, it is a battle which may last for months. The decision may be taken not now or next month, but may be months hence. But, beyond that, the Allies at the present moment have the same reserves of man power to reinforce their armies as Germany has, without taking into account those great reserves in America.

The German Age Limit

The Germans, however, are calling up another class, which will produce 550,000 efficient young men. These will be prepared to be thrown into the battle line. This is the 1920 class, aged 18½. These can be thrown into the battle line before this fight is over, and we must be prepared for their advent in this struggle this year.

Therefore, I have to submit to Parliament the totals for increasing, and increasing very materially, the reserves which will be available for reinforcing our armies in the field during this prolonged battle, upon which we are only just entering. I will now give roughly some of the proposals we intend to make in order to increase the number of men available.

We already have raised for armed forces during the first quarter of the year more than the quarter's proportion of the original number of men which it was estimated was the minimum required for the present year. We are also effecting a very strict comb-out of some of the essential industries. Very large levies have been taken from munition works. They will amount, I think, to something like 100,000 grade 1 men.

New Call on the Miners

That has been done already this year, and it will, of course, involve the utilization of other labor to a very large extent in munition works. A call for 500,000 has been made already on the coal industry, and these men have been rapidly recruited. I regret to say that military needs will necessitate the calling up of another 150,000 men from this industry. These men can be spared, we are convinced, after entering into the matter very carefully, without endangering the essential output of coal for national industries.

No one is likely to forget the fine response made by the miners at the beginning of the war, or the splendid part they have taken in hundreds of battles since then. They have been loyal in meeting the present demand of 50,000 men, and I am confident they would meet a further call upon them in the same spirit, in view of this great national emer-

agency under which we are making it. The transport services also have been called upon to release the greatest possible number of fit men.

Combing Out Civil Service Under 25

Further calls are to be made upon the civil service. I do not think it is realized how much the civil service has done already. On one hand, it has had to release a large number of men for the army, and, on the other, it has to meet and is meeting the increased strain of work. But even at the risk of some dislocation we must call upon it to do more, and a clean cut of young, fit men must be made.

It is proposed that no fit men below the age of 25 should be retained. That is the clean-out. We comb out beyond that. I shall explain it later. It is proposed that it should be applied to other industries as well.

When we are adding to the age and when we are extending the military age, it should not be said that there are fit young men of 25 who are employed in the various industries of the country. This will bring the civil service into line, and on a general level, so far as a clean-out is concerned, with the munitions industries.

Under an act passed in January of this year, we are issuing orders canceling all occupational exemptions by age blocks in specified occupations. That is the clean-out. The first of these orders is being laid on the table in the House today and other orders of the same power will follow.

I know that the House will appreciate that it is not merely necessary to have men, but to have them quickly. It is no use raising them unless they are raised in time to take part in the struggle this year, when we shall be short of drafts, if the battle is a prolonged one.

The Government, therefore, has shortened the length of the calling up notice from fourteen days to seven and have authorized the sending of notice by whatever method is the most expeditious and convenient. It may be necessary even to curtail the rights of appeal on medical grounds, but for the moment it is not proposed to do so. We have had a good many frivolous appeals, which have wasted a good deal of time, and if that goes on, it will be absolutely necessary, in the interest of the security of the country, that the rights of appeal should be curtailed in this respect.

Military Age Raised to 50

There is another consideration. The strain upon the medical profession has been great already. We are very short of medical men, and we may be driven to do it by the hard necessities of the case.

I now turn to the new proposal embodied in the bill, which I beg leave to introduce today. Our first proposal is to raise the military age up to 50, and in certain spec-

ified cases we ask for powers to raise it to 55, but that only when a man with special qualifications is needed.

For instance, it may be necessary to do it, in the case of medical men, in order to secure their services. It may be necessary in certain special classes, with special training and special experience, to secure their services for the army. When you come to the question of raising the age to 50, it does not mean that men between 42 and 50 are necessarily to be taken in order to put them into the fighting line. It may be that there are men of that age who are just as fit as men of 25, but I am sorry to say that that is the exception, and we cannot, therefore, depend upon men of that age altogether to make the finest fighting material.

There are a good many services in the army which do not require the very best physical material, and it would be very helpful to get men of this age to fill those services, in order to release younger and fitter men to enter the fighting line. There is also to be borne in mind the fact that we have to prepare for our home defense, so as to be able to release men from this country and fill their places by men between 42 and 50, who, I have no doubt, would fight very tenaciously for their own homes if there were an invasion.

The proportion of men from 42 to 50 years of age whom we expect to be available is not very high—something like 7 per cent. That is only 7 per cent. of men from 42 to 50 will be available for the army.

I only want to reassure people between 42 and 50 that all the men of that age are not going to be called up to the fighting line. I gave a sort of rough estimate that it would be only a small percentage of men of this age who would be likely to come under the provisions of the bill.

[The Premier then took up the system of exemptions, which is revised in the bill. He explained that the King, under the provisions of the bill, could cancel former exemptions, and that men would be exempted on medical grounds only, with provisions also for speeding up the procedure of appeal tribunals. He continued:]

We have to choose between either submitting to defeat or taking the necessary measures to avert it. We will never submit to accepting defeat.

I need hardly say that this provision will not be used to set aside the pledges given to discharged soldiers. They will be carefully observed.

CONSCRIPTION IN IRELAND

I now come to the question of Ireland. When an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to put men of 50 and boys of 18 into the army in the fight for liberty and independence—[Joseph Devlin here interrupted]—"and small nationalities," the Premier resumed: Especially as I am re-

minded, to fight for liberty and independence and small nationalities, I am perfectly certain it is not possible to justify any longer the exclusion of Ireland.

John Dillon—You will not get any men from Ireland by compulsion, not a man.

The Premier—What is the position? No home rule proposal ever submitted in this House proposed to deprive the Imperial Parliament of the power of dealing with all questions in relation to the army and navy. These invariably are in every home rule bill I have ever seen and are purely questions for the Imperial Parliament, so that I am claiming no more as a national right than was ever claimed in the House. The Defense of the Realm act also was extended to Ireland.

The character of the quarrel in which we are engaged is just as much Irish as English. May I say it is more so? It is more Irish, Scotch, and Welsh than it is even English. Ireland, through its representatives at the beginning of the war, assented to it.

Mr. Devlin—Because it was a war for small nationalities.

The Prime Minister—Ireland, through its representatives, assented to the war, voted for the war, supported the war. Irish representatives and Ireland, through its representatives, without a dissenting voice committed the empire to this war. They are as responsible for it as any part of the United Kingdom. May I just read the declaration issued by the Irish Party on Dec. 17, 1914, shortly after the war began?

Mr. Byrne—We have had a revolution since then.

The Prime Minister—This is the Declaration of the Irish Party:

A test to search men's souls has arisen. The empire is engaged in the most serious war in history. It is a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany. It is a war for the defense of the sacred rights and liberties of small nations and the respect and enlargement of the great principles of nationality. Involved in it is the fate of France, our kindred country and the chief nation of that powerful Celtic race to which we belong; the fate of Belgium, to whom we are attached by the same great ties of race and by the common desire of small nations to assert their freedom, and the fate of Poland, whose sufferings and struggles bear so marked a resemblance to our own.

It is a war for the high ideals of human government and international relations, and Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honor, good faith, and self-interest did she not willingly bear her share in its burdens and its sacrifices.

It is not merely illogical that Ireland should not help, it is unjust. If it were merely England's battle, the young men of Ireland might regard that fact with indifference, but it is not. They are just as much concerned as the young men of England. Therefore, it is proposed to extend conscrip-

tion on the same conditions as in Great Britain.

As there is no machinery in existence and no register has as yet been completed in Ireland, it may take some weeks before active enrollments begin. As soon as arrangements are complete the Government will put the act into immediate operation.

Irish Members Raise Uproar

[When Mr. Lloyd George referred to Ireland, Alfred Byrne, Nationalist member from Dublin, shouted: "We won't have conscription in Ireland!" An uproar followed. The Premier said the report of the Irish Convention was adopted by a majority only, and therefore the Government would take the responsibility for such proposals for self-government as were just and could be carried out without violent controversy. It would be some weeks before enrollment in Ireland began, the Premier continued. One Nationalist cried out: "It will never begin." Michael Flavin, Nationalist member from Kerry, said: "You come across and try to take us." Another Nationalist exclaimed: "It is a declaration of war against Ireland."]

When the Premier was referring to Ireland, John Dillon, the successor of the late John Redmond as leader of the Irish Nationalists in Parliament, said: "If Irish liberty were at stake I would not hesitate to support that policy. I never challenged the justice of war. I don't challenge it now."

Mr. Lloyd George began: "I don't want to cause trouble—"

"You will get plenty," interrupted an Irish member.

Resuming, Lloyd George said: "While we have one ship afloat we should not accept a German peace. The men being taken now may be the means of a decisive issue."

Mr. Asquith said he would suspend judgment until he saw the bill in print. He invited every one to keep his mind and ears accessible to reasonable argument. At the conclusion of Mr. Asquith's speech, Joseph Devlin moved an adjournment and warned the Government that it was entering upon a course of madness if it endeavored to enforce conscription on Ireland. His motion was defeated later by a vote of 323 to 80.

Mr. Dillon said he hoped for the sake of the war and for the sake of the empire that the methods of the War Cabinet in dealing with the war were different from its methods in dealing with Ireland. A bill applying conscription to Ireland, Mr. Dillon continued, would plunge the country into bloodshed and confusion and would open a new war front in addition to the western front. He urged the War Cabinet to inform itself as to the state of Irish feeling before proposing conscription to Ireland.

Leave to introduce the Government's Man-Power bill was carried after further hot debate by 299 to 80.

Russia and the Allies

The Russian and the French Revolution Compared—The Gloomy Outlook of Russia

By Arthur J. Balfour

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

[FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN PARLIAMENT MARCH 14, 1918]

THE inference that Russia would have been kept in the war if we had announced that we proposed to go in for the status quo ante and readjustments is wrong. Pronouncements made by Russian statesmen always included self-determination. Self-determination can never be squared with mere adjustments. It may be that self-determination might conceivably receive a large measure of fulfillment, I agree, up to a certain point, but that Russian statesmen by their declarations have materially limited the scope of the war I believe to be inaccurate. But whether accurate or not, one is entirely misrepresenting the political and social forces of Russia if he thinks that the reason Russia went out of the war was that our war aims were not publicly or semi-publicly reconsidered in concert with the Allies.

I do not profess to have a remedy for the misfortunes that have occurred—as I think to civilization itself—from the fact that the Russian revolution occurred in the middle of a European war. I welcome the change from autocracy to what we hoped and still hope, what we believed and still believe, is going to be a reign of ordered liberty. But the revolution, unfortunately, came at a time when Russia was weary with the sacrifices of a great war, and it was mixed up and almost overshadowed on its political side by the pacifist influences which were allowed to reign uncontrolled in the army and navy and all the other forces which might and should have been coordinated to resist the common enemy.

There are resemblances between the Russian revolution and the French Revolution, but from our point of view, and

from the point of view of the war and of how we are to secure in the future the freedom of small nationalities, and how we are to save the world from the domination of one overgreedy power, from that point of view no greater misfortune could have occurred than the coincidence between the Russian revolution and the fact that a war was being conducted in which Russia was one of the great Allies. I personally am an optimist about Russia, but I am not an optimist about the immediate future of Russia, because it seems to me that difficulties are thrown in Russia's way by the fact that the war raged before the revolution. Russia is only nominally out of the war at the present time, but is still suffering from the invasion of her enemies. The French Revolution was associated with great military operations. It ended in the production of an army whose fiery efficiency was the wonder of Europe and which overturned all the decrepit monarchies in the Central European States. Contrast that with what has happened in Russia since the revolution. There is not a single fighting instrument possessed by Russia which the Russian revolutionaries have not deliberately but absolutely and completely destroyed.

RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Russian Army no longer exists and the Russian Navy no longer exists. The Rumanian Army—that most gallant and most unfortunate body, which might have and would have co-operated to preserve both Russia and Rumania from the tyranny of the Central Powers—had been betrayed by Russia itself. The unhappy results of the revolution from the military point of view are quite plain and

obvious to the most casual observer. The actual course pursued by the Bolsheviks has rendered them completely helpless in the face of German aggression. Now they express the desire—I am sure they express it genuinely and earnestly—that they should reconstitute the Russian Army for the purpose of Russian defense, and they would welcome our assistance, doubtless, in carrying out this object. But can you reconstitute it for purposes of national defense? Can you improvise a new instrument when fragments of the old instrument are lying shattered around you? It cannot be done in a day.

Had Russia not been at war I believe it would have taken many years to complete what I hope and believe is to be the beneficent course of the Russian revolution. Autocracy—and it is very difficult to see how the Russia we know could have been created without it—showed itself quite incapable of bringing into existence that frame of mind which makes a great self-conscious nation independent of the particular form which its institutions may have at the moment. Autocracy was destroyed, and immediately Russia fell into chaos.

I am not sure that it was not my honorable friend (Mr. MacCallum Scott) who said exactly the same thing happened in France. The same thing really did not happen in France. I do not say we cannot find in this or that episode parallels to the French Revolution, but the total effect of the Revolution was not the disintegration of France but its integration. The units out of which modern France was constructed were no doubt compacted into a nation under the old monarchy, but the divisions between these units were still obvious; they still remained in the institutions of the country, and it was not until the Revolution that France became homogeneous from end to end and all the old provincial distinctions were swept away.

Precisely the opposite has happened in Russia. The revolution comes and immediately all the old divisions between populations, between different regions, between different creeds, suddenly be-

come marked and prominent. First this body and then that body threatens to fall away, and it must inevitably take time before we see the end of that process and know clearly how much of the old Russia, if any, ought to cease to form part of the new Russia and how the new Russia will be constituted. A very difficult process in time of peace, a very difficult process in time of prosperity, but how are you going to carry it out in time of war when you have at your gates an enemy remorseless, persevering, quite unscrupulous, like that which is dealing at its own sweet will with Russia at the present moment? That is the real difficulty which we have always had to deal with and to think over to the best of our ability when we consider some of the problems raised by the honorable gentleman who initiated this debate.

JAPAN AND SIBERIA

[The speaker then took up an inquiry regarding a suggestion of Japanese intervention in Siberia. He said the hypothesis that whenever one country sends troops into another country those troops invariably stay where they are sent, and annexation is the result, was false; if such were the case there would be a bad outlook for the north of France. He argued that if the Japanese did intervene it would be as friends of Russia and enemies of Germany, to preserve the country from German domination, and he proceeded thus:]

Russia lies absolutely derelict upon the waters, and now it has no power of resistance at all; there can be a German penetration from end to end of Russia, which, I think, will be absolutely disastrous for Russia itself, and certainly will be very injurious to the future of the Allies. I suspect that at this moment a German officer is much safer traveling at large through Russia than an allied officer. Why? Not because the Russians love the Germans, but because, as a matter of fact, the German penetration has really struck at the root of Russian power. I was informed the other day that only one bank was allowed at Moscow. That bank is a German bank.

The Bolshevik Government, I believe,

sincerely desire—I hope not too late, though I fear it may be so—to resist this German penetration. How can they resist it when they themselves or their predecessors have destroyed every instrument which makes resistance possible?

Inevitably Russia's allies have to ask themselves whether, if Russia herself has destroyed every instrument of self-protection which she once possessed, they cannot themselves among themselves supply that which she now lacks. We do that in Russia's own interests and for Russia's own sake, if it is done. It is not done to satisfy the greed of this or that power. That is the Allies' point of view. May I ask the House to consider the question from the Russian point of view? It is impossible to penetrate the future. Russia has always been a country of surprises, and that she remains at the present moment. What are the things which most of us fear for Russia when we look to the future? Frankly, I tell the House what I myself fear for Russia is this: Under the impulse, under the shadow of the great revolution, the cataclysm of social order has been shaken to its foundations, and many disasters, and I fear many crimes, have been committed.

DIVIDE AND GOVERN

It is Germany's interest, I believe, to foster and continue and promote that condition of disorder. Those who watch her methods throughout the world know that she always wishes to encourage disorder in every other country but her own. If the country is a republic she wishes to introduce absolutism; if it is an absolutist Government then she seeks to encourage republicanism. She counts it her gain that other Governments should be weak, and she knows that there is no better way of making other countries weak than by making them divided—a house divided against itself. Therefore I believe that Germany unchecked will do her best to continue those disorders which have unhappily stained the path of the Russian revolution.

What must be the result? The result must be—especially in a country where

the sense of national unity appears, at all events, for the moment to be singularly weak compared with that which prevails in other civilized countries—that men will at last look around and say to themselves, "This disorder is intolerable; it makes life impossible; human effort cannot go on; something must be done, good or bad, to put an end to mere chaos." There will therefore be classes in Russia, some with patriotic motives, but some with personal and selfish motives, who will welcome anything in the world which gives them the semblance of a stable, orderly, and civilized Government.

When that time comes, then I can see Germany will say, Now we will step in; we will, by both the open and subterranean methods which we have developed and cultivated, now exercise our power in the country. We will re-establish, possibly in the same form, possibly in some new form, the autocracy which we in this House hoped had gone forever; and you will have in a Russia shorn of some of its fairest provinces set up again an autocracy far worse than the old autocracy, because it will lean upon a foreign power to continue its existence. Then, indeed, if that prophecy came to pass—and I most earnestly hope I am in this a false prophet—all our dreams of Russian development and Russian liberty would be gone. Russia under this Government would be a mere echo of the Central Powers; she would cease to be a make-weight in any sense to German militarism. She would have lost all that initiative, all that power for self-development that we so earnestly hoped the revolution had given her.

A GLOOMY HOROSCOPE

I admit that this picture is dark and sombre. Will anybody have the courage to say he can draw a horoscope for the future more likely to be fulfilled, if Russia remains, as I fear she is at this moment, absolutely helpless in face of the German penetration? It all turns upon that. If Russia could only rouse herself now and offer effective resistance to the German invader, that might give her a national spirit and sense of unity,

and make her future far more splendid than her past. Therefore the question will inevitably be asked: Can any of the Allies give to Russia in her extremity that help and that sympathy of which she so sorely stands in need? It is help and sympathy which the Allies desire to give, and not invasion and plunder. I agree that there may be circumstances, prejudices, and feelings which render assistance in the East by the only country which can give it in the East a question of difficulty and doubt—a question which must be weighed in every balance and looked at from every point of view; but that the Allies—America, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—should do what they can at this moment to help Russia, if she fails to help herself, through the great crisis of her destiny, appears to me to be beyond doubt, and I will not reject, a priori, any suggestion which seems to offer the slightest solution of our doing any good in that direction.

THE LOYALTY OF JAPAN

I do not think this debate should finish

without repudiating the suggestion made that Japan is moved by selfish and dishonorable motives in any course which may have been discussed in Japan, either among her own statesmen or the Allies. Japan has maintained perfect loyalty. She has kept all the promises made to the Allies. I hope I have said enough to indicate the general problems as they present themselves to this Government, and at the same time also to show that we recognize to the full how difficult this problem is, how hard it is to help a nation which is utterly incapable for the moment of helping itself. The House will feel, I think, that the decisions which the Allies may have to give are not without difficulty, and the principles upon which those decisions will be come to are neither ungenerous, unfair, nor hostile to Russia or the Russian revolution; but on the contrary that our one object is to see Russia strong, intact, secure, and free. If these objects can be attained, then, indeed, and then only, will the Russian revolution bring forth all the fruits which Russia's best friends desire to see.

President on the Russian Treaties

Declares Germany Has Repudiated Her Peace Avowals
and Will Be Met With "Force to the Utmost"

President Wilson delivered an address at Baltimore on April 6, 1918, in which he denounced the terms which the Central Powers had exacted from Russia and Rumania, and defined the attitude of the United States toward all peace proposals offered on such a basis. The text of his speech in full is as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of freemen everywhere. The nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men, and, if need be, all that we possess.

The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called

upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transaction. I have not come, therefore, to

urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means, because the cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of justice stands, and what the imperishable thing he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great nation's place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

OUR VERDICT DELIBERATE

I call you to witness, my fellow-countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war, would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause, for we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered—answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice, but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

GERMANY'S REAL RULERS

The avowal has not come from Germany's statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement.

At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done—in Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Rumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest.

They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything for their own use and aggrandizement, and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

Are we not justified in believing that

they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

Their purpose is, undoubtedly, to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic Peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East.

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS FLOUTED

In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations, upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world—a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden underfoot and disregarded and the old, age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and

the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies have meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

AMERICA ACCEPTS CHALLENGE

What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear.

Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

American Liberty's Crucial Hour

By William E. Borah

United States Senator From Idaho

[DELIVERED IN THE SENATE, MARCH 18, 1918, AT THE CLIMAX OF A DEBATE OVER THE FIXING OF WHEAT PRICES]

MR. PRESIDENT: The German historian, Professor Meyer, in a book written since the beginning of the war, in which he sums up the issues involved, or rather the issue, because it all resolves itself into one, uses this language: "The truth of the whole matter undoubtedly is that the time has arrived when two distinct forms of State organization must face each other in a life-and-death struggle."

That is undoubtedly the understanding and belief of those who are responsible for this war. It is coming to be the understanding and belief of those who have had the war forced upon them. We have finally put aside the tragedy at the Bosnian capital and the wrongs inflicted upon Belgium as the moving causes of the war. They were but the prologue to the imperial theme. We now see and understand clearly and unmistakably the cause at all times lying back of these things. Upon the one hand are Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the principles of human liberty which they embody and preserve. Upon the other hand is that peculiar form of State organization which, in the language of the Emperor, rests alone upon the strength of the army and whose highest creed finds expression in the words of one of its greatest advocates that war is a part of the eternal order instituted by God. We go back to Runnymede, where fearless men wrenched from the hands of power habeas corpus and the trial by jury. They point us to Breslau and Molwitz, where Frederick the Great, in violation of his plighted word, inaugurated the rule of fraud and force and laid the foundation for that mighty structure

whose central and dominating principle is that of power.

It is that power with which we are at war today. Shall men, shall the people, be governed by some remorseless and



SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH

soulless entity softly called the "State" or shall the instrumentalities of government yield alone and at all times to the wants and necessities, the hopes and aspirations, of the masses? That is now the issue. Nothing should longer conceal it. It is but another and more stupendous phase of the old struggle, a struggle as ancient and as inevitable as

the thirst for power and the love of liberty, a struggle in which men have fought and sacrificed all the way from Marathon to Verdun.

It seems strange now, and it will seem more extraordinary to those who come after us, that we did not recognize from the beginning that this was the issue. But, obscured by the débris of European life, confused with the dynastic quarrels and racial bitterness of the Old World, it was difficult to discern, and still more difficult to realize, that the very life of our institutions was at stake, that the scheme of the enemy, amazing and astounding, was not alone to control territory and dominate commerce, but to change the drift of human progress and to readjust the standards of the world's civilization. Perhaps, too, our love of peace, our traditional friendship for all nations, lulled suspicion and discouraged inquiry. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt now.

Whatever the cause, however perverse the fates which bring us to this crisis, we are called upon not to settle questions of territory or establish new spheres of national activity, but to defend the institutions under which we live. Who doubts should we fail that the whole theory and system of government for which we have labored and struggled, our whole conception of civilization, would be discredited utterly? Who but believes that, should we lose, militarism would be the searching test of all Governments and that the world would be an armed camp harried and tortured and decimated by endless wars?

No; we can no longer doubt the issue, and, notwithstanding some discouraging facts, we must not doubt the result. We are simply meeting the test which brave men have met before, for this issue has been fought over and over again for 3,000 years. Islam's fanaticism was grounded in the same design and made of the same stuff, but it broke upon the valor of Charles Martel's men at Tours. But the conflict was not conclusive. The elder Napoleon was obsessed by the same dream of world dominion, the same passion for military glory, that now obsesses those against whom we war. But he,

saw his universal sceptre depart when chance and fate, which sometimes war on the side of liberty, turned from him on the field of Waterloo. And now the issue is again made up, and again this dream of world dominion, this passion for military glory, torments the souls of our would-be masters. And now again somewhere on the battlefields of Europe the same fate awaits the hosts of irresponsible power. In such a contest and with such an issue we cannot lose; it would not harmonize with the law of human progress.

It has been the proud belief of some that not only would this war result in greater prestige and greater security for free institutions, but that it would effectuate the spread of democracy throughout Europe. We all hope for great things, for we believe in the ultimate triumph of free institutions, but we must not expect these things out of hand. The broken sobs of nations struggling to be independent and free so often heard in that part of the world and then heard no more, the story of Russia just now being written in contention and blood, admonishes anew that the republican road to safety and stability is encompassed by all kinds of trials and beset by countless perils. Democracy is the severest test of character which can be put upon a people, and must be learned and acquired in the rigid school of experience. It cannot be handed whole and complete to any people, though every member of the community were a Socrates.

But what we have determined in this crisis, as I understand it, is that we will keep the road of democracy open. No one shall close it. If any nation shall hereafter rise to the sublime requirement of self-government and choose to go that way, it shall have the right to do so. Above all things we have determined, cost what it may in treasure and blood, that this experiment here upon this Western Continent shall justify the faith of its builders, that there shall remain here in all the integrity of its powers neither wrenched nor marred by the passions of war from within nor humbled nor dishonored by military power from without, the Republic of the fathers; that since

the challenge has been thrown down that this is a war unto death between two opposing theories of government we are determined that whatever else happens as a result of this war this form of organization, this theory of state, this last great hope, this fruition of 130 years of struggle and toil, "shall not perish from the earth."

So, Sir, stripped of all incidental and confusing things, the problem which our soldiers will help to solve is whether the theory of government exemplified in the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns or the theory of government exemplified in the faith of Abraham Lincoln shall prevail. It is after all a war of ideals, a clash of systems, a death struggle of ideals.

Amid the sacrilege of war it is our belief that the old order passeth. In such a contest there is little room for compromise. We can no more quit than Washington could have quit at Valley Forge. We can no more compromise than Lincoln could have compromised after Chancellorsville.

We can and should keep the issue clear of all selfish and imperialistic ambitions, but the issue itself cannot be compromised. Cost what it may in treasure and blood, the burden, as if by fate, has been laid upon us, and we must meet it manfully and successfully. To compromise is to acknowledge defeat. The policies of Frederick the Great, which would make of all human souls mere cogs in a vast military machine, and the policies of Washington, which would make government the expression and the instrument of popular power, are contending for supremacy on the battlefield of Europe. Just that single, simple, stupendous issue, beside which all other issues in this war are trivial, must have a settlement as clear and conclusive as the settlement at Runnymede or Yorktown. To lose sight of this fact is to miss the supreme purpose of the war, and to permit it to be embarrassed or belittled by questions of territory is to betray the cause of civilization. And to fail to settle it clearly and conclusively is to fail in the most vital and sublime task ever laid upon a people.

We need not prophesy now when victory will come. Neither is it profitable

to speculate how it will come. If it is a real and not a sham peace, we will have no trouble in recognizing it when it does come. Whether it shall come in the bloody and visible triumph of arms or, as we hope, through the overthrow and destruction of militarism by the people of the respective countries, we do not know. But that it will come we confidently believe. Indeed, if the principles of right and the precepts of liberty are not a myth, we know it will come.

It has been said by some one that it was not possible for Napoleon to win at Waterloo, not on account of Wellington, not on account of Blücher, but on account of the unchanging laws of liberty and justice. Let us call something of this faith to our own contest. Let us go forward in the belief that it is not possible in the morning of the twentieth century of the Christian civilization for militarism, for brute force, to triumph. It would be in contravention to every law, human and Divine, upon which rests the happiness and preservation of the human family. It would be to place brute force first in the Divine economy of things. It would be to place might over right, and in the last and final struggle that cannot be done.

No; we cannot lose. We must win. The only question is whether we shall, through efficiency and concerted and united action, win without unnecessary loss of life, unnecessary waste of treasure, or whether we shall, through lack of unity in spirit and purpose, win only after fearful and unnecessary sacrifices.

It has often been said since the war began, Mr. President, that a republic cannot make war. I trample the doctrine under my feet. I scorn the faithless creed as the creed of cowards and traitors. If a republic cannot make war, if it cannot stand the ordeal of conflict, why in the name of the living God are our boys on the western front? Are they there to suffer and die for a miserable craft that can only float in the serene breeze of the Summer seas and must sink or drive for port at the first coming on of the storm? No; they are there to defend a craft which is equal to every conflict and superior to every foe—the tri-

umph and the pride of all the barks that have battled with the ocean of time.

A republic can make war. It can make war successfully and triumphantly and remain a republic every hour of the conflict. The genius who presided over the organization of this Republic, whose impressive force was knit into every fibre of our national organization, was the greatest soldier, save one, of the modern world; and the most far-visioned leader and statesman of all time. He knew that though devoted to peace the time would come when the Republic would have to make war. Over and over again he solemnly warned his countrymen to be ever ready and always prepared. He intended, therefore, that this Republic should make war and make war effectively, and the Republic which Washington framed and baptized with his love can make war. Let these faithless recreants cease to preach their pernicious doctrine.

Sir, this theory, this belief that a self-governing people cannot make war without forfeiting their freedom and their form of government is vicious enough to

have been kenneled in some foreign clime. A hundred million people knit together by the ties of a common patriotism, united in spirit and purpose, conscious of the fact that their freedom is imperiled, and exerting their energies and asserting their powers through the avenues and machinery of a representative Republic is the most masterful enginery of war yet devised by man. It has in it a power, an element of strength, which no military power of itself can bring into effect.

The American soldier, a part of the life of his nation, imbued with devotion to his country, has something in him that no system or mere military training and discipline as applied to automatons of an absolute Government can ever give. The most priceless heritage which this war will leave to a war-torn and weary world is the demonstrated fact that a free people of a free Government can make war successfully and triumphantly, can defy and defeat militarism and preserve through it all their independence, their freedom, and the integrity of their institutions.

Defending the World's Right to Democracy

By James Hamilton Lewis

United States Senator from Illinois

[FROM A RECENT SPEECH IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE]

NO democracy was ever founded in any Government of earth that did not have to fight to continue its existence or maintain its ideals. Hear Goethe proclaim to Prussia, "Those who have liberty must fight to keep it." The test of every free land that tries out its worthiness or unworthiness to exist as a Government of freedom has been its willingness or refusal to fight and die for its faith. No Government that has not exhibited a capacity to sacrifice all it has for the theory for which it was founded, and to prove its ability to protect and perpetuate the institutions it has created, has ever yet existed for a length of time sufficient to be recorded in history as having fostered liberty or transmitted democracy to men. No Gov-

ernment has yet been accorded by civilization a place among the nations of the earth until it had first demonstrated its worthiness to administer justice by doing justice to itself, and then to prove its power in conflict to overcome its natural enemies, whether from within or without. * * *

Our United States, too, must pass under the rod. America's institutions of freedom, inspiring mankind to her example and awakening oppressed lands to follow her course if they would know liberty, inflamed the souls of the royal rulers of Prussia with fear and fired them to war of destruction upon all that America stood for and was living for. * * *

Whatever riches America has amassed

from her industry, whatever wealth gathered from her commerce, what harvests garnered from her fields, are all as but the least of offering compared to that which she brings to civilization in the growth of liberty, the perfection of



SENATOR J. HAMILTON LEWIS

justice, and the expansion of freedom with which she has been able by her example and her power, through her religion and her generousities, to endow mankind. Other nations have risen in triumph of power and lived for a while in the glory of arms, but by selfish achievement—conquest through the slash of swords—they have fallen. As these wrenched victory by strength and success by power, they but showed the way to the rival wherein to multiply and by these same standards prevail. That which was victor yesterday was the conquered of today, and thus one after the other the powerful nations of the world, resting only upon the achievement of riches, the multiplication of wealth, and the power of the sword, have broken and melted away, leaving nothing enduring to which mankind appeals as example to

follow or the children of men turn to as gods to be worshipped or praised. Hear Ruskin echoing this truth:

Riches of Tyre, Thebes, and Carthage; yea, I say also the once Rome and great Persia are left for our beholding in the periods of their decline. They are ghosts upon the sands of the sea. Theirs was power, riches, grandeur; much for a country—nothing for man. They rose; they shined, yea glowed, laughed, persecuted, and oppressed, and then they died, and man asks not, where are they? nor cares that they live not among nations. As among men, there is to nations a justice of God and the vengeance of time.

Mr. President, refined civilization as it increases in its purpose of equality among men and justice to all peoples scorns the suggestion of accepting these dead nations of the past as models of national education or guides of personal conduct. The people of the modern world shun them and hold as their boast before earth how they disdain to pattern after them, and turning the face of all those that are new and hopeful to the one standard, approach the United States of America, and bowing in admiration, ask but to follow her past growth, hold her guiding hand, and walk beside her in the light of approving heaven.

Then who are they who misrepresent the purpose of democracy under Wilson that they may defeat all democracy to all men? These charge that America, under Wilson, would continue war to force Governments and people of foreign lands to take our form of government. Let the world know that as George Washington fought for democracy as a right to America and Thomas Jefferson proclaimed it as a necessity to mankind, while Lincoln made it his creed of emancipation for all color and all climes—so, too, Wilson fights for democracy as a right of the whole world. The promise of Wilson to “make the world safe for democracy” is, no threat to make the world take democracy. It is but the assurance of the effort to give to the world its chance to take democracy. This war of America is the announcement that we, by our entrance into the conflict, will prevent any despot from depriving any people of the right to exercise their free will in rejecting despotism and choosing democracy. The United States does not fight

to force any Government to adopt the theory of our Government, nor does the United States fight to force any foreign people to take our form of government against any form of government they may choose for themselves. But America does fight to prevent any foreign Government from thwarting any land from

enjoying democracy if it so wills by the voice of its own people. And this United States fights now and will ever fight to the expenditure of its last dollar and the sacrifice of every son, rather than submit to any monarch wresting our democracy from us, to the death of our liberty and the end of our Republic.

Messenger Dogs in the German Army

How They Are Trained

THROUGH captures made in the battle of the Chemin des Dames the French General Staff has obtained precise information regarding the German Army's use of dogs as war couriers. The training of the animals is divided into two periods—the training at school and that at the front. At school the men receive detailed instructions as to the care and treatment of dogs, after which they begin a rigorous drill, training each dog to run daily over a longer and longer course, accompanied by his masters; then the dogs must run over the same courses alone, while the two trainers are posted one at each end. The longest course is about three miles.

On the battle line there is similar training. On Sept. 1, 1917, for instance, the 52d Meldehundetrupp left the school at Wiegnehies to join the 52d Infantry Division, near the Hurtebise Farm, in Champagne. The troupe consisted of one officer, six sub-officers, thirty-six men, and twenty-one dogs. It was divided at once among the units of the division, the level sectors receiving a larger contingent than the hilly sectors, where communications are less difficult. Marshy ground, where human messengers might be mired, and positions heavily pounded by artillery also were favored.

In their respective sectors the dogs are subjected to local training. Little by little they are drilled to run as couriers between the company and the battalion, on the one hand, and the battalion and the regiment on the other. Thus the courier that has to keep up connection between the company and the battalion is sent by one trainer, who stays with the company commander, to the other, who is quartered with the chief of the battalion. In twenty or thirty days, it appears, the dogs are broken to their work as couriers, and have become familiarized with the tunnels, trenches, shelters, and officers' posts, as well as with the roar of cannonade and the rattat-tat of machine guns.

As for the practical results of all this training and ingenious organization, the French officers say these are still in doubt. They indicate the nature of the doubt by citing the case of two trained dogs at Pinon. When the French attacked with a heavy bombardment, one dog disappeared in terror and the other was made sick and useless by a French gas bomb. The fact remains, nevertheless, that canine messengers are doing useful work in dangerous places on both sides of No Man's Land, and to some extent conserving human lives.



Full Record of Sinkings by U-Boats

Statement by Sir Eric Geddes

First Lord of the British Admiralty

Sir Eric Geddes in a speech before the House of Commons on March 20, 1918, for the first time revealed the total shipping losses of Great Britain and the other Allies and neutrals from the beginning of the war up to Jan. 1, 1918. His summary was followed next day by a statement from the Admiralty Office giving the figures in fuller detail. This was made public simultaneously at London and Washington. The essential portions of both utterances are presented below. Sir Eric Geddes said:

THE world's tonnage from the commencement of the war until Dec. 31, 1917, exclusive of enemy-owned tonnage, has fallen by a net figure of, roughly, 2,500,000 gross tons. This is out of 33,000,000 estimated allied and neutral ocean-going tonnage, which is arrived at after deducting small craft, river and estuary craft, and a considerable amount of lake tonnage, tugs, &c., so that with a net loss of 2,500,000 tons we, the allied and neutral world, have suffered about 8 per cent. reduction in ocean-going tonnage of the world, excluding enemy countries. The total world's tonnage, exclusive of enemy tonnage, is 42,000,000, and the deduction is made after careful consideration and investigation. The percentage of net loss in British tonnage alone is higher than this, and reaches 20 per cent. for British tonnage, the more favorable allied and neutral tonnage percentage being, of course, due largely to a credit brought in by the United States of interned German ships.

The main submarine attack is upon us. It was to starve these islands that the enemy instituted this form of warfare. In 1915-16 the output of new tonnage was very low—it was lowest in 1916. In fact, before the intense submarine warfare commenced we were over 1,300,000 tons to the bad from all causes since the beginning of the war. Then our shipping has been in the war zone to a far greater extent and far longer than has that of some of our allies, and our navigational risks and losses, which are included, are greater, because of the absence of lights in the waters around our coast and elsewhere.

With regard to enemy exaggeration:

For the twelve months of unrestricted submarine warfare, from Feb. 1, 1917, to Jan. 31, 1918, the enemy has proclaimed in his public notifications that he has sunk over 9,500,000 tons of British, allied, and neutral shipping. The actual figures of vessels sunk by submarine action, including those damaged and ultimately abandoned, amount roughly to 6,000,000 tons, so that we have an exaggeration of 3,500,000 tons in twelve months, or well over 58 per cent. In January the exaggeration was 113 per cent. It is rather amusing that since I publicly showed up this grossly false declaration of results the usual return of submarine sinkings for February has not been issued by Berlin. It is now overdue. I think, if any proof of the failure of the campaign is needed, this exaggeration and Berlin's reticence would show it.

TO THE SHIPBUILDING TASK

For the first two years of the war or more the shipyards of the country had lost their men and the work had become dislocated. Hulls had been on the slips for very long periods and there was no material in existence to finish them. Vessels were lying in the yards awaiting engines, but the engines had never been built, because up to 1917 the Admiralty had made use of the engine shops for naval work. There was great confusion in the shipbuilding industry, not due to the fault of the industry, not really due to any one's fault, but due to war conditions. The output had been checked by urgent work being placed in the same works by different departments. With the introduction of the Controller's Department it was imme-

HENRY P. DAVISON



Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross Society

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The actual surrender of Jerusalem, Dec. 9, 1917, when two British outposts met the Mayor (carrying a cane) and his party with the white flag. The formal surrender took place next day

(© American Colony Photographers)

diately realized that this policy was bad for output as a whole. It was accordingly arranged to allocate yards or separate sections of yards, so that one class of tonnage only would be produced. The result is that forty-seven large shipyards, containing 209 berths, are wholly engaged on ocean-going merchant vessels. That is entirely apart from the large private warship building establishments, which are obviously most suited for naval work. But there are in addition eleven—and only eleven—other yards suitable for large merchant tonnage which have at the present time naval craft on the stocks.

I now give the figures of output in the yards. In the fourth quarter of 1914 the merchant tonnage produced in the United Kingdom was 420,000. From that date it steadily fell, and it must be noted that the fall was concurrent with our great munitions effort. In the fourth quarter of 1915 it had fallen to 92,000. It then began to rise, and the rise is as follows:

1916	
Tons.	Tons.
1st quarter.. 95,000	3d quarter...125,000
2d quarter...108,000	4th quarter...213,000
1917	
Tons.	Tons.
1st quarter...246,000	3d quarter...248,000
2d quarter...249,000	4th quarter...420,000

These figures refer to the British Isles alone. In the fourth quarter of 1917 foreign construction was 512,000 tons, giving a total output for the world, exclusive of enemy countries, of 932,000 tons for the last quarter of last year. Against that we have the losses due to enemy action and to maritime risk.

THE MONTHLY DEFICIENCY

These losses amounted for the last quarter of last year to 1,200,000 tons. That was by far the lowest quarter of sinkings we have had since unrestricted submarine warfare began, and it looks as if this quarter was going to be lower still. So that we have the fact that by increase in output and decrease in sinkings for the last quarter of last year the Allies were within 100,000 tons, on

the average per month, of making good the loss due to enemy action and marine risks. Considering British losses and output alone, the proportionate deficiency is somewhat higher. We lost on the average 260,000 tons per month during the last quarter of 1917, and we built 140,000 tons per month, an average deficiency of 120,000 tons per month. We must all regret that the British position has suffered most among the Allies, but we have contributed the greatest naval effort, and have sustained the greatest attacks, and I do not think we, as a nation, will bemoan our stars or our naval efforts in this great war.

The net result of maritime risk and enemy action, whether by surface, air or submarine craft, from the beginning of the war until the end of last year is a reduction of 2,500,000 tons of shipping, and from the last quarter of last year the Allies and neutrals are replacing 75 per cent. of the lost tonnage, or only 100,000 tons a month below the losses from all causes.

It is well within the capacity of the allied yards, or even our own yards, before very long, with a proper supply of material and man power entirely to make good the world losses.

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS

I do not think I am divulging information which should not be made public when I say that the output of guns and ammunition of all calibres in 1917 is not far short of twice the output in 1916. I need not remind the House of the special effort being made in the output of airplanes. These, I understand, are nearly two and a half times the output of 1916, and arrangements for labor and material to secure a still greater output this year were in progress during the later months of 1917. We have been able to accomplish what I think must be admitted as an enormous development in the shipbuilding industry. We have reached in 1917 a total warship and merchant tonnage output practically equal to the biggest shipbuilding year this country has ever known. We have multiplied by ten the number of naval craft repaired and refitted, and in six months we have in-

creased the merchant ship repaired tonnage by 80 per cent.—an increase of 237,000 tons per week. I would ask the House to notice this fact, that, notwithstanding all these great extensions of work in many directions, and notwithstanding all these great extensions of power of the country, we ended 1917 with

an output of new merchant tonnage of 420,000 for the last quarter, against 213,000 for the last quarter of 1916. That was done, moreover, with a dislocated industry, with yards only gradually being cleared of unfinished work, and with large numbers of unskilled personnel in the yards.

Admiralty Summary of Shipping Losses

Record of Three Years

The British Board of Admiralty, with the sanction of the War Cabinet and the concurrence of the Allies, on March 21 published a memorandum revealing the world's total shipping losses from the beginning of the war to Jan. 1, 1918. The essential portions are as follows:

IN the Spring of 1917 the full menace of the submarine campaign was first disclosed. Since that date we have steadily increased our knowledge and our material resources for this novel warfare. Three statements are attached, showing for the United Kingdom and for the world, for the period August, 1914, to December, 1917:

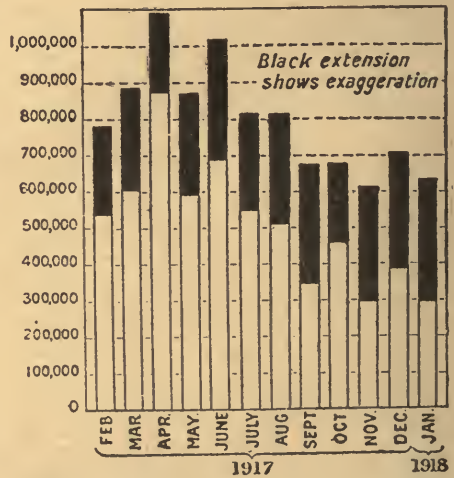
1. Losses by enemy action and marine risk.
2. Mercantile shipbuilding output.
3. Enemy vessels captured and brought into service.

Diagrams showing in graphic form the losses and shipbuilding output for the United Kingdom and for the world are also attached. The situation should be viewed from the standpoint of the world's tonnage, as in these problems the mercantile navies of the whole world, excluding the enemy, may be regarded as one. It will be noticed that the diagrams record facts, and that nothing has been included in the nature of an estimate.

The results of the last year have shown the ability of our seamen to get upon terms with the submarine menace and gradually to gain the upper hand. This has been achieved in spite of an imperfect knowledge of a new and barbarous method of warfare and of a scarcity of suitable material. Our material resources for this warfare are already improved and are being rapidly augment-

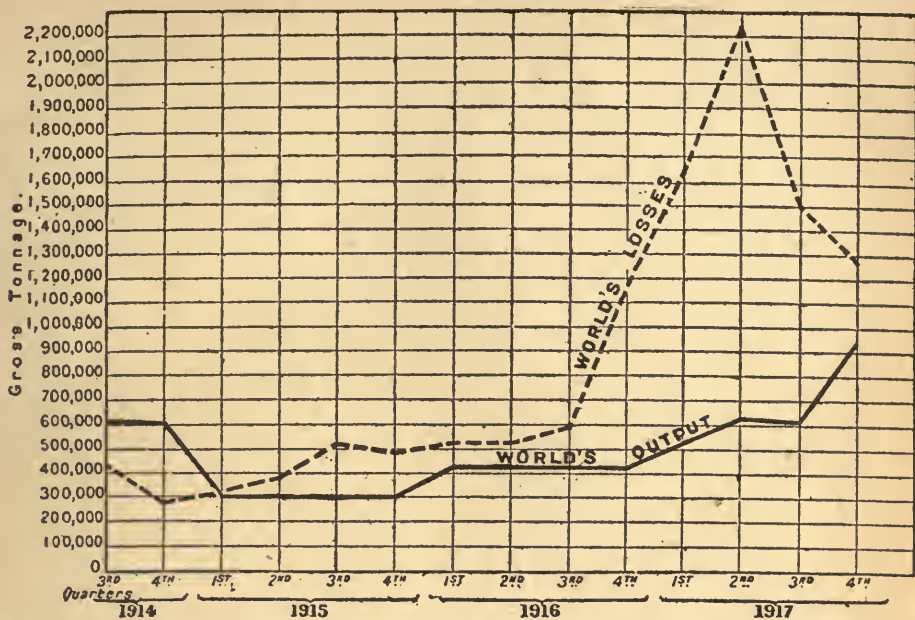
ed, while science is placing at our disposal means of offense and defense of which we have been in need.

With regard to the other factor, a rapid and continuous increase in the output of



WORLD'S SHIPPING LOSSES IN 1917. THE BLACK EXTENSION OF EACH COLUMN SHOWS THE GERMAN EXAGGERATION. THE AVERAGE EXAGGERATION FOR THE 12 MONTHS IS 58 PER CENT.

merchant tonnage will inevitably follow the united efforts of all engaged in merchant shipbuilding in this country. * * * During the critical period that confronts us we must rely to a large extent on our own shipyards and on ourselves. Our partners in the war are making every



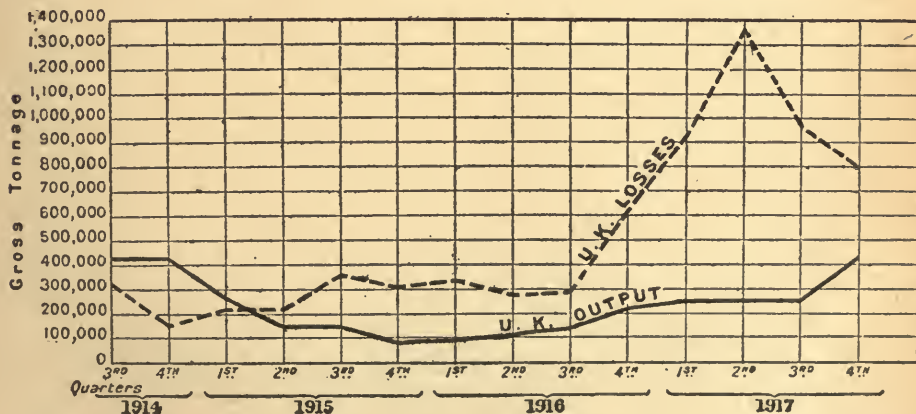
WORLD'S LOSSES OF SHIPPING IN COMPARISON WITH WORLD'S TOTAL SHIP CONSTRUCTION

effort to increase their production of ships, but a considerable time must elapse before the desired output is secured.

To produce in the United Kingdom 1,800,000 tons in 1918, and to reach an ultimate production at the rate of 3,000,000 tons per annum, is well within the present and prospective capacity of our shipyards and our marine engineering shops. But the ranks of the skilled men

must be enlarged without delay by the introduction of men and women at present unskilled. The education of these newcomers, upgrading, and interchangeability of work are essential, and must be pressed on with the good-will of employers, foremen, and men.

It is to insure the vigorous co-operation of all concerned that the Admiralty has recommended the publication of the facts.



SHIPPING LOSSES OF UNITED KINGDOM AS COMPARED WITH OUTPUT OF NEW SHIPS

POSITION AT THE END OF 1917

The following table summarizes the position at the end of 1917:

	British.	Foreign.	World.
Losses	7,079,492	4,748,080	11,827,572
Gains:			
New construction...	3,031,555	3,574,720	6,606,275
Enemy tonnage captured.....	780,000	1,809,000	2,589,000
Total gains...	3,811,555	5,383,720	9,195,275
Net loss (world).....			2,632,297

RECORD OF THREE YEARS

The following statement shows United Kingdom and world's merchant tonnage lost through enemy action and marine risks since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom.	Foreign.	Total for World.
	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September..	314,000	85,947	*399,947
4th Quarter..	154,728	126,688	281,416
1915.			
1st Quarter..	215,905	104,542	320,447
2d Quarter...	223,676	156,743	380,419
3d Quarter...	356,659	172,822	529,481
4th Quarter..	307,139	187,234	494,373
1916.			
1st Quarter..	325,237	198,958	524,195
2d Quarter...	270,690	251,599	522,289
3d Quarter...	284,358	307,681	592,039
4th Quarter..	617,563	541,780	1,159,343
1917.			
1st Quarter..	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
2d Quarter...	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
3d Quarter...	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
4th Quarter..	782,889	489,954	1,272,843

Totals7,079,492 4,748,080 11,827,572

*This figure includes 182,839 gross tonnage interned in enemy ports.

The next statement shows output of merchant shipbuilding of the United Kingdom and the world (excluding enemy countries) since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom.	Foreign.	Total for World.
	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September..	253,290		
4th Quarter..	422,320	337,310	1,012,920
1915.			
1st Quarter...	266,267		
2d Quarter...	146,870		
3d Quarter...	145,070	551,081	1,202,000
4th Quarter...	92,712		
1916.			
1st Quarter...	95,566		
2d Quarter...	107,693		
3d Quarter...	124,961	1,146,448	1,688,000
4th Quarter...	213,332		
1917.			
1st Quarter..	246,239	282,200	528,439
2d Quarter...	249,331	377,109	626,440
3d Quarter...	248,283	368,170	616,453
4th Quarter..	419,621	512,402	932,023
Total.....	3,031,555	3,574,720	6,606,275

ENEMY TONNAGE CAPTURED

A further statement shows the enemy tonnage captured and brought into service by United Kingdom and by Allies since the outbreak of war:

Period.	United Kingdom.	Allies.	Total.
	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.	Gross Tons.
1914.			
August and September..	725,500	453,000	1,178,500
4th Quarter...	28,000	5,000	33,000
1915.			
1st Quarter...	5,000	1,000	6,000
2d Quarter...	500	500	1,000
3d Quarter...	3,500	6,000	9,500
4th Quarter...	2,500	....	2,500
1916.			
1st Quarter...	....	241,000	241,000
2d Quarter...	3,500	8,000	11,500
3d Quarter...	....	47,500	47,500
4th Quarter...	....	....	....
1917.			
1st Quarter...	....	....	....
2d Quarter...	7,000	702,500	709,500
3d Quarter...	4,500	266,500	271,000
4th Quarter...	....	78,000	78,000
Total.....	780,000	1,809,000	2,589,000



The Month's Submarine Record

British merchant ships sunk during the month ended April 7, 1918, were fewer than in the preceding month, the weekly official reports showing a sharp increase followed by an unusually low record, resulting in a considerably decreased total. The British Admiralty figures were:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fish- ing Ves- sels.
Week ended Mch. 17, 1918.....	11	6	2
Week ended March 24.....	16	12	1
Week ended March 31.....	6	7	5
Week ended April 7.....	4	2	2
	—	—	—
Total for four weeks.....	37	27	10
	—	—	—
Total previous 4 weeks....	53	16	9

One of the largest vessels sunk was the British steamship Minnetonka, 13,528 gross tons, formerly in the New York-London service of the Atlantic Transport Line. This happened in the Mediterranean in February, 1918, while the Minnetonka was in the service of the British Admiralty. The Minnetonka was the last of the four passenger ships of the line, aggregating 55,099 gross tons, to remain afloat. The others all have been sunk since the war began. The three others were the Minneapolis, sunk March 22, 1916; Minnehaha, sunk Sept. 7, 1917, and the Minnewaska, sunk Nov. 29, 1917.

Incomplete French records show the loss of three vessels of over 1,600 tons and five under 1,600 tons. Italian losses included seven steamships of over 1,500 tons, three sailing vessels of over 100 tons, and fifteen smaller sailing craft.

Official dispatches from Barcelona reported the sinking by German submarines of two Spanish vessels, one in the Mediterranean and the other off the Canary Islands. These reports confirmed the statement that Germany had commenced a blockade of the Spanish coast to prevent the use of Spanish shipping to help the Allies.

A German submarine of the largest seagoing type on April 10 appeared in the port of Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa, and

bombarded the wireless and cable stations there. The submarine threw scores of shells from her deck guns into the wireless station, causing extensive damage. She had just turned her attention to the cable offices when a steamer was sighted passing the harbor mouth. The submarine left in chase and did not return. Liberia declared war on Germany Aug. 4, 1917.

Some indication of the losses sustained by the German U-boat fleet is contained in the following reports:

Nine members of the crew of a German submarine which was sunk by an American liner on March 10, when two days out from a French port, were taken prisoners. The rest of the crew perished, the Captain committing suicide when he saw that his submarine was doomed.

Under a heavy attack from three German submarines and three German destroyers, a British seaplane persisted in its efforts against another enemy U-boat and succeeded in sinking it before being damaged by the fire of the other enemy warships. Seaplanes also accounted for three other submarines.

A German U-boat while laying mines on the British coast struck one of them and was blown in two. The only survivor was the Captain, who was taken prisoner. The remainder of the crew, numbering seventeen, were drowned in the submarine.

The German submarine, it is stated in the report of the British War Cabinet, has a surface speed up to 18 knots and a submerged speed of 10 to 11 knots. She carries from fifteen to twenty torpedoes; she can travel 100 miles completely submerged; and she can remain under water on the bottom for a period up to forty-eight hours. A submarine attacking with a torpedo only shows about three inches of periscope at intervals, with the result that few ships which are torpedoed ever see the submarine which has carried out the attack. The range of the torpedoes fired by a submarine is anything up to five miles, and the speed of the torpedo is as high as 40 knots.

Typical U-Boat Methods

From British Admiralty Records

The British Admiralty on March 17, 1918, permitted publication of the logs of a number of vessels that had been sunk by German submarines. These records reveal many stories of heroism and sacrifice. Some of the incidents recorded are as follows:

IN the case of one ship, on which there were forty-seven hands, the boatswain was standing abreast of the mainmast when he saw the wake of a torpedo as it approached, and he had no time to report before the vessel was struck. After the explosion all hands were sent on deck. The ship sank stern first. There was no time to lower the boats, and practically the whole crew had lifebelts on when thrown into the water. When the submarine came to the surface a line was thrown to a raft which the crew had managed to launch, and it was hauled alongside the enemy vessel. A colored man was ordered on board, and as soon as he stepped on the submarine both his wrists were seized, and he was firmly held while being interrogated. The enemy took a photograph of him and also of a man on the raft. When the interrogation was completed the colored sailor dived from the submarine and swam to the raft. As the ship was sinking the master dived off the bridge; he was not seen later. A number of men were rescued after being in the water for four hours.

Robbery was reported in connection with another attack. After the vessel had been shelled many times, the master and crew abandoned the ship, lowered the lifeboat, and rowed toward the submarine. Eight shots were fired at the lifeboat, followed by four revolver shots. It was only then that the crew saw the submarine, which was about 500 yards away. The Captain and his men were taken on board; and the commander of the submarine boarded the vessel, removed the clothes, provisions, and papers, and left bombs on board which afterward blew her up. The master was searched, and £22 5s., with his watch and chain, was taken from

him. The commander of the enemy vessel said that there was no food left in the submarine, which had been six weeks out, and he also mentioned that food in Germany was very short. During the night the crew were picked up by a destroyer.

"Torpedoed, and on her beam ends, but not actually seen to sink," is the description given by a Captain of an attack on his vessel. She was struck between the stokehold and No. 2 hold, both of which were blown in. The crew had time to take to the boats. The German Captain, speaking perfect English, asked for the name of the ship and her tonnage, and verified the particulars given to him by reference to *Lloyd's Register*. The master's boat, with twenty-three men, reached shore the following day, and the mate's boat, with the remainder of the crew, was picked up. It was reported by the master that the officers and men of the submarine were "quite friendly and polite."

One night a vessel was struck by a torpedo. The engines were stopped, and all hands went to the boat stations. The port boat was lowered safely, but within three minutes the ship sank and the davit caught it and capsized it, all hands being thrown into the water. The second officer went down with the ship, but seized hold of the capsized boat and climbed on top of it. The boatswain also was taken down, and he, too, as well as a seaman, got on the boat. After they had been on the upturned boat for some minutes a submarine appeared and hailed them to come on board. They explained that it was impossible. The submarine went ahead, and about a quarter of an hour later returned, and the men were again asked, in a rough voice, to come on board. The same answer was given, whereupon

the submarine again went ahead, putting her helm over, and the men were thrown into the water. Those on the submarine must have known that there was a man under the boat, as they could easily have heard him knocking. His comrades, however, pulled out the plug and gave him air, and eventually the boat was righted and he was rescued.

One of a group of other ships was torpedoed and the crew took to the boats, one of which capsized, and seven of the men managed to reach the lifeboat. The submarine came close, flashed her searchlight on the boat and on the men in the water, and, after jeering at them, made off. The survivors were picked up by a French torpedo boat next morning.

Attacked by a U-boat, which fired two shots, the master got out the boats, left the ship, and pulled toward the enemy vessel. The commander took four or five of his own men in the ship's boat and put some bombs on board. As these failed to explode he went back for more explosives, taking with him everything out of the ship that could be carried—food, clothing, compass, and all the metal that the enemy could lay hands on. The vessel was then blown up, the crew in the meantime being on the deck of the submarine. They were treated very badly, their clothes being thrown out of the boat into the sea. Only one oar was left them, five having been flung overboard. The master begged for another, but he could not get any more.

Two submarines were sighted at a distance of about six miles attacking a bark. The master of the observing vessel altered his course and lit a smoke cowl to screen his ship, but it was not very effective. Shortly afterward he was attacked by one of the submarines. Being armed, the vessel opened fire, but the U-boat was not within range, and a shot from the submarine struck the ship. Orders were given to haul down the ensign, and steps were taken to abandon her. The boats were lowered and the ship was abandoned, the enemy still firing. The ship was hit nineteen times before the crew was properly clear. When the submarine came up the vessel was "generally looted," everything the

enemy could lay their hands on being taken, including the spirits in the bonded room. Some of the Germans were seen drinking on the bridge. The enemy were alongside for about an hour, and "treated our men quite fairly, even returning some of their personal gear which they had looted." The enemy crew were very particular in getting all the leather they possibly could, even going so far as to take old boots which were long past usage. Soap was also in great request, and a tin of lard was considered a prize.

In another instance a vessel struck on the port side in the engine room went down at once, the crew having only time to launch the boats. About ten minutes before the ship was torpedoed a floating object was sighted, which appeared like a small vessel bottom upward. This was reported by flag code to another vessel close by, but no reply was received before the ship was hit. The master was of opinion that this object must have been placed there as a decoy by the submarine to draw the attention of the look-outs away from herself.

When a motor schooner was struck the ship's boat was rowed to the submarine and the master and one man were taken aboard. The submarine then towed the boat to the disabled ship, and sent two men on her with bombs. An officer asked the master, "What was the cargo? Where from? Where bound? Why did the ship not come with convoy?" The officer spoke very good English, being prompted in German by the Captain of the U-boat. The master and crew were much struck by the pallid appearance of the officers and crew of the submarine and by their nervous and excited manner. The commander was continually urging haste, and the officer who was placing the bombs on board could hardly hold them, owing to his nervous tension. One of the crew of the submarine who had lived long in England, speaking to the ship's crew, cursed the war and said that he wished it was over, exclaiming that it was not their fault, but that they had to do their duty. "You won't believe it in England," he added, "but it's true." The submarine appeared to be of an old type and to have been a long time at sea.

The Story of an Indomitable Captain

Told by Joseph Conrad

The story of a certain British steamship traveling from Lerwick to Iceland and torpedoed on the way has been told in The London Daily Mail by the British novelist, Joseph Conrad, in these words:

THE ship went down in less than four minutes. The Captain was the last man on board, going down with her, and was sucked under. On coming up he was caught under an upturned boat to which five hands were clinging.

"One lifeboat," says the chief engineer, "which was floating empty in the distance, was cleverly manoeuvred to our assistance by the steward, who swam off to her pluckily. Our next endeavor was to release the Captain, who was entangled under the boat. As it was impossible to right her, we set to to split her side open with the boat hook, because by awful bad luck the head of the axe we had flew off at the first blow and was lost. The work took thirty minutes, and the extricated Captain was in a pitiable condition, being badly bruised and having swallowed a lot of salt water. He was unconscious. While at that work the submarine came to the surface quite close and made a complete circle round us, the seven men which we counted on the conning tower laughing at our efforts.

"There were eighteen of us saved. I deeply regret the loss of the chief officer, a fine fellow and a kind shipmate showing splendid promise. The other men lost—one A. B., one greaser, and two firemen—were quiet, conscientious good fellows."

With no restoratives in the boat, they endeavored to bring the Captain around by means of massage. Meantime the oars were got out in order to reach the Faroes, which were about thirty miles dead to windward, but after about nine hours' hard work they had to desist, and,

putting out the sea anchor, they took shelter under the canvas boat cover from the cold wind and torrential rain. Says the narrator:

"We were all very wet and miserable, and decided to have two biscuits all around. The effects of this and being under the shelter of the canvas warmed us up and made us feel pretty well contented. At about sunrise the Captain showed signs of recovery, and by the time the sun was up he was looking a lot better, much to our relief."

After being informed of what had been done, the revived Captain "dropped a bombshell in our midst" by proposing to make for the Shetlands, which were "only 150 miles off." "The wind is in our favor," he said. "I will take you there. Are you all willing?" This—comments the chief engineer—from a man who but a few hours previously had been hauled back from the grave! The Captain's confident manner inspired them, and they all agreed.

Under the best possible conditions a boat run of 150 miles in the North Atlantic and in Winter weather would have been a feat of no mean merit, but in the circumstances it required a man of uncommon nerve and skill to make such a proposal. With an oar for a mast and the boat cover cut down for a sail, they started on their dangerous journey, with the boat compass and the stars for their guide. The Captain's undaunted serenity buoyed them all up against despondency. He told them what point he was making for. It was Ronas Hill—"and we struck it as straight as a die."

"And there was our captain, just his usual self, as if nothing had happened, as if bringing the boat that hazardous journey and being the means of saving 18 souls was to him an everyday occurrence."

The Naval Defense of Venice

By E. M. B.

[FROM INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY ITALIAN NAVY DEPARTMENT]

The Italian Navy and the Italian 3d Army divided the honor of holding back the Austro-German forces during the retreat of October, 1917, thus enabling the main army to reorganize for defense on the line of the Piave. The navy's work was particularly difficult, as it had no means at hand to meet the attack of land forces. It was obliged, therefore, to improvise the necessary troops and material in order to hold back the invasion, to make swift and skillful use of the lighter naval craft, and to adapt all available means to the end in view. How the task was achieved is related herewith:

THE enemy advance guards met a stubborn resistance from the Italian Navy on the lower Tagliamento line. Here a small body of sailors contested the passage of the lower course of the river. Hydroplanes bombed the bridges which the Austrians were endeavoring to construct near Latisana and the troops which were gathering on the opposite bank from Latisana to the sea. Submarine chasers ascended the Tagliamento several times, as well as the Lemene and the Livenga, in order to engage and disperse the patrols which the enemy was sending out along the coast in the hope of reaching Venice before the Italian Army could construct a solid protecting ring to the north of the city. Detachments of marines opened fire at each stage of the retreat along the interior canals of the Tagliamento to Caorle, and from Caorle to the Venetian lagoons, thus helping to check the oncoming forces of Boroëvic and to give time for the necessary clearing of that region. In spite of an exceptionally difficult sea, barred by mine fields and shoals, the Italian torpedo boats were finally able not only to cover the flank of all the moving forces but also to escort and protect the numerous convoys laden with war material which had been forced to go out in the Adriatic to prevent capture by the enemy.

HARD TASKS OF MARINES

The retreat was accomplished by stages. Each stopping place, where the land and marine forces were gathered and rearranged before carrying out the

established plan, had to be protected during the counterattacks of the Italian rear guards, which became more frequent and vigorous with the increasing accuracy of the enemy fire. These attacks were made more difficult by the swampy nature of the ground. This flat and marshy land offers no points of defense and has no traversable and continuous roads. The marines were outnumbered by the regiments confronting them.

Every difficulty was overcome by the valor and self-sacrifice of the Italian sailors. Aviators were seen flying for several consecutive days without resting—attacking the moving enemy columns with machine guns; defending themselves against numerous enemy airplanes, or dropping messages under fire at the points of reunion of the Italian troops in order to insure co-operation between the navy and the army; and continually alternating flights of observation with those of bombardment under the most adverse conditions.

Platoons of marines stood in the mud behind guns corroded by the inundations, holding back entire companies of enemy troops for days and nights without the possibility of obtaining relief or food. Some of the gun crews dragged not only the mounts and the guns by hand across very swampy ground, with the water up to their knees, but also the munition cases, without taking time for sleeping or eating.

Armed submarine chasers threaded their way up winding and narrow canals, in which they could not even have turned around in case of a forced retreat, and

hammered a Hungarian battalion for hours, until it had to retire in disorder before the determination of a handful of men with a few cannons and machine guns. Batteries of marines prolonged the defense of Caorle, a few hundred meters from the enemy advance guards, and did not cease firing until every civilian and everything movable had been placed in security. After this they succeeded in reaching the line of the Piave with their efficiency unimpaired.

Some companies of sailors clad in gray-green held off a big group of "Honveds," [Hungarian guards,] forced back the boats which were attempting to cross the river, made prisoners of men who had succeeded in crossing with machine guns, captured their arms, defended their own flank from the continuous encircling movements of other enemy troops who had crossed the Piave further up stream, and finally formed a firm pillar of defense for the right flank of the army where it made its final stand.

This is a short summary of the work carried out by the Italian Navy during the two weeks following the evacuation of Monfalcone and Grado. When the navy was called upon not only to cooperate and to protect but to constitute an important part of the line of resistance on the lower Piave, its duties were multiplied and assumed the character of a direct participation in the land war. Its special mission was to defend the Lagoons of Venice. The work of forming the principal ring of defense around the City of the Doges was confided to the machine gunners of the navy. The duty of defending the approaches along the sea-coast was given to the sailors, and that of observing the battlefields on the lagoons to the aviators. The torpedo boats were asked to guarantee the extreme right wing against surprise from the sea.

BATTERIES ON THE LAGOONS

The artillery employed by the navy in the defense of the lower Piave and of Venice may be divided into three groups: Floating batteries on pontoons, batteries set up on the ground, and armed ships. Most of the floating pontoons came from Monfalcone on the lower Isonzo and from

the marine defense of Grado. The crews working these guns had given magnificent proof of their valor during all the battles of the Carso, fighting in the open in almost impossible positions. The sailors suffered great fatigue and difficulties during the retreat in transporting these floating batteries along the waterways to their present position in stormy weather; but still greater were the sacrifices the naval gunners had to undergo in order to transform the intricate canals and muddy ground into solid positions. This life in the midst of swamps is a melancholy one. The officers and men working the guns have to live and sleep inside the pontoons between the depots of powder and projectiles. The tides and currents are continuously displacing the floating batteries, and constant work, day and night, is necessary to maintain the defense.

It is due to the Italian sailors to recognize that this gigantic work, so rapidly undertaken, saved Venice and gave the army, its retreat having been accomplished, a strong support on its right wing. They helped to repel all the Hungarian attacks around Zenson. At the side of these floating batteries the British monitors held the bridges which the Austro-Hungarians were obstinately throwing across the new Piave under the fire of their guns, and destroyed them with surprising accuracy.

ENEMY BRIDGES DESTROYED

When the enemy succeeded in landing troops on the point of the island, which was mostly inundated, between the new and the old Piave, they tried to augment this advance guard by using a bridge of boats at Grisolera. But the float was shattered, the boats sunk. Enemy forces higher up the river then threw a floating bridge across at Ca' Sacco. Italy's naval guns shattered this bridge also. The enemy then ascended higher up the Piave and built three massive bridges at Agenzia Trezze. These were likewise destroyed. The Austrians descended the river and built another bridge at Tombolino; but they were also prevented from crossing here. They then endeavored to establish communication at



MAP SHOWING LAGOONS AND MARSHES BETWEEN VENICE AND THE PIAVE, WHERE THE ITALIAN NAVY IS HELPING TO HOLD BACK THE INVADERS

San Doná, but here also the shells from the big guns on the floats reached them. There is now [April, 1918] a daily struggle between the enemy desiring to force their way across the river and the great guns on the lagoons impeding the passage, defending the approach, and ruining the work they accomplish.

The Italian armed ships sometimes participate in actions against the enemy infantry. Recently one evening the ship Captain Sauro went up the old Piave, wending its way into an artificial canal which divided the Italian first line of defense from the enemy line. The sailors of the Sauro replied steadily to the rifle fire of Hungarian advance posts in the houses along the canals and landed on the shore occupied by the enemy patrols, forcing them to flee and firing the abandoned shelters after taking out the

captured munitions. They then returned to the ship and, though harassed by enemy fire, succeeded in returning safely to their point of departure.

WORK OF LAND BATTERIES

Some of the land batteries had equally hard tasks. In the middle of last November many batteries had to withstand continual attacks from the sea by Austrian battleships of the Monarch type, escorted by destroyers, which had been sent to the Venetian shore with the purpose of rendering the Piave untenable. One naval battery of medium-calibre guns, commanded successively by two brothers, fired ceaselessly, without resting, though subjected to the fire of enemy artillery and machine guns, not only from the front and side, but also from the Adriatic in the rear. During the

last days of the retreat, while the defense line of the Lagoons of Venice was not yet consolidated, that battery was for a long time isolated from every communication, without food, reinforcements, or support, yet it did not cede one inch, it never slackened fire, and it never asked for help. It was one of the heroic deeds of the Italian defense between Cavazuccherina and the sea. In the afternoon of Nov. 16, though attacked by the Austrian battleships Budapest and Wien, not only did these same batteries protect the return of two Italian submarine chasers which had gone out to attack the Austrian naval division, but they effectively counterattacked the battleships and their twelve destroyers until their return in the direction of Istria. The battleships never attempted this attack again.

NAVAL AVIATION

The plain extending from Zenson to the sea does not offer any elevated points for observation and the control of artillery fire. Therefore, the task of directing the shellfire had to be confided to the airplanes, and in the lagoons to the seaplanes. But in order that the seaplanes may fulfill their work of observation with safety they must be defended from enemy airplanes and must, therefore, be escorted by chasing machines.

The Italian seaplanes and their escorts did not spare themselves. The aviators of one squadron accomplished seventy-nine bombarding and observation flights in the first twenty days of November during a total of ninety-two hours of flight—not counting practice flights.

THE SUBMARINE CHASERS

Every one now knows, at least by reputation, the M. A. S., [Motoscafi Antisommergibili di Scorta,] the Italian little armored boats that are doing effective work in the Tyrrhenean and the Adriatic, but few understand the great assistance they have given in their support of the army in the marshy Venetian plain covered with watercourses.

The M. A. S. were not built to fight on rivers, but to scour the seas; yet they

are frequently seen engaging some enemy advance post. Where the enemy lines border on a river or a canal the menacing prow of an M. A. S. will now and then rise under the barbed wire of the Hungarian trenches. These swift motor boats have become the cavalry of the marshes. They are slaves to their fragility, but they have the advantage of speed and surprise.

The M. A. S. attacked the moving enemy companies across the lagoons with machine guns and their little guns. They were bombarded in turn; but their bravery and their size made them often very fortunate. At Bevazzano a big column of Honveds marching along the shore was put to flight by them. Again they shelled a cyclist corps, killing a large number. They landed a few men on ground already occupied by the enemy and succeeded in destroying or in capturing various machine-gun outposts. Elsewhere they supported isolated companies of sailors, protecting the lagoons, with their small guns. With great daring they pushed up to Porto Gruaro, which had already been invaded from Lemene. Shortly after, while the present line of Intestadure-Capo Sile-Cavazuccherina-Cortelazzo was being organized, the M. A. S. ran up and down for entire days through the Piave, the old Piave, and the Cavetta Canal, undertaking frequent sporadic fights with the machine gunners and the picked shooters of Boroevic.

The armed motor boats by themselves insured the liaison between the lines for several days, and today, when the line of resistance from the lagoons is safe, the tactical use of the M. A. S. in the interior canals is still frequent and efficacious.

FIGHTING LARGER CRAFT

These armored motor boats also held the Adriatic coast, especially between the mouth of the Piave and the Venetian estuary. Nor were opportunities lacking for the little craft to fight against superior forces, as was the case on Nov. 16, 1917. The battleships of the Monarch type—Wien and Budapest—escorted by a division of torpedo boats and destroyers, appeared that morning before



ONE OF THE MANY SMALL NAVAL BATTERIES THAT ARE DEFENDING VENICE IN THE NEIGHBORING LAGOONS.

Cortellazzo and opened a violent bombardment against the Italian lines, attacking them from the flank. Assailed by seaplanes, counterattacked by Italian coast artillery, and threatened by approaching destroyers, they retired, but in the afternoon they returned and reopened fire at the mouth of the Piave.

Thereupon, the M. A. S. appeared from the open sea and plunged into the enemy formation. They intervened where the duel between the coast artillery and the battleships was most intense. When the motor boats had approached within less than a mile, the guns of the Monarch, ceasing to fire on land, turned a violent fire against the audacious newcomers. The enemy destroyers threw themselves on the two Italian chasers, shooting with every gun on board, while the battleships were manoeuvring to retire eastward. The M. A. S. approached the large ships within a few hundred meters, fired their torpedoes, and reversed their course. The Monarchs were able to avoid the torpedoes by rapid evolutions and returned toward the Istrian coast, while even the turret guns continued their fire against the minute Italian chasers.

The battleships having withdrawn, the chasers found themselves surrounded by five adversary torpedo boats, which were

attempting to cut off their retreat. They gave a good account of themselves, however, meanwhile gaining the protection of the coast batteries; the enemy destroyers retired, while the M. A. S. returned to their base with insignificant damage and with crews unhurt.

THE NAVAL BATTALIONS

When the news of the Austro-German invasion first spread through the Italian naval bases, the Captains of the battleships saw an unusual procession passing before their cabins, all asking the same thing—to be moved into the infantry and sent to the front. Special orders of the day were necessary to make the rank and file understand that each man could best play his part by remaining at his own post. It was announced, however, that those whose services were not absolutely necessary at their bases would be given full satisfaction. The first naval infantry companies were thus formed in a few days. Sections of the navy belonging to the defense of Monfalcone and Grado were under fire on foot from the first days of the resistance between the Tagliamento and the Livenza, and many others wished to join these gray-green companies.

The first battalion of sailors, perfectly

equipped and organized for trench warfare, went into the front line the 1st of November. Most of these men were not experiencing land firing for the first time, as they had participated with small groups in the defense of Monfalcone and Grado, but they had never before been used as real naval infantry. The lower Piave, where it forms a zigzag before flowing into the Adriatic, was assigned to the naval battalion as its line of defense. At dawn on Nov. 13 the battalion underwent a tremendous shock from the advance guard of the left flank of Boroevic's army. The attack was definitely repulsed. However, a few kilometers to the west, where the line of the Piave was held by battalions of territorials, the enemy succeeded in throwing a bridge of boats across the river near Grisolera and getting an armed patrol with machine guns to the opposite shore.

The territorials withdrew to Case Molinato, in the direction of Cavazuccherina, and groups of Honveds crossed the large watery island between the old and new Piave. The naval battalion, therefore, found its left flank suddenly exposed and had to face both front and lateral attacks. The Italians were commanded by an officer of great strength of character, Lieut. Commander Starita, who decided to hold and to counterattack in spite of the difficult position. The enemy was therefore unable to enlarge the breach and was energetically held in the delta of the river.

"ARDITI" OF THE NAVY

In the meantime the Hungarian machine gunners who had crossed the Piave fortified themselves in the houses, barricaded the doors and windows with sandbags, and, supported by these machine gunners, other enemy patrols crept over, especially at night, through the dense vegetation of the delta, and with rifle fire and bombs tormented the sailors, who had remained without any contact with the army. Lieut. Commander Starita, though having only a few hundred men at his disposal, held a front of several kilometers on three sides and organized a special corps of "braves" to clean out the infested zone. He impro-

vised the "Arditi" of the navy and led them into action. Near Case Allegri a platoon of Hungarians had established themselves in an old guardhouse and had made a small fort with several machine guns. A patrol led by Captain Starita was able to surround them and to penetrate and kill the commanding officer despite the heavy fire of the machine gunners. The twenty surviving Hungarians, as soon as they saw their leader fall, raised their hands and called out "Kamerad!" The marines disarmed them, bound them with their puttees, captured the machine guns, and conducted them to the main battalion.

The same day, near Revedoli, a boat full of enemy soldiers attempted to cross the river and to outflank the marines on the right, aided by a bend in the river. The outlook post discovered what was happening and another Italian patrol came to the rescue and engaged the Honveds. The Hungarians were almost all captured and the boat taken. The following day the Starita battalion, which in the meantime had remained isolated from the rest of the army with a dismounted squadron of cavalry and with a company of Alpine machine gunners, was put under a hard strain, as the left flank of Boroevic's army was renewing the attack with great strength. The enemy was repulsed, and the marine patrols took new prisoners and fresh booty. As these operations had produced appreciable losses, the line of the battalion was withdrawn on the evening of Nov. 14 from Case Allegri to the mouth of the river, without any communication with the rest of the front.

The Italian troops of the lagoon section also had established a definite line on the Sile and the old Piave, covering Cavazuccherina with a bridgehead. The retirement of the naval battalion to the new line of the Cavetta Canal from Cavazuccherina to the sea was then decided upon. Lieut. Commander Starita received orders to reach the final positions on the night of the 15th. It would have been an unnecessary sacrifice to continue an isolated fight on the new Piave, as the sailors wished to do. Therefore, the battalion made an orderly re-

tirement with their booty and all their prisoners to the line of Cavetta.

Between the 16th and 17th the enemy succeeded in sending some chosen fighters with machine guns and hand grenades to the houses of Cortelazza, north of the bend of the river. As the distance between the two banks is only a few yards, the sailors opened a heavy fire on the enemy advance guards, intensifying it at night. The battalion did not have sufficient material to undertake a strong counterattack and to repulse the advance guards beyond Cortelazza. On the 18th the necessary material and hand

grenades began to arrive. The counter-attack was immediately opened with great energy, the houses were retaken, and so the marines were able to throw a bridgehead beyond the Cavetta Canal and Cortelazza, which, consolidated, represents the extreme point of the land resistance toward the sea.

This first naval company, which did so much to arrest the progress of the Austro-Hungarians toward the Lagoon of St. Mark, now gives a veteran's greeting to every new group of marines that comes to add its strength to the ring around Venice.



DWELLING HOUSES IN VENICE RUINED BY AIR-RAID BOMBS

Venice Under the Grim Shadow

The City's Wartime Aspects

[A Rotogravure Etching of Venice Appears in This Issue Opposite Page 269]

WHEN the Austro-German armies swept down through the Venetian plain last October and November, leaving ruin in their wake, they were stopped at the Piave River, whose waters flow into the lagoon a few miles east of Venice. Though the Italian Army and Navy made a ring of steel around the

City of the Doges, and have held the enemy at bay from that time to the present, the sounds of battle have been constantly in the ears of the inhabitants, and frequent air raids have left jagged scars on many buildings and even in the pavement of the Piazza San Marco.

Throughout the Winter of 1917-18 Ven-



ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL IN WAR GARB: THE BRONZE HORSES HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM OVER THE MAIN ENTRANCE, AND PARTS OF THE FACADE ARE PROTECTED

ice remained a city without tourists, its population dwindling from 150,000 to about 40,000, its canals silent and almost empty of life, yet full of a new and wistful beauty. The first days of peril had brought the enemy within twelve or thirteen miles of Venice. From the Fondamento Nuovo, at the northern end of the city, the people could see the flash of guns and the bursting of shells. The roar of guns disturbed their work by day and their sleep by night.

EVACUATING THE CITY

The civilian population was a hindrance rather than a help to the defenders, so the Admiral in command (for Venice is under naval, not military authority) thought it well to arrange for the partial evacuation of the city. In conjunction with the Syndic, Count Erimani, he first asked all foreigners to remove themselves to places of safety. Then offices were opened in each of the thirty parishes, and the people were ordered to report within forty-eight hours. This census was taken, so that railway facilities for traveling might be provided for all, and that places of safety might be found for those who were too poor to go

away at their own expense, and pay their way afterward.

In a few days nearly half the population, some 70,000, had gone, the majority to Florence, Rome, and other places in Central and Southern Italy, and the others to Genoa and the Riviera. Some were sent by sea to the Ancona coast. After this first rush the exodus went on more leisurely, some 3,000 leaving each day. Institutions of all kinds, offices, shops, restaurants, and cafés, closed their doors, even the Café Florian, which had been open day and night continuously for over 100 years. Banks and offices transferred their businesses to other towns.

There are no cellars in Venice, nor can the inhabitants have any dugouts in which to conceal valuables, for at a depth of two or three feet below the ground floors of all buildings water is reached. Accordingly the authorities at the Municipal Building, at St. Mark's Library, at the Ducal Palace, at the Archives, as well as at banks and insurance offices, had their documents and valuables conveyed to places of security by boat and rail.

When Italy first went into the war



INTERIOR OF ST. MARK'S: CHAPEL OF THE CRUCIFIX PROTECTED BY SANDBAGS AND MATTRESS-LIKE SHEATHS

precautions had been taken to protect the public monuments of Venice against aerial bombardment. The Doges' Palace and the Church of St. Mark were protected by barricades of sandbags, as were all the more valuable statues throughout the city. St. Mark's gilded copper horses, beaten out by hand, the only example extant of a Roman Quadriga—

The four steeds divine,
That strike the ground resounding with their feet,
And from their nostrils snort ethereal flame—
were removed at that time from their pedestals above the main entrance to the church, and stabled under an archway on the ground floor of the Doges' Palace. When the new peril came with the invasion, however, they were conveyed by a battleship to a safer refuge in Rome. The precious equestrian statue of Colleoni, so much admired by Ruskin, with other treasures familiar to the tourist, also has been removed to a place of security. The bells of St. Mark's campanile and those of every church in the city have been taken away.

By the first weeks of 1918 the population had shrunk to less than 60,000, and at night one could walk through

miles and miles of stilled and empty streets, darkened against the peril of air raids, or could travel by gondola along lonely canals rippled only by the Winter wind, with the cold moonlight silencing a deserted fairyland. Two months later the population was further reduced by sending away 20,000 women, children, and old men with a view to eliminating useless mouths to feed and preventing unnecessary slaughter. By that time Austro-German ingenuity had invented a new system of dropping bombs; instead of scattering them over the city the missiles were grouped in large numbers in a very limited space so that the destruction on that area was complete.

LIKE A DEAD CITY

An English war correspondent who visited Venice in the Winter drew this word picture:

"Shuttered palaces face each other across silent canals. A footstep ringing down those narrow alleys, which are like deep, dark slits in a close-crowded mass of many-storied houses, starts echoes that die undisturbed away. The black gondola glides through a dead city more beautiful in the silence and stillness of this war trance of hers than ever in the

fullness of her vivacious life. At each corner of the narrow water lane the white-haired gondolier raises his mournful cry, but by long habit, for he knows that no answer will ring out from beyond the angle of the dark stone wall, and no tapering prow glide out to be avoided by a turn of his skillful oar.

"The Grand Canal is a green and gleaming vista of desertion. The scream of seagulls, beating its tranquil surface with their wings, is the only sound that disturbs the quiet of its reverie. A pleasing melancholy invests the deserted quays, and in remote corners of little lost canals you can almost hear the whispering of innumerable spirits of the Venice of long ago who have been drawn back to their old home by this strange peace that lies upon the city.

"Venice, without tourists, without guides, without postcard sellers and hotel touts, is a close preserve of beauty for the few who have the fortune to be here. The atmosphere and the dignity of the days when she was a ruling city are here as they have never been before in modern times, nor ever will be again."

THE WORST AIR RAID

The greatest air raid of all the forty-five which Venice had endured since the war's beginning was that of the night of Feb. 26-27, 1918. It lasted eight hours—from 10:20 to 6:15 A. M.—and there was not a single interval of more than half an hour during all that time of brilliant moonlight in which bombs were not falling on the city. There were 300 in all. Thirty-eight houses were smashed, the Royal Palace was struck, one wing of an old people's home was blown to pieces, and three churches were damaged, including that of St. Chrysostom, in which an altar with one of Cellini's last landscapes was wrecked. Fifteen bombs fell near the Doges' Palace, one barely missing the Bridge of Sighs and falling into the narrow canal which it spans. Ten bombs fell around the Rialto Bridge. About fifteen civilians were wounded seriously, including two women. Only one man was killed, thanks to the promptness with which the Venetians now take shelter.

According to the official account at least fifty airplanes took part in the raid, and some of these returned again and again, bringing fresh cargoes of bombs throughout the night. The Austrian lines are so near that the trip to the bomb bases and back again requires only twenty-five minutes, and this was the average length of the intervals between the bombardments. G. Ward Price, a war correspondent, in describing the experiences of that night, wrote:

"Suddenly another crash re-echoed throughout the city, and the din of the bombardment started once more. I followed the quickly vanishing throng through an archway, where a green light marked a place of shelter. For two hours I was part of a close-packed throng in the dark vaulted room. There were women and wide-eyed children there in plenty, tired out with the long standing, which for them lasted until dawn, but none showing alarm, though, in addition to the nerve trying din outside, a constant shower of pieces of shell and flying bits of masonry whirled and pelted and pattered down incessantly outside.

BRAVE WOMEN'S LAUGHTER

"Toward 2 o'clock I made another move toward the centre of the city. I heard the drone of an attacking airplane drawing nearer over the still lagoon, and a policeman beckoned me into the vestibule of a high palazzo in one of those narrow Venetian alleys between tall black rows of houses which are like a communication trench of masonry. All was cheerfulness in this marble anteroom, a family of young daughters laughing and chattering with their mother while the noisy night crept slowly on. Taking advantage of another lull, I reached my hotel, but not until 6 o'clock, when the dawn was well advanced, did the tumult of this eight-hour-long bombardment cease.

"And yet this morning, as one went about in the warm sunshine seeing the places which the bombs had destroyed, the people seemed untroubled enough. Troops of black-shawled girls went chattering by, and the boys were playing a

sort of 'shove-halfpenny' game, using as counters the shell splinters they had found scattered about the city ways."

Since then there have been many other raids, but none so prolonged. The blackshawled women whose laughter defied the nightly peril have gone for the most part, taking with them the alert "bambini," who at that period still shouted at play in the streets. Only armed defenders are left, with those who are absolutely necessary to aid them. The muffled echo of distant guns is heard

by day and the crash of bombs by night. Just outside the city is a little cemetery where are gathered the bodies of the Italian and French aviators who have died defending these shores. The marble pavement of the Piazza and Piazzetta is torn in places, and the swarming pigeons of other days have dwindled sadly, for no tourists come to feed them. In the sky over the lagoon, where the gulls once reigned supreme, airplanes now keep watch against the ceaseless threat in the direction of the Piave.

Taking Over the Dutch Ships

The United States Seizes for the War Period 500,000 Tons of Dutch Shipping

THE April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained a brief reference to the intention of the United States and British Governments to seize the Dutch shipping in their ports on account of Holland's refusal to carry food cargoes for fear of offending Germany. The two Governments took action March 20, 1918, when all Dutch shipping in American and British harbors was seized by the naval authorities of the two countries. The total of shipping acquired is estimated at 750,000 tons, 500,000 being in American waters. The largest Dutch steamship, the *Nieuw Amsterdam*, which was in New York Harbor at the time, was not seized, but was permitted to return to Holland with a cargo of food, as it had been agreed when she made her outward voyage, during the pending of the negotiations, that, whatever the result, she would be immune; moreover, all Dutch shipping outward bound to American waters at the date of the seizure which had not yet reached port were also to be permitted to return to their home ports.

President Wilson's proclamation directing the seizure stated that "the law and practice of nations accords to a belligerent power the right in times of military exigency and for purposes

"essential to the prosecution of war, to take over and utilize neutral vessels lying within its jurisdiction." The President also made a formal statement in which he reviewed the negotiations with Holland for the restoration of her merchant marine lying idle in American ports to a normal condition of activity for the transportation of foodstuffs. He had sought to have these Dutch ships carry food for Switzerland, for Belgian relief, and for Holland as well. He stated that on Jan. 25, 1918, the Dutch Minister proposed that

one hundred and fifty thousand tons of Dutch shipping should at the discretion of the United States be employed partly in the service of Belgian relief and partly for Switzerland on safe conduct to Cete, France, and that for each ship sent to Holland in the service of Belgian relief a corresponding vessel should leave Holland for the United States. Two Dutch ships in the United States ports with cargoes of foodstuffs were to proceed to Holland, similar tonnage being sent in exchange from Holland to the United States for charter as in the case of other Dutch ships lying in the United States ports.

The President stated that shortly afterward Holland rejected her own proposals, presumably through fear of German submarines, every suggestion thereafter was postponed, and answers were delayed, until finally, on March 7, it be-

came clear that Holland was prevented by German coercion from fulfilling any agreement to put her ships into service; it was then concluded to exercise the sovereign rights of a belligerent under the international law of "angary," and to place the Dutch ships under American jurisdiction. The President concluded as follows:

We have informed the Dutch Government that her colonial trade will be facilitated and that she may at once send ships from Holland to secure the bread cereals which her people require. These ships will be freely bunkered and will be immune from detention on our part. The liner *Nieuw Amsterdam*, which came within our jurisdiction under an agreement for her return, will, of course, be permitted at once to return to Holland. Not only so, but she will be authorized to carry back with her the two cargoes of foodstuffs which Holland would have secured under the temporary chartering agreement had not Germany prevented. Ample compensation will be paid to the Dutch owners of the ships which will be put into our service and suitable provision will be made to meet the possibility of ships being lost through enemy action.

It is our earnest desire to safeguard to the fullest extent the interests of Holland and of her nationals. By exercising in this crisis our admitted right to control all property within our territory we do no wrong to Holland. The manner in which we proposed to exercise this right and our proposals made to Holland concurrently therewith, cannot, I believe, fail to evidence to Holland the sincerity of our friendship toward her.

The seizure of the Dutch ships was accomplished without friction on March 20 by manning them with American naval officers, with the co-operation of the United States Shipping Board. The Dutch crews were released, and many of the officers and sailors returned to Holland a few days later.

The action of the American and British authorities produced much agitation in Holland; the Dutch newspapers bitterly denounced the action as unwarranted. A statement appeared in the *Official Gazette* of the Netherlands Government on March 30 in which the seizure was characterized as an act of violence. The statement asserted that the act was "indefensible from the viewpoint of international law and unjustifiable." Denial was made that an agreement failed

through German pressure. The Dutch official statement ended as follows:

The powers in question, owing to the loss of ships, felt constrained to replace the tonnage by obtaining the disposal of a very large number of ships which belonged not to them but to the Netherlands. They became aware that the Netherlands Government could not permit the ships to sail in the interest of the associated Governments except on the conditions imposed by neutrality, but which were, in the judgment of the Governments, not sufficiently in accordance with their interests. Therefore, they decided to seize the Dutch merchant fleet in so far as it lay within their power.

The Netherlands Government deems it its duty, especially in serious times such as the present, to speak with complete candor. It voices the sentiments of the entire Dutch Nation, which sees in the seizure an act of violence which it will oppose with all the energy of its conviction and its wounded national feeling.

According to the Presidential statement, this procedure offers Holland ample opportunity to obtain bread grain. This is so only apparently; for would it not be an irresponsible act, after the experiences of Dutch ships in American and British ports, to permit other ships to sail to these ports without adequate guarantees that these experiences shall not occur?

The American Government has always appealed to right and justice, has always come forward as the champion of small nations. That it now co-operates in an act diametrically opposed to those principles is a proceeding which can find no counterweight in the manifestations of friendship or assurances of lenient application of the wrong committed.

The United States Government proceeded at once to put the commandeered ships into service. On April 12 Secretary Lansing issued a statement answering the Dutch protest in detail. After pointing out that the Netherlands Government had not questioned the legality of the action taken by the United States, Secretary Lansing showed that it had involved no element of unfriendliness and was justified by the evidence in the case. Events had proved that to have granted bunker coal and food cargoes on ordinary terms would have released foodstuffs in Holland for sale to Germany and "would in fact have been an act beneficial to the enemy and having no relation to our friendship to the Netherlands."

Air Raids on Paris and London

A Historical Summary

PARIS experienced one of the most disastrous air raids of the war on the night of March 11, 1918, when nine squadrons of German airplanes, aggregating nearly sixty units, took part in an attack on the city and suburbs. Several buildings were demolished and set on fire. The number of persons killed was 34, and there were in addition 79 injured, 88 of these casualties being in Paris.

In addition to the bomb victims, 66 persons were suffocated through crowding in a panic into a Metropolitan (subway) Railway entrance to take refuge from the raiders. These were for the most part women and children.

A fog which had covered the city in the morning settled down again in the early evening. It was thick enough to cause the general belief that there was little chance that the Germans would attempt an air raid. This belief, however, was shattered at 9:10 o'clock, when the warning was sounded of the approach of hostile aircraft. The raid ended shortly after midnight, with a loss to the Germans of four machines, which were brought down by the French anti-aircraft defenses.

Mr. Baker, the United States Secretary of War, was in conference with General Tasker H. Bliss, the American Chief of Staff, in a hotel suite when the air alarm was sounded. Secretary Baker was not disturbed by the noise of the sirens or the barrage of the anti-aircraft guns, but the hotel management, fearing for the safety of himself and his party, persuaded the members to descend to the wine cellar, where later they were joined by Major Gen. William M. Black.

Mr. Baker, in the course of a statement the following day, said: "It was 'my first experience of the actualities 'of war and a revelation of the methods 'inaugurated by an enemy who wages 'the same war against women and children as against soldiers. If his object

'is to damage property, the results are 'trifling when compared with his efforts. 'If his object is to weaken the people's 'morale, the reply is given by the superb 'conduct of the people of Paris.' More-over, aerial raids on towns, which are 'counterpart of the pitiless submarine 'war and the attacks against American 'rights, are the very explanation of the 'reasons why America entered the war. 'We are sending our soldiers to Europe 'to fight until the world is delivered 'from these horrors."

THE ENEMY MACHINES

George Prade, a leading French authority on aircraft, told a newspaper correspondent that the German airplanes used in the attack on Paris were the result of a construction program decided on by the German Staff last Summer to meet in advance what is generally known in France as the American aviation program.

When it was announced that the Americans had decided to construct an enormous air fleet for service on the western front, the German War Staff developed plans for much more powerful machines. In June and July, 1917, they began the construction in series of more than 2,000 engines much higher powered than those in previous use. These consisted of Mercedes engines of 260 horse power with six cylinders and Maybach and Benz, both 250 horse power, and with six cylinders. These engines took the place of heavier but less powerful six and eight cylinder engines, ranging from 225 to 235 horse power. The Germans thus not only gained in power, but definitely adopted a plan for planes with two motors and two independent propellers. Each new machine was built with three chasses, a middle one carrying the crew, and two outside, each carrying an engine and a propeller. Three distinct types were developed, known, respectively, as Gothas, Friedrichshafens, and A. E. G.'s.

The length of wings ranges from 72½ to 86 feet. The propellers in earlier machines were placed at the rear, but now they are on the front of the cars. Machines of all three types carry either three or four men, and are fitted with three appliances for launching bombs. The projectiles vary enormously, ranging from aerial torpedoes, the smallest of which weighs two hundredweight, down to small shrapnel bombs. Each of these machines carries a minimum of 153 gallons of petrol and 15 gallons of oil, sufficient for at least a four hours' flight. Their average speed is between 80 and 90 miles an hour.

Referring to the question of hitting any given target, M. Prade said it was practically impossible to strike any particular objective when a plane was traveling at a rate of thirty-eight to forty yards a second. A bomb must be dropped more or less at random, which is the reason why such form of warfare is simply criminal. It is impossible to tell where the bomb will fall. Three men are generally sufficient to handle a machine, one for each engine and a third to drop bombs. The fourth man carried is generally a pilot, who is able from his knowledge of Paris districts to direct the airplane more or less accurately toward objectives.

Big raiding machines generally are accompanied by a large number of smaller two-seated, single-motor planes of 180 to 260 horse power, such as are generally used for reconnaissance purposes. These planes, of which the Hanover is the newest type, are usually of only thirty-eight to forty feet wing spread, but can get up to 20,000 feet carrying four small bombs.

The raid of March 11 was preceded on March 8 by an almost equally formidable attack on Paris, the casualties being 13 killed and 50 injured. One of the raiding machines, an airplane of the Gotha type, was found in the Forest of Compiègne, where it had fallen while returning from the raid. All four of its occupants were killed. They included Captain Fritz Eckstein, the commander of the raiding squadrons, and an officer of the Kaiser's White Cuirassiers from

Potsdam. Three other machines were brought down. Altogether, fifteen trained aviators, mechanics, and pilots were either killed or made prisoner.

BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Bombardment in 1917 played a more and more important part in aerial operations. The Germans had for some time expended their principal efforts upon aviation on the battlefield; besides, up to 1916 they were averse to night flying. But by the beginning of 1918 they had brought into existence a system of aerial bombardment supplied with powerful machines, and had developed an increasing series of attacks on the French troops, on the camps at the rear, and, alas! on the cities of France. Nancy and Dunkirk are sad examples of their work.

The German squadrons known as Kampfgeschwader, furnished with special trains that transport them to any desired point and placed under the direct authority of the Quartermaster General, make use of great triplanes armed with machine guns and supplied with automatic bomb throwers; the Gothas, which, with their two Mercedes motors of 260 horse power each, can carry 1,200 pounds of explosives and gasoline for five hours, and the Friedrichshafens, whose two Benz motors of 225 horse power each can carry enough gasoline for four hours and twelve bombs totaling half a ton in weight.

It was with these machines—employed in mass formation—that the Germans attempted their great bombing operations in the Autumn of 1917, notably the expedition in November, when in a single night seven groups of airplanes made successive attacks on English cities; also the raid of Dec. 19 on London, when twenty machines took part in the attack on London and caused serious damage, including the work of an incendiary bomb that set fire to a factory and burned it to the ground. It is with these machines which they are still improving, and which they are multiplying by the bold creation of series, that the Germans have vainly sought to hold command of the air during their offensive in Picardy.

The example and threat of the enemy

had their effect in France. The French bombarding groups, which, born at the end of 1914, had in 1915 achieved famous flights into the heart of Germany, were compelled, with the advent of aerial combats, to renounce daylight operations, as these had become impossible or too uncertain for their slow and heavy machines, insufficiently armed, and had turned their attention to perilous night expeditions. But, despite successful raids and effective destruction, the French bombing operations remained more or less unsatisfactory.

In the course of 1917 the use of the flying squadrons was finally adapted to the diverse needs of the battle front. In the French offensive at Verdun, while tactical aviation guided the waves of assault, regulated the artillery fire, and furnished information to the General Staff, while the swift airplane chasers, by a vigilant barrage, prevented all observation by enemy machines, the bombarding groups daily took part also in the action by hurling flames and destruction on railway stations, munition depots, storehouses at the rear, and sowing panic among the troops that were preparing to attack.

Equipped at length with machines that combined the indispensable characteristics of speed, power, and armament, enabling them to hold the air in daytime, the French bombardiers attacked arsenals in the interior of Germany, and the British war dispatches of Dec. 25 mentioned a daylight raid of allied air squadrons upon Mannheim, where several fires followed, with heavy explosions at the central railway station and in the factories.

The night groups, which had long made their raids only by moonlight, at length grew accustomed to flying in complete darkness. They multiplied their expeditions against enemy cantonments, railways, aviation fields, factories, and military and industrial centres. The task that remained at the opening of the Spring of 1918 was the fuller co-ordination of the groups of bombardiers.

By that time the French had an excellent daylight airplane as well as successful night machines, and announced the early completion of still better ones.

Their projectiles were not inferior to those of the Germans, and their supply was up to the demand. Thus they faced the German offensive fully equipped to hold their own so far as air supremacy was concerned.

RAIDS ON LONDON

London, as well as Paris, received frequent visits from enemy airplanes in February and March, 1918. On the three successive nights of Feb. 16, 17, and 18 German raiders attacked the British metropolis. Twenty-seven persons were killed and forty-one were injured. Many of the German machines failed to reach the city owing to the great improvement which had been effected in the aerial defenses both on the coast and around London itself. Both the anti-aircraft guns and the airmen helped to diminish the casualties. The third night's raid resulted in an entire absence of both casualties and damage to property.

Seven or eight German airplanes made a raid over England on the night of March 7. Two of them reached London and dropped bombs in various districts. Eleven persons were killed and forty-six injured in the metropolitan area. In addition a certain amount of damage was done to dwellings and some people buried under the wreckage.

Zeppelins were again employed by the Germans in a raid on the east coast of England on March 12. One of them dropped bombs on Hull, while the two others wandered for some hours over remote country districts at great altitudes, unloading their bombs in open country before proceeding out to sea again. This was the first Zeppelin raid on England since Oct. 19, 1917. The Germans had sustained such heavy losses in Zeppelins that they had substituted airplanes. [An account of the fate of the Zeppelins is included elsewhere in this issue.]

BRITISH REPRISALS

Reprisals by British aviators have been frequent and drastic. The British Air Ministry, in one of the detailed statements which it issues from time to time, presented the following list of raids into Germany from Dec. 1, 1917, and Feb. 19, 1918, a period of eleven weeks:

Date.	Objective.	Locality.	Popula- tion.	Wt. of bombs in lbs.
1917.				
Dec.				
5	Rly. sidings.	Zweibrücken.	14,700	1,344
5	Works	†Burbach ...	....	1,096
6	Works	†Burbach ...	....	2,216
11	Boot factory.	Pirmasens ..	34,000	1,594
24	Factories ...	Mannheim ..	290,000	2,252
1918.				
Jan.				
3-4	Railways ...	Nr. Metz....	100,000	760
4-5	Railways ...	Nr. Metz....	100,000	2,940
5-6	Town	*Courcelles..	....	1,344
5-6	Town & rlys.	*Conflans ...	....	2,180
14	Munition fac- tory & rlys.	Karlsruhe ..	140,000	2,800
14-15	Steelworks...	Thionville ..	13,000	2,105
14-15	Railways ...	Metz	100,000	524
14-15	Railways ...	*Eringen ....	....	280
16-17	Railways ...	Benadorf ...	....	280
16-17	Town	Ormy .....	....	255
16-17	Searchlight..	Vigny .....	....	26
21-22	Steelworks...	Thionville ..	13,000	1,220
21-22	Rly. sidings.	Bensdorf ....	....	2,210
..	Rly. junction.	Arnaville ...	....	1,344
24-25	Steelworks,	Thionville ..	13,000	1,120
	rlys. and barracks.	Treves	48,000	809
24-25	Railway	Oberbilibg ...	....	280
24-25	Factory	Mannheim ..	290,000	672
24-25	Railway	Saarburg ...	9,800	280
24-25	Steelworks..	Thionville ..	13,000	1,344
25	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	1,350
27	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	230
Feb.				
9-10	Railway	*Courcelles ..	....	1,844
12	Town	Offenburg ..	15,400	2,838
16-17	Rly. station.	*Conflans ...	....	1,488
17-18	Rly. sidings.	*Conflans ...	....	2,240
18	Steelworks ..	Thionville ..	13,000	936
18	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	1,250
18-19	Barracks and station	Treves	48,000	2,206
18-19	Rly. and gas works	Thionville ..	13,000	650
19	Station	Treves	48,000	2,400

*See Metz. †See Saarbrücken.

James I. Macpherson, Parliamentary Secretary of the War Office, stated in the House of Commons on March 19 that British airmen had made 255 flights into German territory since October, 1917. The 255 flights constituted 38 raids, and only 10 machines were lost. The aviators dropped 48 tons of bombs.

According to a dispatch from The Hague dated April 3, the damage caused by raids in the Rhenish cities was much

more extensive than had been admitted. Places where bombs actually fell were described as "unrecognizable." Of the bombs dropped at Coblenz in the most recent raid, eight did considerable damage. One fell upon a station, one fell amid a company of soldiers going to get food, and others practically destroyed half of the barracks where French prisoners were confined in 1870. In Cologne a branch factory of the Baden Aniline Works was partly destroyed and a number of people were killed and wounded. Great damage also was done at Mainz. It was also reported that much damage was done at Düsseldorf. After the raids the authorities made every effort to clear up the wreckage as rapidly as possible, and the town was made to resume normal life immediately.

In connection with military operations on the western front, official reports showed that the Allies had gained great successes in destroying enemy airplanes. The enemy losses in January, 1918, were 292; in February, 273, and in the first seventeen days of March 278. For the week ended March 17 the British Royal Flying Corps alone destroyed 99 German airplanes and drove down 42, losing 23 of its own machines.

One of the most surprising air raids was that of March 11 on Naples, in Southern Italy, far from enemy lines, when a dirigible dropped bombs on the city. Private houses, asylums, and churches were damaged or destroyed and 16 persons killed and 40 injured.

Among the most savage attacks on Paris by aircraft was that in the night of April 12, when two hostile machines got through the anti-aircraft barrage and succeeded in killing 26 persons and injuring 72. One of the torpedoes burst a gas main in the street where it fell, but firemen promptly extinguished the fire that ensued. The American Red Cross was first on the scene of the explosion, and in a very short time had the victims safely removed to a hospital.

The Tale of Zeppelin Disasters

What has become of the German airship fleet initiated by the late Count Zeppelin is now known to the Intelligence Department of the French Army, which has given out a complete list of the 100 or more dirigibles constructed since the first one was launched over Lake Constance.

Up to August, 1914, the total of Zeppelin airships built numbered twenty-five, while since the war the two great works at Friedrichshafen and Staaken have produced between seventy-five and eighty. As the mean period for the building of a Zeppelin is known with certainty to be two months, there must always have been four new airships on the stocks at the same time.

Most of the Zeppelins launched into the air before the war came to grief, thus leaving in the service of the German Army and Navy a fleet of less than a dozen when fighting began. Since then nearly all the dirigibles, old and new, have been handed over to the German Navy, which has used them for many kinds of work, such as bombing expeditions, protection of mine layers and small torpedo boats at sea, chasing submarines, searching for mine fields, and, last and most important, reconnoitring for the High Seas Fleet.

Disaster has attended the flight of an overwhelming majority of these air monsters, no fewer than thirty of which are known to have been destroyed in one way or another, as is shown by the following list:

L-1—Destroyed just before the war, when it fell in the North Sea near Heligoland.

L-2—Burned at Buhlsbuettel just before the war.

L-3—Descended at Famoe in Denmark at beginning of the war, and was burned by its crew.

L-4—Descended at Blaavands Huk, Denmark, at beginning of the war, and was burned by its crew.

L-5—Brought down on the Belgian front in 1915; part of crew saved.

L-6—Burned at Buhlsbuettel in its hangar in September, 1916.

L-7—Brought down by British destroyers off Portland, crew being drowned, in 1915.

L-8—Brought down by machine guns in Belgium, part of crew being killed, in 1915.

L-9—Burned at Buhlfriettel in its hangar at same time as L-6.

L-10—Struck by lightning near Cuxhaven during its initial flights, and lost with its crew.

L-12—Destroyed, at Ostend in 1915 when returning from a raid on England.

L-15—Brought down in the Thames, England, in 1916.

L-16—Destroyed on Oct. 19, 1917.

L-18—Burned in a hangar at Tondern in 1916.

L-19—Fell in the Baltic while returning from a raid on England.

L-22—Burned accidentally while coming out of its hangar at Tondern.

L-23—Fell on the English coast.

L-25—Destroyed while being employed as a training balloon at Wildpark.

L-31—Fell in London in 1916.

L-32—Brought down in London in 1916, (Sept. 23-24.)

L-33—Brought down in England, Sept. 23, 1916, and crew interned.

L-35—Brought down in England.

L-39—Brought down at Compiègne, France, March, 1917.

L-40—Fell in the woods near Emden.

L-43—Brought down in July, 1917, at Terschelling.

L-44—Brought down afire at Saint-Clement, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-45—Brought down and burned at Silteron, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-48—Brought down in England, June, 1917.

L-49—Brought down at Bourbonne-les-Bains, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-50—Fell at Dommartin, Oct. 20, 1917.

L-57—Broke up on its first voyage.

The last named is the highest number believed to have been in the service. Missing numbers in the list given above are accounted for as follows:

L-11—Put out of service in 1917 and believed to be in shed at Hage.

L-13—In the shed at Hage since May, 1917.

L-14—School airship at Northolz.

L-17—Believed to have been destroyed at sea.

L-20—Dismantled.

L-21—Dismantled; believed burned at Tondern.

L-24—Dismantled.

L-26—Planned, but never constructed.

L-27, L-28, L-29, and L-30—Planned, but never constructed.

L-34—Believed destroyed off England.

L-37—Attached to Baltic squadron, but believed destroyed.

L-38—Whereabout unknown.

L-41, L-42, L-46, L-47, L-51, L-52, L-53, L-54, L-55, and L-56—In service in the North Sea.

No information is obtainable as to the fate of the remainder of the Zeppelins, nor as to whether their construction was ever completed, but the few other types of dirigible airships used by the Germans have not been better served by fate than their more renowned sisters.

The Schuette-Lanz dirigible is something like a Zeppelin, but with a framework of bamboo instead of aluminium. There have been eight of these in use since the beginning of the war, and their fate or present condition is shown in the following list:

S L-3—Long since out of service.
 S L-4—Struck by lightning in the Baltic.
 S L-6—Believed to have fallen into the Baltic.
 S L-8—In service in the Baltic.
 S L-9—Burned at Stolp.
 S L-14—In service in the Baltic.
 S L-16—Believed to be still in service.
 S L-20—In service.

There was also one Gross semi-rigid dirigible, which was put out of service at the end of February, 1915, and three Parseval non-rigid airships, one of which was destroyed in Russia, the second used as a schoolship, and the third understood to be still in service.

Paris Bombarded by Long-Range Guns

The Disaster on Good Friday

PARIS, though accustomed to the perils of German air raids, was amazed on the morning of March 23, 1918, to find itself bombarded by one or more guns of unprecedented range, which were dropping 9-inch shells into the city and its suburbs at intervals of twenty minutes. The nearest German line was more than sixty-two miles away, and the possibility of artillery bombardment at such a range was at first doubted in all the allied countries, but by the following day the fact was established that the shells were actually coming from the region of the Forest of St. Gobain, seven miles back of the French trenches near Laon, and about seventy-five miles from Paris. The French artillery at the front at once took measures to locate and destroy the guns, but without immediate results.

The first day's casualties from the long-distance shells were stated to be ten killed and fifteen wounded. The second day, which was Palm Sunday, was ushered in by loud explosions from the new missiles, but by church time the Parisians had already discounted the new sensation and thronged the streets on their way to the churches. The women who sell palm leaves on that day did their usual thriving business. During the early morning hours the street traffic was partly suspended, but by noon both

the subway and the tramway cars were running again.

The shells were found to be doing comparatively little damage in proportion to their size. The municipal authorities announced on the second day that the German bombardment should not be allowed to interrupt the normal life of the city, and that the people would be warned by special signals, differing from those for air raids, and consisting of the beating of drums and blowing of whistles by the policemen. On Monday, when the police began to use the new system of alarm, they were the object of much good-natured chaffing on account of their awkwardness with the drumsticks.

Twenty-four shells reached Paris the first day, twenty-seven the second, fewer the third, and thus the bombardment went on daily, with occasional casualties and little effect on the habitual life of the city. The famous palace of the Tuileries was damaged by one of the shells, and other public buildings were struck. The damage was largely confined to the Montmartre district, the amusement centre of Paris, and nearly all the shells fell within a section about a mile square, indicating that the gun was immovable. One shell dropped in front of the Gare de l'Oest, a railway terminal, killing six men.

The casualties, however, were com-

paratively few until March 29, when a shell struck the Church of St. Gervais at the hour of the Good Friday service, killing seventy-five persons and wounding ninety, some of whom died later. Fifty-four of those killed were women, five being Americans. The shell had struck the church in such a way as to cause a portion of it to collapse and fall upon the worshippers at the moment of the elevation of the Host.

PROTEST FROM THE POPE

The intense indignation of all France at this new outrage on noncombatants was voiced at once through the press and in speeches in the Chamber of Deputies. The authorities of the Catholic Church were deeply stirred, and Pope Benedict sent a protest to Berlin against the bombardment of Paris, and especially against the destruction of churches and the wholesale massacre of civilians. Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, arriving at the scene of the catastrophe a few moments after the explosion, expressed the general feeling when he exclaimed: "The beasts! To have chosen the day of our Lord's death for committing such a crime!" The Vatican sent Cardinal Amette the following dispatch:

The Holy Father, deploring the fact that the bloody conflict, which already has caused everywhere so much suffering, has again, on the very day of the Saviour's Passion, found more innocent victims, who are still dearer to his heart owing to their faith and plety, expresses his deepest sympathy. He sends the apostolic blessing to all the faithful in Paris, and desires to know if it is necessary to send material aid to the families in mourning.

The Cardinal also received the following letter from Grand Rabbi Israel Levi on behalf of those of the Jewish faith:

Your Eminence, I am the interpreter of the feelings of all my French co-religionists in saying that I share in the mourning which has come to so many families devastated by sacrilegious barbarism. We are one in pious indignation at the crime, which seems to have been intended as an insult to what humanity holds most sacred.

Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, voiced the sentiments of New York Catholics in this message to the Archbishop of Paris:

Shocked by the brutal killing of innocent

victims gathered at religious services to commemorate the passing of our blessed Saviour on Good Friday, the Catholics of New York join your noble protest against this outrage of the sanctuary on such a day and at such an hour and, expressing their sympathy to the bereaved relatives of the dead and injured, pledge their unfaltering allegiance in support of the common cause that unites our two great republics. May God bless the brave officers and men of the allied armies in their splendid defense of liberty and justice!

Among those killed in this disaster was H. Stroehlin, Secretary of the Swiss Legation. The German Foreign Office later made an indirect expression of regret to Switzerland for this act, but sought to justify the bombardment on the ground that Paris is a fortress. The Kaiser sent a special note of congratulation to the managers of the Krupp works regarding the success of the weapon.

AMBASSADOR SHARP'S REPORT

William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador to France, visited the wrecked church shortly after the disaster and sent a detailed report to Secretary Lansing at Washington. The State Department, on April 3, issued the following:

The Secretary of State has received from Ambassador Sharp in Paris a graphic report of his visit to the scene of the horrible tragedy which occurred on the afternoon of Good Friday in a church by the explosion of a German shell projected from far back of the enemy lines a distance of more than seventy miles. The appalling destruction wrought by this shell is, as the Ambassador remarked, probably not equaled by any single discharge of any hostile gun in the cruelty and horrors of its results.

In no other one spot in Paris, even where poverty had gathered on that holy day to worship, could destruction of life have been so great. Nearly a hundred mangled corpses lying in the morgues, with almost as many seriously wounded, attested to the measure of the toll exacted. Far up to the high, vaulted arches, between the flying buttresses well to the front of the church, is a great gap in the wall, from which fell upon the heads of the devoted worshippers many tons of solid masonry. It was this that caused such a great loss of life.

As the Ambassador entered the church, where but a few hours before had been gathered the worshippers, he could easily picture the scene that followed the explosion. The amount of debris, remaining just as it fell on the floor, covered the en-

tire space between the lofty columns supporting the arches at each side. Only a miracle could have saved from death or serious injury those who escaped the falling mass. The scene was that of some horrible shambles, and it was not until well into the night that all the bodies were recovered. Upon the floor in many places could still be seen the blood of the victims, among whom were many prominent and well-to-do people.

The Ambassador called to express his sympathy to his Swiss colleague, whose lifelong friend, the Secretary of the Swiss Legation, was killed while leaving the church. The Minister was deeply affected as he spoke of the great loss to him through the Secretary's death. The Secretary was well known in Washington, where he served with the Swiss Legation from 1902 to 1904, and was very highly esteemed by all who knew him.

In conclusion, Mr. Sharp says that the exceptional circumstances under which this tragedy occurred, both as to the sacred character of the day and the place, have greatly aroused the indignation of the people of Paris toward an enemy who seeks to destroy human life without regard to the immunities prescribed by the laws of civilization and humanity, and, instead of terrorizing the people, shells of the great cannons, as well as the bombs dropped from the German airplanes, only serve to strengthen the resolve of the French to resist, to the last man, if necessary, the invasion of such a foe.

CHARACTER OF THE GUN

Portions of exploded shells examined in the Municipal Laboratory of Paris indicated that the calibre of the new German gun was a trifle less than nine inches, and that the projectiles, weighing perhaps 200 pounds, contained a comparatively weak charge of high explosives, arranged in two chambers connected by a fuse, often causing two distinct explosions a minute or more apart. It was stated later by German military scientists that it took each shell more than three minutes to travel from the mouth of the gun to Paris, and that on its way it had to rise to a height of more than twenty miles from the earth. Three Paris experts found that at least two of these great guns were being used. According to German prisoners, one of the guns exploded on March 29, killing a German Lieutenant and nine men.

In their jubilation over the new weapon the German newspapers stated that the first bombardment of Paris had been witnessed by the Kaiser and by the

builder of the long-range gun, Professor Fritz Rausenberger, who is an artilleryman, manager of the Krupp Works, and builder of the famous 42-centimeter (16½-inch) gun used to demolish the Belgian forts at the beginning of the war.

The violence of the concussion of the new weapon was indicated by the statement of American scientists that every shot was found to be recorded by seismographs all over the United States; in other words, the shock of each discharge caused the needles of earthquake detectors three or four thousand miles away to record small dots on the smoked paper used in these instruments.

Paris, though embittered by the new form of attack, refused to be frightened by the long-range shells. The attendance at the churches on Easter Sunday was even larger than usual. The police authorities issued an order on April 4 that theatre matinées and afternoon entertainments of all kinds should be temporarily discontinued; but, owing to numerous protests, this order was modified next day, and the usual daytime performances in the theatres were allowed on condition that the bombardment had not begun at the hour of assembly, and that the place of amusement be evacuated immediately if the shelling began during the performance. In the weeks that followed the bombardment became more and more desultory and ineffectual.

It was recorded on April 9 that French aviators had discovered the location of the new guns at Crepy-en-Laonnais, near the road from La Fère to Laon, and that continual bombardment of the spot was causing the increasingly intermittent nature of the German long-range fire. The French had learned the location to a yard, and from a powerful battery ten miles away they were dropping enormous shells weighing half a ton each into the low hills where the German monsters were hidden. There were three of the supercannon, and a few days later an air photograph showed that two French shells had fallen on the barrel of one of them, putting it out of commission. Tremendous craters had been made around the others, and one French shell had fallen on a main railway line, blocking it

a whole day. A correspondent who visited the French battery engaged in this work wrote on April 13:

"It is stated that these German guns are ninety-six feet long. At the moment of firing, other big guns let fly simultaneously, to confuse the French, and a smoke screen is emitted in the vicinity to hide the pieces from aircraft. Up to yesterday there had been no firing at night, lest the flashes show the position of the cannon. How necessary this precaution is may be illustrated by my experience last night, when I saw the whole

northern sky constantly lit up by the guns on the eighty-mile front of the German offensive."

After April 13, when the Germans knew that their secret was fully known, they began bombarding Paris by night, though without any increase in effectiveness. Up to the middle of April a total of 150 long-distance shells had fallen in Paris, and the only ones that had caused any notable casualties were those which struck the Church of St. Gervais, an infant asylum, and an old man's bowling green.

The Irish Guards

By RUDYARD KIPLING

[Read at a *matinée* in London in aid of the Irish Guards' War Fund, for which it was written by Mr. Kipling.]

We're not so old in the Army List,
But we're not so young at our trade,
For we had the honor at Fontenoy
Of meeting the Guards Brigade.
'Twas Lally, Dillon, Bulkeley, Clare,
And Lee that led us then,
And after a hundred and seventy years
We're fighting for France again!
*Old Days! The wild geese are fighting,
Head to the storm as they faced it be-
fore!*
*For where there are Irish there's bound
to be fighting,
And when there's no fighting, it's Ire-
land no more!*
Ireland no more!

The fashion's all for khaki now,
But once through France we went
Full-dressed in scarlet Army cloth—
The English—left at Ghent.
They're fighting on our side today,
But before they changed their clothes
The half of Europe knew our fame
As all of Ireland knows!
*Old days! The wild geese are flying,
Head to the storm as they faced it be-
fore!*
*For where there are Irish there's memory
undying,
And when we forget, it is Ireland no
more!*
Ireland no more!

From Barry Wood to Gouzeaucourt,
From Boyne to Pilkem Ridge,
The ancient days come back no more

Than water under the bridge.
But the bridge it stands and the water runs
As red as yesterday,
And the Irish move to the sound of the guns
Like salmon to the sea!
*Old days! The wild geese are ranging,
Head to the storm as they faced it be-
fore!*
*For where there are Irish their hearts are
unchanging,
And when they are changeful, it is Ire-
land no more!*
Ireland no more!

We're not so old in the Army List,
But we're not so new in the ring,
For we carried our packs with Marshal Saxe
When Louis was our King.
But Douglas Haig's our Marshal now
And we're King George's men,
And after one hundred and seventy years
We're fighting for France again!
*Ah, France! And did we stand by you
When life was made splendid with gifts
and rewards?*
*Ah, France! And will we deny you
In the hour of your agony, Mother
of Swords?*
*Old Days! The wild geese are fighting,
Head to the storm as they faced it be-
fore!*
*For where there are Irish there's loving
and fighting,
And when we stop either, it's Ireland no
more!*
Ireland no more!

The Guilt of Germany

German Ambassador to Great Britain in 1914 Proves That His Country Forced the War

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY, who was the German Ambassador to Great Britain when the war began, is the author of an extremely interesting and important historical document which became public in March, 1918. It is in the form of a private memorandum written by the Prince, in which he frankly and definitely admits that the guilt for starting the world conflict rests upon his own country. The document, through some unrevealed agency, reached the Stockholm newspaper Politiken, the influential mouthpiece of the Swedish Socialists, and was printed in installments.

The publication created a profound sensation throughout Europe. It evoked passionate rebukes of the Prince in the Reichstag and drew forth an important utterance from the former German Foreign Minister, who failed to refute its supremely important revelations. It was reported early in April that the German Government had taken steps to institute proceedings against the Prince on the charges of revealing State secrets and of treason to the State.

The memorandum was written by Prince Lichnowsky about eighteen months ago for the purpose of explaining and justifying his position to his personal friends, and only half a dozen typewritten copies were made. One of these copies, through a betrayal, reached the Wilhelmstrasse, and caused a great scandal, and another was communicated to some members of the Minority Socialist Party. But how it happened that a copy got across the German frontier remains a mystery. Internal evidence, however, leaves no doubt in regard to the authenticity of the document. It is entitled "My London Mission, 1912-1914," and is dated "Kuchelna, (Prince Lichnowsky's country seat,) August, 1916."

Prince Lichnowsky begins with a re-

cital of the circumstances which led to his being appointed to London after many years of retirement from diplomacy, and a description of the European position as he then found it. The moment, he believes,

was undoubtedly favorable for a new attempt to get on a better footing with England. Our enigmatical Moroccan policy had repeatedly shaken confidence in our peaceful disposition and aroused the suspicion that we were not quite sure what we wanted, or that our intention was to keep Europe in suspense, and, when occasion served, to humiliate the French. An Austrian colleague, who was long in Paris, said to me, "If the French begin to forget *révanche*, you regularly remind them of it by treading heavily on their toes."

After rejecting M. Delcassé's attempt to come to an agreement with us in regard to Morocco, and declaring that we had no political interests there, an attitude which was in full accordance with the traditions of the Bismarckian policy, we suddenly recognized in Abdul Aziz a Kruger No. 2. To him, also, like the Boers, we promised the powerful support of the German Empire—at the same cost and with the same result. For both affairs ended, as they had to end, unless we were already then resolved to undertake a world war—namely, in withdrawal.

Our attitude promoted the Russo-Japanese and the Russo-British rapprochements. In face of the German peril all other conflicts fell into the background. The possibility of a new Franco-German war had become evident.

THE BRITISH PROGRAM

After describing the futility of Germany's Moroccan policy, Prince Lichnowsky goes on:

When I arrived in London, in November, 1912, public opinion had calmed about the Morocco question. Mr. Haldane's mission had certainly failed, since we had demanded a promise of neutrality instead of satisfying ourselves with a compact which would secure us against a British attack or an attack with British support. Sir Edward Grey, however, had not given up the idea of reaching an agreement with us and, as a

beginning, made an attempt in this direction in the economic and colonial spheres. With Herr von Kühlmann as expert intermediary, an exchange of views took place concerning the renewal of the Portuguese Colonial Agreement and the Bagdad Railway, the object of which was to divide the aforesaid colonies, as well as Asia Minor, into spheres of interest. The British statesman desired, since the old disputes with France and Russia were settled, to reach a corresponding agreement with us. His aim was not to isolate us, but to get us to take part in the already established concert. Having succeeded in throwing a bridge across the Franco-British and Russo-British divisions, he wished also, as far as possible, to remove the causes of friction between England and Germany, and, by a network of agreements—to which might well eventually have been added an agreement on the unfortunate naval question—to secure the peace of the world.

This was Sir Edward Grey's program. In his own words "Without prejudice to the existing friendly understandings with France and Russia, which pursued no aggressive aims, and involved in themselves for England no binding obligations, to reach a friendly rapprochement and understanding with Germany." In short, to bring the two groups nearer together.

In his own words, "Without prejudice to in this connection two schools of opinion—the optimists, who believed in the possibility of an understanding; the pessimists, who considered that war was sooner or later unavoidable. To the former belonged Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Haldane, and most of the members of the Liberal Cabinet, as well as the leading Liberal organs, like *The Westminster*, *The Chronicle*, and *The (Manchester) Guardian*. To the pessimists belonged, primarily, Conservative politicians like Mr. Balfour, who on repeated occasions allowed me to know his opinion, and leading soldiers like Lord Roberts, who preached the necessity for the introduction of compulsory service; also the *Northcliffe* press, and the important English journalist, Mr. Garvin. During my time in office, however, this party refrained from all attacks, and maintained, both personally and politically, a friendly attitude. But our naval policy and our conduct in 1905, 1908, and 1911 had created among them the belief that some day it would come to war. The first school, exactly as among us in Germany, are now accused of foolishness and short-sightedness, while the second are regarded as true prophets.

Prince Lichnowsky goes on to describe the situation during the Balkan war.

There were two policies, he says, open to Germany—to act as an impartial mediator and seek a stable settlement in accordance with the wishes of the Balkan peoples, or to conduct a strict Triple Alliance policy. He himself recommended the former, but the Wilhelmstrasse determined on the latter. Austria wished to keep Serbia from the Adriatic; Italy wished to prevent the Greeks from reaching Avlona; Russia supported the Serbs, France supported the Greeks. Germany had no motive whatever for supporting her allies, and thus bringing about a bad settlement, except the desire to consolidate what, in Prince Lichnowsky's opinion, was a palpably worthless alliance—worthless because it was obvious that Italy would break from the alliance in the event of war, while Austria was absolutely dependent on Germany in peace and war without an alliance.

The best way to increase Austria's dependence was to cultivate friendly relations between Germany and Russia. The Kaiser, for dynastic reasons, was in favor of the division of Albania between Greece and Serbia, but "when I, in a letter to him, urged this solution, I received from the Chancellor a severe reprimand to the effect that I was supporting Austria's enemies, and should refrain from direct correspondence with the Emperor."

Thus Germany decided to take her stand on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors for the sake of the Triple Alliance—a fatal blunder, which Prince Lichnowsky describes as "all the more striking since a sudden Franco-Russian assault—the only hypothesis which could justify the Triple Alliance policy—could, in fact, be ruled out of our calculations."

DANGEROUS BALKAN POLICY

It was not only unnecessary, he declares, but dangerous, to pay attention to Austria's wishes, since to look at the Eastern question through Austrian spectacles must lead to a collision with Russia and a world war.

Such a policy, moreover, was bound to alienate sympathy among the young, strong, and aspiring communities of the Balkan Peninsula, who were ready to

turn to us and to open their markets to us. The opposition between courts and peoples, between the dynastic and the democratic idea of the State, was clearly defined, and, as usual, we stood on the wrong side. * * * In Serbia, against our own economic interests, we supported the Austrian policy of strangulation. We have always ridden horses whose collapse could be foreseen—Krugger, Abdul Aziz, Abdul Hamid, and William of Wied—and finally we came to grief in Berchtold's stable.

Prince Lichnowsky proceeds to describe the Conference of Ambassadors in London in 1913, and the influential and conciliatory part played there by Sir Edward Grey, who always, he says, found a way out of every apparent deadlock.

But we, instead of taking up a position analogous to that of England, invariably espoused the standpoint of Vienna. Count Mensdorff led the Triple Alliance in London; I was his second. My task consisted in supporting his proposals. In Berlin the prudent and experienced Count Szögyény was in control. "Here the casus foederis arises," was his constant refrain, and when I once ventured to question the correctness of this conclusion I was seriously warned for Austrophobia. At all points we accepted and supported the views of Austria and Italy. Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, practically never sided with Russia or France. Usually, indeed, he took the side of our group, so as not to provide any pretext for conflict. That pretext was supplied later by a dead Archduke.

THE GUILT ESTABLISHED

Lichnowsky states that a few days after the Serajevo murder of June 28, 1914, he was in Berlin, and from interviews with Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg he found that the latter did not share the Prince's belief that peace might be maintained, and complained of Russian armaments. The memorandum continues:

I then went to Dr. Zimmermann, who was representing Herr von Jagow, [Foreign Secretary,] and from him I learned that Russia was about to raise 900,000 fresh troops. His words showed an unmistakable animosity toward Russia, which, he said, was everywhere in our way. Of course, I was not told that General von Moltke was pressing for war. I learned, however, that Herr von Tscherschesky [the German Ambassador in Vienna] had received a rebuke because he reported that he had advised moderation in Vienna toward Serbia.

Subsequently I learned that at a decisive conversation in Potsdam July 5 an inquiry addressed to us by Vienna found positive assent among all personages in authority. Indeed, they added that there would be no harm if war with Russia were to result. I received instruction that I was to induce the English press to take up a friendly attitude if Austria gave the deathblow to the Great Serbian movement, and as far as possible I was, by my influence, to prevent public opinion opposing Austria.

I gave warning against the whole project, which I described as adventurous and dangerous, and I advised that moderation be recommended to the Austrians because I did not believe in localization of conflict.

Herr von Jagow answered me that Russia was not ready, that there doubtless would be a certain amount of bluster, but that the more firmly we stood by Austria the more would Russia draw back. He said Austria already was accusing us of want of spirit and we must not squeeze her; and that, on the other hand, feeling in Russia was becoming ever more anti-German and so we must simply risk it.

I knew that Sir Edward Grey's influence in Petrograd could be turned to use in favor of peace, so I used my friendly relations with Sir Edward, [British Foreign Secretary,] and in confidence begged him to advise moderation in Russia if Austria demanded satisfaction from Serbia.

At first the attitude of the English press was calm and friendly to the Austrians because the murder was condemned, but gradually more and more voices were heard to insist that, however necessary it was to punish the crime, exploitation of crime for political purposes could not be justified. Austria was strongly urged to show moderation.

When the ultimatum appeared, all the papers, except *The Standard*, which was always like slow water and apparently was paid by the Austrians, were as one in their condemnation. The whole world, except in Berlin and Vienna, understood that it meant war, and indeed a world war.

The British fleet, which chanced to be assembled for review, was not demobilized.

England and Russia for Peace

At first I pressed for a conciliatory answer as far as possible on the part of Serbia, since the attitude of the Russian Government left no further doubt of the seriousness of the situation. The Serbian reply was in accordance with the British efforts, and everything actually had been accepted except two points, about which a readiness to negotiate had been expressed.



Panoramic view of Camp Zachary Taylor, Louisville, Ky., where the 84th (National Army) Division is in training

(© Caulfield & Shook)



Panoramic view of Camp Sherman, Chillicothe, Ohio, where the 83d (National Army) Division is in training

(Photo R. E. Wagner & Co.)

If Russia and England had wanted war in order to fall upon us a hint to Belgrade would have been sufficient, and the unheard of [Austrian] note would have remained unanswered. Sir Edward Grey went through the Serbian reply with me and pointed to the conciliatory attitude of the Government at Belgrade. We then discussed his mediation proposal, which was to arrange an interpretation of the two points acceptable to both parties.

Cambon, [French Ambassador in London,] Marquis Imperiali, [Italian Ambassador in London,] and I should have met under Sir Edward Grey's presidency, and it would have been easy to find an acceptable form for the disputed points which, in the main, concerned the participation of Austrian officials in the investigation at Belgrade.

Given good will, everything could have been settled in one or two sittings, and mere acceptance of the British proposal would have relieved the tension and would further have improved our relations to England. I urgently recommended the proposal, saying that otherwise a world war was imminent, in which we had everything to lose and nothing to gain.

In vain! I was told that it was against the dignity of Austria and that we did not want to interfere in the Serbian business but left it to our ally. I was told to work for localization of conflict. Of course, it would only have needed a hint from Berlin to make Count Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister, satisfy himself with a diplomatic success and put up with the Serbian reply, but this hint was not given.

Germany Forced the War

On the contrary, we pressed for war. What a fine success it would have been! After our refusal Sir Edward asked us to come forward with a proposal of our own. We insisted upon war. I could get no other answer from Berlin than that it was enormous conciliation on the part of Austria to contemplate no annexation of territory.

Thereupon Sir Edward justly pointed out that even without annexations of territory a country can be humiliated and subjected, and that Russia would regard this as a humiliation which she would not stand. The impression became ever stronger that we desired war in all circumstances, otherwise our attitude on the question, which after all did not directly concern us, was unintelligible.

The urgent appeals and definite declarations of Sazonoff [Russian Foreign Minister] later on the positively humble telegrams of the Czar, the repeated proposals of Sir Edward, the warnings of San Giuliano, [Italian Foreign Minister,] my own urgent advice—all were of no use, for Berlin went on insisting that Serbia

must be massacred. The more I pressed the less willing they were to alter their course, if only because I was not to have the success of saving peace in company with Sir Edward Grey.

So Grey on July 29 resolved upon his well-known warning. I replied I had always reported that we should have to reckon upon English hostility if it came to war with France. The Minister said to me repeatedly, "If war breaks out it will be the greatest catastrophe the world has ever seen." After that events moved rapidly.

When Count Berchtold, who hitherto had played strong man on instructions from Berlin, at last decided to change his course, we answered Russian mobilization—after Russia had waited and negotiated in vain for a whole week—with our ultimatum and declaration of war.

Up to the last moment I had hoped for a waiting attitude on the part of England. As late as August the King of England replied evasively to the French President, but in a telegram from Berlin, which announced the threatening danger of war, England already was mentioned as an opponent. In Berlin, therefore, one already reckoned upon war with England.

Before my departure Sir Edward Grey received me on Aug. 5 at his house. I went there at his desire. He was deeply moved. He said to me that he would always be ready to mediate, and "We do not want to crush Germany." Unfortunately this confidential conversation was published, and thereby von Bethmann Hollweg destroyed the last possibility of reaching a peace via England.

Questions of Guilt

As it appears from all official publications without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved and the danger of a world war must have been known to us; whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

2. In the days between July 23 and 30, 1914, when Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack on Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached and Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

3. On July 30, when Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mere

mobilization by sending an ultimatum to St. Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is



PRINCE LICHNOWSKY

not surprising that the whole world outside of Germany attributes to us sole guilt for the world war.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

Anglo-German negotiations concerning the Berlin-Bagdad Railway and German naval and commercial jealousy of Great Britain are touched upon in further sections of the personal memorandum.

Prince Lichnowsky says that the Bagdad Railway treaty aimed in fact at a division of Asia Minor into spheres of interest, although this expression was carefully avoided in consideration of the rights of the Sultan of Turkey. Sir Edward Grey asserted repeatedly that there was no agreement between England and France aiming at a division of Asia Minor. The greatest concession that Sir Edward made to Prince Lichnowsky per-

sonally was for the continuation of the railway line to Basra.

By this treaty the whole of Mesopotamia up to Basra became a German zone of interest by which all British rights and the question of shipping on the Tigris were left untouched. The British economic territories, the Prince adds, included the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Smyrna-Aden Railway, the French territory was Syria, and the Russian Armenia. Had the treaty been concluded and published, he continues, an agreement would have been reached with Great Britain which would have finally ended all doubt of the possibility of Anglo-German co-operation.

GERMANY'S NAVAL THREAT

Referring to the difficult question of German naval activity, Prince Lichnowsky says that the creation of a mighty fleet on the other shore of the North Sea and the simultaneous development of the Continent's most important military power into a most important naval power had at least to be recognized by Great Britain as uncomfortable. To preserve the supremacy of the seas which Great Britain must have in order not to go down, the Prince adds, she had to undertake preparations and expenses which weighed heavily on the taxpayers. Nevertheless, the powers become reconciled to the German fleet in its definite strength. Obviously it was not welcome to Great Britain and, the Prince says, constituted one of the motives, but neither the only nor the most important motive, for England to join hands with Russia and France.

On account of the German fleet alone, Prince Lichnowsky says, Great Britain would have drawn the sword as little as on account of German trade, "which, it is pretended, called forth her jealousy and finally brought about war."

"NAVAL HOLIDAY"

During Prince Lichnowsky's term of office Winston Spencer Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, raised the question of the so-called naval holiday, proposing it for financial reasons as much as on account of the pacifist in-

clinations of his party. Churchill wanted a pause of one year in building ships. Prince Lichnowsky maintains it would have been difficult to support this plan on account of the workmen employed and the technical personnel. The German naval program was settled, and it would have been difficult to alter it. The Prince asserts that it was possible, in spite of the German fleet and without a naval holiday, to come to an understanding. In that spirit he had carried out his mission and had almost succeeded in realizing his program when the war broke out and destroyed everything.

Discussing the question of trade jealousy, Prince Lichnowsky says it rested on a faulty judgment of circumstances. In British commercial circles, he says, he found the greatest good-will and the desire for further economic interests in common. In order to get in touch with the most important business circles he accepted invitations from the Chambers of Commerce in London, Bradford, Newcastle, and Liverpool, and he had a hearty reception everywhere.

In conclusion Prince Lichnowsky gives his impressions of English society. King George he describes as very amiable and well-meaning, with sound understanding and common sense, and invariably well disposed toward the German Ambassador.

LICHNOWSKY EXPLAINS

The German Vice Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, announced in the Reichstag late in March that on account of the disclosures Prince Lichnowsky had resigned his rank and expressed regrets. Herr von Payer stated that Prince Lichnowsky himself, on March 15, made a statement to the Imperial Chancellor in which he said:

Your Excellency knows that the purely private notes which I wrote down in the Summer of 1916 found their way into wider circles by an unprecedented breach of confidence. It was mainly a question of subjective considerations about our entire foreign policy since the Berlin Congress. I perceived in the policy hitherto pursued of repelling Russia and in the extension of the policy of alliances to Oriental questions the real roots of the world war. I then submitted our Morocco naval policy to a brief examination. My London

mission could at the same time not remain out of consideration, especially as I felt need in regard to the future and with a view to my own justification of noting the details of my experiences and impressions there before they vanished from my memory.

Prince Lichnowsky then described how the memorandum, which he had shown to a few political friends, got into wider circulation owing to an indiscretion, and finally expressed lively regret at such an extremely vexatious incident.

VICE CHANCELLOR'S REPLY

Herr von Payer said that Prince Lichnowsky had meanwhile tendered his resignation of his present rank, which had been accepted, and, as he had doubtless no bad intention, but had simply been guilty of imprudence, no further steps would be taken against him. The Vice Chancellor proceeded:

Some assertions in his document must, however, be contradicted, especially his assertions about political events in the last months preceding the war. Prince Lichnowsky was not of his own knowledge acquainted with these events, but he apparently received from a third and wrongly informed quarter inaccurate information. The key to mistakes and false conclusions may also be the Prince's overestimation of his own services, which are accompanied by hatred against those who do not recognize his achievements as he expected. The entire memorandum is penetrated by a striking veneration for foreign diplomats, especially the British, who are described in a truly affectionate manner, and on the other hand by an equally striking irritation against almost all German statesmen. The result was that the Prince frequently regarded Germany's most zealous enemies as her best friends because they were personally on good terms with him. The fact that, as he admits, he attached at first no great importance to the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, and was displeased that the situation was judged otherwise in Berlin, makes it plain that the Prince had no clear judgment for the events that followed and their import.

VON PAYER'S DENIALS

The Vice Chancellor then characterized as false all Prince Lichnowsky's assertions about General von Moltke's urging war at the Potsdam Crown Council of July 5, 1914, and the dispatch of the Austrian protocol by "this alleged Crown Council" to Count Mensdorff with

the postscript that it would be no great harm even if war with Russia arose out of it.

Herr von Payer also denied the statement that the then Foreign Secretary was in Vienna in 1914, as well as the statement that Count von Pourtales, the German Ambassador in Petrograd, had reported that Russia would in no circumstances move. The Sukhomlinoff trial had shown how unfounded were Prince Lichnowsky's reproaches against Germany for replying to the Russian mobilization by an ultimatum and a declaration of war. It was also false to assert that the German Government rejected all Great Britain's mediation proposals. Lord Grey's last mediation proposal was very urgently supported in Vienna by Berlin. The aim of the memorandum was obvious. It was to show the reader how much better and more intelligent Prince Lichnowsky's policy was and how he could have assured the peace of the empire if his advice had been followed. The Vice Chancellor added: "The memorandum will cause enough harm among malevolent and superficial people; it has no historical value whatever."

Dr. Payer then discussed the revelations of Dr. Mühlön, at present in Switzerland. Dr. Mühlön, an ex-Director of Krupps, had made a statement according to which he had a conference with two exalted personages in the latter half of July, 1914, from which it appeared that it was not the intention of the German Government to maintain peace. The Vice Chancellor alleged that Dr. Mühlön was suffering from neurasthenia at the time, and that no importance could be attached to his revelations,

since the two gentlemen referred to had denied making the statements attributed to them.

VON STUMM'S STATEMENT

Herr von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that while in London the Prince devoted himself zealously to his task. His views had frequently not agreed with those of the German Foreign Office, especially regarding his strong optimism in reference to Anglo-German relations. When his hopes, aiming at an Anglo-German understanding, were destroyed by the war, the Prince returned to Germany "greatly excited," and even then did not restrain his criticism of German policy. His excitement increased owing to attacks against him in the German press. All these circumstances, said von Stumm, must be taken into consideration when gauging the value of the memorandum.

In the subsequent discussion disapproval of Prince Lichnowsky's attitude was expressed, but some speakers urged the need for the reorganization of Germany's diplomatic service.

According to the report of the debate published by the Neues Wiener Journal, Herr von Payer himself acknowledged that prior to the war German diplomacy had made some bad blunders, and that reform was urgently needed. Herr Müller (Progressive) sharply criticised Herr von Flotow, who was German Ambassador in Rome at the beginning of the war, and charged him with having declared to the Marquis di San Giuliano, then Italian Foreign Minister, that there existed for Italy no *casus foederis*. Prince Bülow also came in for severe criticism.

The Former Foreign Minister's Reply

THE former Foreign Minister of Germany, Herr von Jagow, published a reply to Prince Lichnowsky in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, in which he virtually confirmed the Prince's main assertions. He applied such phrases as "an unheard-of assertion," "a mass of inaccuracies and perversions," to Lich-

nowsky's memorandum, but he did not meet the former Ambassador's charges with any new evidence, merely referring his readers to former publications of the German Government.

Von Jagow's reply bears out the assertion that in 1913 England was prepared to enter into friendly agreements with

Germany. She was "ready to meet us." A Bagdad railway agreement was almost completed when Germany drew the sword. Negotiations about the future of the African colonies of Portugal in certain contingencies had been resumed, and the German Foreign Secretary looked forward to further agreements in the Far East and elsewhere.

The former Foreign Minister refuses to adopt the Pan-German view that "England laid all the mines which caused the war." On the contrary, he bears witness with former Ambassador Lichnowsky to Sir Edward Grey's "love of peace and his serious wish to reach an agreement with us." He says that it is true that Sir Edward could have prevented war, but he is careful not to indicate how. Presumably he means he could have done it by following Germany's example and treating England's engagements as "scraps of paper."

He agrees that the war was not popular with the British people, and that Belgium had to serve as a battlecry. Germany, on the other hand, had to maintain her prestige. It had been damaged by her political defeat in Morocco. A fresh diminution of it would have been, he remarks, "intolerable for our position in Europe and in the world."

In one point of fact he corrects Prince Lichnowsky. He denies that he himself visited Vienna at any time between the Spring of 1913 and the outbreak of the war. He confirms, as far as he remembers, all the expressions attributed to him by Lichnowsky.

His only reference to the Potsdam Council of July 5, 1914, (when, it is asserted, the Teuton leaders made the final decision for war,) is not a denial that the meeting took place, but a single sentence: "On July 5 I was absent from Berlin."

In regard to Lichnowsky's main charges, Herr von Jagow talks of "unheard-of" assertions and "inaccuracies and perversions," but he does not bring forward any fresh arguments to meet the charges, and merely refers to the publications of the German Government concerning the conversations which took place in June, 1914, between the Kaiser

and Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Herr von Jagow says:

At Konopischt no plan was laid down (festgelegt) for an active policy against Serbia. Archduke Francis Ferdinand was not at all an advocate of a policy leading to war, although he was often reckoned as such. During the London conference he advised moderation and avoidance of war.

Herr von Jagow here avoids the issue raised by Lichnowsky, who did not say that a definite scheme was arranged at Konopischt, but that the indication was, not that Archduke Francis Ferdinand was in favor of war, but that his death was a positive relief to the advocates of war.

In the course of his statement Herr von Jagow, who remained Foreign Secretary until late in 1916, says:

When I was appointed State Secretary in January, 1913, it seemed to me that a German-English rapprochement was desirable, and an understanding upon those points where our interests touched and sometimes even crossed, and this I deemed feasible. At least, it was my intention to work on this.

With regard to the Bagdad question Herr von Jagow says:

If England insisted upon excluding us from Mesopotamia, it appeared to me that a conflict would be avoided with difficulty. We were met in a conciliatory manner by the English Government, and an agreement had almost been reached just previous to the outbreak of the world war.

He meets Lichnowsky's assertion that Germany drove Russia "into the arms of France and England by our Oriental and Balkan policy" with the contention that the Pan-Slavism which governed Russian politics was directly anti-German. Upon the London conference on Algeiras he says:

We no more desired war on Albania's account than did Sir Edward Grey. That is why, in spite of our former experiences at Algeiras, we consented to the conference. The merit of a conciliatory attitude at the conference must not be denied to Sir Edward Grey, but it is going a little too far to say that he in nowise took up his stand on the side of the Entente. He certainly often urged St. Petersburg to give way, and found principles of accord (Eingangs Formeln) suitable to this end. But outwardly he represented the Entente, as he could no more leave his associates in the lurch than could we. Nor did he wish to do so.

On the other hand, the assertion that we adopted without exception the standpoint prescribed for us by Vienna is absolutely untrue. We played, as England did, a conciliatory rôle, and urged moderation upon Vienna far more than Lichnowsky seems to be aware of, or at any rate admits. Vienna thereupon made a variety of the most far-reaching concessions, Dibra and Djakowa.

ENGLAND EXONERATED

Mentioning the Serajevo murders as the climax of the continued Russian provocations against Austria, von Jagow says:

The prestige and existence of the Danube monarchy were at stake. We could not agree to the English proposal concerning a conference of Ministers, as it would doubtless have led to a serious diplomatic defeat for us.

I do not intend to adopt the theory now widespread among us that England was the originator of all the intrigues leading to the war. On the contrary, I believe in Sir Edward Grey's love of peace and his genuine desire to arrive at an understanding with us, but he had allowed himself to become too hopelessly entangled in the network of Franco-Russian policy. He could find no way out, and therefore failed to do that which had been in his power to prevent the world war. War was not popular among the English people, therefore Belgium had to serve as a battle cry.

At the end of his observations von Jagow restates his policy as follows:

I also pursued a policy which aimed at an agreement with England because I was of the opinion that this was the only road by which we could get out of the unfavorable situation into which the un-

equal distribution of strength and weakness of the Triple Alliance had brought us. Political marriages "until death us do part" are, as Prince Lichnowsky says, impossible in international relations, but in the existing state of affairs in Europe isolations are equally impossible. The history of Europe is composed of coalitions, some of which have led to avoidance of wars and some to violent conflicts. A loosening and final dissolution of old unions, which no longer satisfy all conditions, cannot be recommended until new constellations are within reach. That was the aim of our policy of rapprochement with England. As long as this policy did not provide trustworthy guarantees we could not abandon the old securities and obligations which they involved.

Our Morocco policy led to political defeat. Happily, this had been avoided in the Bosnian crisis and at the London conference. Fresh diminution of our prestige was intolerable for our position in Europe and in the world. Prosperity of States and their political and economic successes depend upon the prestige which they enjoy in the world.

A FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Captain Persius, the military editor of the Berlin Tageblatt, in discussing the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky and the reply of Herr von Jagow in their relation to a possible peace by agreement, used these words:

"An understanding ought to be easier, "now that we have heard from two opposing sources, from von Jagow and Lichnowsky, that England was not responsible for the war, as has been believed hitherto in wide circles in Germany."

Decrease of Birth Rate in Hungary

The following statistics were read by the Karolyist Deputy, Lodovico Hollo, to the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies, at the session of Jan. 16, 1918:

(1) Births.—Before the war 765,000 children a year were born in Hungary. In the first year of the war, 1914, the number of births was reduced by 18,000; in 1915 only 481,000 children were born—that is, 284,000 less than in time of peace. In 1916 the number of births was 333,000—that is, a reduction of 432,000. In 1917 the births amounted to 328,000—that is, the reduction was 438,000. Therefore our losses (in Hungary alone) behind the front reach the number of 1,172,866 individuals.

(2) Deaths.—Whereas in time of peace infant mortality for a period of seven years was 34 per cent., in 1915 the proportion was increased to 48 per cent. and in 1916 to 50 per cent.

These facts prove what sacrifices Hungary is making, to the prejudice of her own people, to continue the war.

Count Czernin on Peace Terms

A Reply to President Wilson and a Survey of Results of the Russian Peace Treaties

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, delivered an address April 2, 1918, to a deputation of the Vienna City Council, in the nature of a reply to President Wilson's address of Feb. 11 on "Peace Aims," the text of which appeared in the March issue of Current History Magazine. Count Czernin spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am quite ready to reply to the questions put by the Burgomaster and thereby to give both you and the wider public a full view of political conditions as I see them at the moment. I had hoped to speak before the competent forum, but the fact that one of our commissions cannot meet at present makes this impossible, so I take this opportunity of affording in brief a review of the international situation.

With the signing of peace with Rumania the war in the east is ended. Three treaties of peace have been signed—with Petrograd, Ukraine, and Rumania. One principal section of the war is thus ended.

Before discussing the separate peaces which have been signed, and before going into details, I wish to return to the statements of the President of the United States wherein he replied to the speech I made before the delegations on Jan. 24. In many parts of the world Mr. Wilson's speech was regarded as an attempt to drive a wedge between Vienna and Berlin. I do not believe that, because I have much too high an opinion of Mr. Wilson's statesmanship to suspect him of such a train of thought.

According to my impressions, Mr. Wilson does not want to separate Vienna from Berlin. He does not desire that, and knows that it is impossible.

He perhaps thinks, however, that Vienna presents more favorable soil for sowing the seeds of a general peace. He has perhaps said to himself that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy has the good fortune to have a monarch who genuinely and honorably desires a general peace,

but that this monarch will never be guilty of a breach of faith; that he will never make a shameful peace, and that behind this monarch stand 55,000,000 souls.

I imagine that Mr. Wilson says to himself that this closely knit mass of people represents a force which is not to be disregarded and that this honorable and firm will to peace with which the monarch is imbued and which binds him to the peoples of both States is capable of carrying a great idea in the service of which Mr. Wilson has also placed himself.

Before I discuss Mr. Wilson's last utterances I would like to clear up one misunderstanding. In my last speech which I delivered before the Austrian delegations I replied to an inquiry in this connection that probably Mr. Wilson was already in possession of my utterances. Later Mr. Wilson corrected this, and pointed out that there must be some mistake. I had prepared my speech beforehand, so as to avoid any possibility of its being incorrectly or incompletely transmitted, and at the moment I made my speech I supposed that it had already reached Washington. Apparently, however, it only arrived there some days later.

This does not affect the matter itself. My object was to assure that the President of the United States should get the exact text of my speech, and this object was attained and the trifling delay of a few days was a matter of indifference.

With regard to Mr. Wilson's reply, I can only say that I consider it very important that the German Chancellor, in his admirable speech of Feb. 25, took the

answer out of my mouth and declared that the four points developed by Mr. Wilson in his speech of Feb. 11 are the basis upon which a general peace can be discussed. I entirely agree with him in this.

President Wilson's four points are a suitable basis upon which to begin negotiating about a general peace. The question is whether or not Mr. Wilson will succeed in uniting his allies upon this basis.

SAYS FRANCE ASKED TERMS

God is my witness that we have tried everything possible to avoid a new offensive. The Entente would not have it. A short time before the beginning of the offensive in the west M. Clemenceau inquired of me whether and upon what basis I was prepared to negotiate. I immediately replied, in agreement with Berlin, that I was ready to negotiate, and that as regards France I saw no other obstacle for peace than France's desire for Alsace-Lorraine.

The reply from Paris was that France was willing to negotiate only on that basis. There was then no choice left.

The gigantic struggle in the west has already begun. Austro-Hungarian and German troops are fighting shoulder to shoulder as they did in Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Italy. We are fighting united for the defense of Austria-Hungary and Germany. Our armies will show the Entente that French and Italian aspirations to portions of our territory are Utopias which will be terribly avenged.

The explanation of this attitude of the Entente Powers, which verges on lunacy, is to a great extent to be sought in certain domestic events here, to which I shall return later. Whatever may happen, we shall not sacrifice German interests any more than Germany will desert us. Loyalty on the Danube is not less than German loyalty. We are not fighting for imperialist or annexationist ends, either for ourselves or for Germany, but we shall act together to the end for our defense, for our political existence and for our future.

The first breach in the determination

of our enemies to war has been driven by the peace negotiations with Russia. That was a break-through by the idea of peace.

It is a symptom of childish dilettantism to overlook the close relationship of the various peace signatures with each other. The constellation of enemy powers in the east was like a net. When one mesh was cut through the remaining meshes loosened of their own accord.

We first gave international recognition to the separation of Ukraine from Russia, which had to be accomplished as an internal affair of Russia. Profiting from resultant circumstances which were favorable to our aims, we concluded with the Ukraine the peace sought by that country.

This gave the lead to peace with Petrograd, whereby Rumania was left standing alone, so that she also had to conclude peace. So one peace brought another, and the desired success, namely, the end of the war in the east, was achieved.

The peace concluded with Rumania, it is calculated, will be the starting point of friendly relations. The slight frontier rectifications which we receive are not annexations. Wholly uninhabited regions, they serve solely for military protection. To those who insist that these rectifications fall under the category of annexations and accuse me of inconsistency, I reply that I have publicly protested against holding out a license to our enemies which would assure them against the dangers of further adventures.

ROBBING RUMANIA

From Russia I did not demand a single meter, but Rumania neglected the favorable moment. The protection of mercantile shipping in the lower Danube and the guarding of the Iron Gate are guaranteed by the extension of the frontier to the heights of Turnu-Severin, by leasing for thirty years a valuable wharf near this town, together with a strip along the river bank at an annual rental of 1,000 lei, and, finally, by obtaining the leasing rights to the islands of Ostrovo, Marecorbu, and Simearu, and the transfer of the frontier several kilometers southward in the region of the Petroseny coal.

mine, which better safeguards our possessions in the Szurdok Pass coal basin.

Nagy-Szeben and Fogaras will receive a new security frontier of an average width of from 15 to 18 kilometers at all passes of importance, as, for instance, Predeal, Bodz, Gyimes, Bekas, and Tolgyes. The new frontier has been so far removed to Rumanian ground as military reasons require.

The rectification east of Czernowitz has protected that city against future attacks.

At the moment when we are successfully endeavoring to renew friendly and neighborly relations with Rumania, it is unlikely that we would open old wounds, but every one knows the history of Rumania's entrance into the war and will admit that it was my duty to protect the monarchy against future surprises of a similar kind.

BURDENS OF THE FUTURE

I consider the safest guarantee for the future, international agreements to prevent war. In such agreements, if they are framed in binding form, I should see much stronger guarantees against surprise attacks by neighbors than in frontier rectifications, but thus far, except in the case of President Wilson, I have been unable to discover among any of our enemies serious inclination to accept this idea. However, despite the small degree of approval this idea receives, I consider that it will be realized.

Calculating the burdens with which the States of the world will emerge from the war, I vainly ask myself how they will cover military expenditures if competition in armaments remains unrestricted. I do not believe that it will be possible for the States after this war adequately to meet the increased requirements due to the war. I think, rather, that financial conditions will compel the States to enter into a compromise regarding the limitation of armaments.

This calculation of mine is neither idealistic nor fantastic, but is based upon reality in politics in the most literal sense of the word. I, for my part, would consider it a great disaster if in the end there should be failure to achieve general

agreements regarding the diminution of armaments.

It is obvious that in the peace with Rumania we shall take precautions to have our interests in the questions of grain, food supply, and petroleum fully protected. We shall further take precautions that the Catholic Church and our schools receive the state of protection they need, and we shall solve the Jewish question. The Jew shall henceforth be a citizen with equal rights in Rumania.

MAKING RUMANIA PAY

The irredentist propaganda, which has produced so much evil in Hungary, will be restrained and, finally, precautions will be taken to obtain indemnification for the injustice innocently suffered by many of our countrymen owing to the war.

We shall strive by means of a new commercial treaty and appropriate settlement of the railway and shipping questions to protect our economic interests in Rumania.

Rumania's future lies in the east. Large portions of Bessarabia are inhabited by Rumanians, and there are many indications that the Rumanian population there desires close union with Rumania. If Rumania will adopt a frank, cordial, friendly attitude toward us we will have no objections to meeting those tendencies in Bessarabia. Rumania can gain much more in Bessarabia than she lost in the war.

[Count Czernin said that he was anxious that the rectifications of the frontier should not leave any embitterment behind, and expressed the opinion that Rumania in her own interest must turn to the Central Powers.]

In concluding peace with Rumania and Ukraine, it has been my first thought to furnish the monarchy with foodstuffs and raw materials. Russia did not come into consideration in this connection owing to the disorganization there.

We agreed with Ukraine that the quantity of grain to be delivered to the Central Powers should be at least 1,000,000 tons. Thirty cars of grain and peas

are now en route, 600 cars are ready to be transported, and these transports will be continued until the imports are organized and can begin regularly. Larger transports are rendered possible by the peace with Rumania, which enables goods to be sent from Odessa to Danube ports.

We hope during May to undertake the first large transport from Ukraine. While I admit that the imports from Ukraine are still small and must be increased, nevertheless our food situation would have been considerably worse had this agreement not been concluded.

From Rumania we will obtain a considerable surplus of last year's harvest. Moreover, about 400,000 tons of grain, peas, beans, and fodder must be transported via the Danube. Rumania must also immediately provide us with 800,000 sheep and pigs, which will improve our meat supply slightly.

It is clear from this that everything will be done to obtain from the exploitation of the regions which peace has opened for us in the east, whatever is obtainable. The difficulties of obtaining these supplies from Ukraine are still considerable, as no state of order exists there. But with the good-will of the Ukrainian Government and our organization we will succeed in overcoming the difficulties.

An immediate general peace would not give us further advantages, as all Europe today is suffering from lack of food-stuffs. While the lack of cargo space prevents other nations from supplying themselves, the granaries of Ukraine and Rumania remain open to the Central Powers.

[Replying to the annexationists, Count Czernin said:]

The forcible annexation of foreign peoples would place difficulties in the way of a general peace, and such an extension of territories would not strengthen the empire. On the contrary, considering the grouping of the monarchy, they would weaken us. What we require are not territorial annexations, but economic safeguards for the future.

We wish to do everything to create in the Balkans a situation of lasting

calm. Not until the collapse of Russia did there cease to exist the factor which hitherto made it impossible for us to bring about a definite state of internal peace in the Balkans.

We know that the desire for peace is very great in Serbia, but Serbia has been prevented by the Entente Powers from concluding it. Bulgaria must receive from Serbia certain districts inhabited by Bulgarians. We, however, have no desire to destroy Serbia. We will enable Serbia to develop, and we would welcome closer economic relations with her.

We do not desire to influence the future relations between the monarchy and Serbia and Montenegro by motives conflicting with friendly, neighborly relations. The best state of egoism is to come to terms with a beaten neighbor, which leads to this: My egoism regarding Austria-Hungary is that after being conquered militarily our enemies must be conquered morally. Only then is victory complete, and in this respect diplomacy must finish the work of the armies.

THE DESIRE FOR PEACE

Since I came into office I have striven only after one aim, namely, to secure an honorable peace for the monarchy and to create a situation which will secure to Austria-Hungary future free development, and, moreover, to do everything possible to insure that this terrible war shall be the last one for time out of mind. I have never spoken differently. I do not intend to go begging for peace, or to obtain it by entreaties or lamentations, but to enforce it by our moral right and physical strength. Any other tactics, I consider, would contribute to the prolongation of the war.

I must say, to my regret, that during the last few weeks and months much has been spoken and done in Austria that prolongs the war. Those who are prolonging the war are divided into various groups, according to their motives and tactics. There are, first, those who continuously beg for peace. They are despicable and foolish. To endeavor to conclude peace at any price is despicable.

ble, for it is unmanly, and it is foolish because it continuously feeds the already dying aggressive spirit of the enemy. The desire for peace of the great masses is natural as well as comprehensible, but the leaders of the people must consider that certain utterances produce abroad just the opposite effect from what they desire.

Firmly relying on our strength and the justice of our cause, I have already concluded three moderate but honorable peace treaties. The rest of our enemies also begin to understand that we have no other desire than to secure the future of the monarchy and of our allies, and that we intend to enforce this and can and will enforce it. I shall unswervingly prosecute this course and join issue with any one who opposes me.

The second group of war prolongers are the annexationists. It is a distortion of fact to assert that Germany has made conquests in the east. Lenine's anarchy drove the border people into the arms of Germany. Is Germany to refuse this involuntary choice of foreign border States?

The German Government has as little desire for oppressions as we, and I am perfectly convinced that neither annexationists nor weaklings can prevent for-

ever a moderate and honorable peace. They delay it, but they cannot prevent it.

The hopes of our enemies of final victory are not merely based on military expectations and the blockade. They are based to a great extent on our interior political conditions and on certain political leaders, not forgetting the Czechs. Recently we were almost on the point of entering into negotiations with the Western Powers, when the wind suddenly veered round and, as we know with certainty, the Entente decided it had better wait, as parliamentary and political events in our country justified the hope that the monarchy would soon be defenseless.

[Count Czernin attacked the Czech leaders and Czech troops, who, he declared, "criminally fight against their own country," and appealed to the people to be united against this "high treason." The Government, he said, was quite ready to proceed to the revision of the Constitution, but this would not be helped by those who hoped through the victory of the Entente to gain their ends. "If we expel this poison," he declared, "a general honorable peace is nearer than the public imagines, but no one has the right to remain aside in this last decisive struggle."]

Great Britain's Reply to Count Czernin

Lord Robert Cecil, Parliamentary Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement in answer to Count Czernin:

WHATEVER doubt about Count Czernin might have existed before his latest declaration, there can be no doubt now that he stands for Prussian ideals and Prussian policy. I must confess that I prefer Prussian brutality to Austrian hypocrisy. If you are going to rob and strangle your neighbor it is better not to talk of your moderation.

Count Czernin claims with the greatest audacity that he and his allies have just made proposals that are moderate, and even guided by the principles of self-determination, no annexations, and no indemnities. As far as self-determination is concerned, in every one of the new

States they have set up they have done so without the slightest regard to the wishes of the peoples and no serious attempt was made even to follow racial boundaries or racial antecedents.

The province of Dobrudja, (Rumania,) which has been handed over to Bulgaria, has only 18 per cent. Bulgarians and 50 per cent. Rumanians, and Southern Bessarabia, which apparently is offered to Rumania, is the part of Bessarabia having the fewest Rumanians. As for no annexations, Count Czernin claims that all he has done is to carry out slight frontier rectifications. What he really has done is to take an important part of

the Danube and all the passes between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. Not only this, he has driven back the Carpathian frontier eight or ten miles.

But the most hypocritical part of Czernin's peace terms, while affecting not to demand a war indemnity for the Central Powers, is the fact that they have imposed one of the heaviest war indemnities ever levied. It is a curious provision which applies to the new States that they are to be under no obligation whatever toward Russia arising from former relations with her. The result is to concentrate on the remainder of Russia the debt which hitherto was spread over the whole of Russia.

No wonder that Count Czernin, in a moment of candor, says that in the conclusion of peace with the Ukraine and

Rumania the first thought was to furnish Austria with necessary foodstuffs and material. That has been the object of this peace, and it has been accomplished by giving to Austria-Hungary such economic and strategic advantages as to place these two countries at the mercy of the Central Powers.

From the Ukraine particularly Czernin claims there is to be secured all food obtainable. No doubt this will be not a question of purchase, but of seizure. All the cost of requisitions made by the Central Powers will be written off in Rumania.

It will amount to £50,000,000. Beyond that they claim the exclusive right to exploit the petroleum fields, and any disputes arising from this are to be settled by a tribunal set up in Leipsic.

Austro-French "Peace Initiative" Controversy

Clemenceau Flatly Contradicts Czernin

COUNT CZERNIN'S assertion in his speech of April 2 that Premier Clemenceau of France had initiated a peace parley with Austria-Hungary was immediately denied by the French Premier with the curt declaration: "The statement is a lie." There followed a somewhat extended controversy on the subject, which Count Czernin sought to utilize for his own purposes of war diplomacy, and which is placed on record here for the side lights it sheds on a hitherto secret chapter of the continuous peace intrigues of the Central Powers.

Premier Clemenceau's curt "démenti" was followed on April 6 by this official statement from the French Government:

Premier Clemenceau, upon assuming the duties of President of the Council, found that conversations had been entered into in Switzerland upon Austria's initiative between the Count Revertata, a personal friend of Emperor Charles, and Commandant Armand of the Second Bureau, French General Staff, designated for that purpose by the French Minister at the time.

M. Clemenceau did not wish to assume the responsibility of interrupting conferences which had yielded no results, but which might furnish useful sources of in-

formation. Commandant Armand thus was allowed to continue his journey in Switzerland, upon the request of Count Revertata. Instructions were given M. Armand in the presence of his chief by M. Clemenceau as follows: "Listen and say nothing."

Count Revertata, becoming convinced that his attempt to bring about a German peace was doomed to failure, in order fully to characterize his mission, gave Commandant Armand a letter written in his own hand, dated Feb. 25, 1918, the first sentence of which reads: "During the month of August, 1917, with a view to obtaining from the French Government a proposition to Austria which might lead to future peace and be of such a nature as to be susceptible of being indorsed by Austria and presented to the German Government, conferences have been entered upon."

Count Revertata, being himself the solicitor, acknowledges it in the following terms: "That the purpose was to obtain from the French Government propositions of peace, under cover of 'Austria, for transmission to Berlin.'"

Such is the fact established by an authenticated document which Count Czernin has dared to refer to in the following terms: "Clemenceau, shortly before the beginning of the offensive on the western front, had me asked whether I was ready to enter upon negotiations,

"and upon what basis." In speaking thus he not only did not tell the truth, but told the opposite of truth, which in France is termed "lying."

It is but natural that Premier Clemenceau should be unable to restrain his indignation when Count Czernin, justly anxious as to the final consequences of the western offensive, reversed the rôles with such audacity, representing the French Government as begging for peace at the very moment when, with our allies, we were preparing for the infliction of a supreme defeat upon the Central Empires.

It would be too easy to recall to what extent Austria has importuned Rome, Washington, and London with solicitations for an alleged separate peace which had no other aim than to slip upon us the yoke which she professes to find to her taste. Who does not know the story of a recent meeting (in Switzerland, of course) of a former Austrian Ambassador and a figure high in the councils of the Entente Allies? The conferences lasted only a few minutes. Here again it was not our ally who sought the interview. It was the Austrian Government.

Does not Count Czernin remember another attempt of the same sort made in Paris and London only two months before that of Count Revertata by a person of much higher rank? That again, as in the present case, is authentic, but much more significant proof exists.

CONFIRMED BY PAINLEVÉ

Professor Paul Painlevé, who preceded M. Clemenceau as Premier, issued the following explanatory statement:

During the year 1917 Austria made several attempts to open semi-official negotiations with the Entente Allies. Notably in June, 1917, I was advised by the Second Bureau that Austria, through the person of Count Revertata, had several times asked, through a Swiss intermediary, for an interview with the officer attached to the Second Bureau, Major Armand, a distant relative.

Alexander Ribot, then Premier, having been consulted, Major Armand and Count Revertata met in August, 1917. The matter stopped there, and no interview took place from August until November, when I left office.

The events which occurred afterward naturally are unknown to me, but I presume, from the statement made by Premier Clemenceau, that Count Revertata returned to the charge.

AUSTRIA'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT

The following official statement regarding the matter was issued the same day at Vienna by the Imperial Government:

On instructions from the Foreign Minister Count Revertata, Counselor of the Legation in Switzerland, repeatedly had discussions in Switzerland with a confidential agent of M. Clemenceau, Count Armand, attached to the French War Ministry, who was sent to Switzerland to interview Count Revertata. As a result of the interview of these two gentlemen in Freiburg, Switzerland, on Feb. 2, the question was discussed whether and on what basis a discussion concerning the bringing about of a general peace would be possible between the Foreign Ministers of Austria-Hungary and France, or between official representatives of these Ministers.

Thereupon Count Revertata, after obtaining instructions from the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, toward the close of February declared on behalf of the Minister to Count Armand, for communication to M. Clemenceau, that Count Czernin was prepared for a discussion with a representative of France, and regarded it as possible to hold a conversation with the prospect of success as soon as France renounced its plan for the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine.

Count Revertata received a reply in the name of M. Clemenceau to the effect that the latter was not in a position to accept the proposed renunciation by France of this disannexation, so that a meeting of the representatives at that time would, in the view of both parties, be useless.

GENERAL SMUTS'S TESTIMONY

The Paris *Matin* on April 7 stated that General Smuts, South African representative in the British Cabinet, was the "figure high in the councils of the Entente Allies" referred to by the French Government in the statement of April 5 denying the assertion of Count Czernin that the French Prime Minister had sought to open peace negotiations with Austria-Hungary. The representative of the Dual Monarchy who met General Smuts in Switzerland was Count Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at London when the war broke out. Immediately upon being introduced to Count Mensdorff, says the newspaper, General Smuts, taking the initiative in the conversation, bluntly said:

"Is it true that you wish to make a separate peace?"

This direct query was too much for the trained diplomat, and the Count began a long, evasive reply.

"Yes or no?" reiterated the British representative.

Obtaining no direct reply General Smuts said:

"Then—good-night!"

The interview lasted barely three minutes. Vienna was shocked, *Le Matin* says, at the boorish manner of the "old Transvaal warrior."

VIENNA'S SECOND STATEMENT

Further elaboration of Count Czernin's version of the case was proffered on April 8 in a second official statement issued at Vienna by the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, as follows:

In contrast to the first brief declaration of Premier Clemenceau, in which he gave the lie to Foreign Minister Czernin, it is observed with satisfaction that M. Clemenceau's statement of April 6 admits that discussions in regard to the question of peace took place between two confidential agents of Austria-Hungary and France. The account given by M. Clemenceau of the initiation and course of these negotiations, and likewise the statement by M. Painlevé on the same subject, however, deviate in many important particulars and to such a degree from the facts that a detailed correction of the French communication appears to be necessary.

In July, 1917, Count Revertata was requested by an intermediary in the name of the French Government to state whether he was in a position to receive a communication from that Government to the Government of Austria-Hungary. When Count Revertata, after having obtained the sanction of the Austro-Hungarian Government, replied in the affirmative to this inquiry, in the same month—July, 1917—Major Armand was charged with such communication by the then French Premier, Ribot. He arrived on Aug. 7, 1917, at Count Revertata's private residence in Freiburg, the Count being distantly related to him.

Major Armand then addressed to Count Revertata a question as to whether discussions between France and Austria-Hungary were possible. Thus the initiative for these discussions was taken from the French side.

Count Revertata reported to the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister that this question had been put on instructions of the French Government, and the Minister thereupon requested Count Revertata to enter into discussions with the French confidential agent, and in the course of these discussions to establish whether by this means a basis for bringing about a general peace could be secured.

On Aug. 22 and 23 Count Revertata en-

tered into discussions with Major Armand, which, however, as Premier Clemenceau quite correctly declares, yielded no result. The negotiations thereupon were broken off.

Parleys Resumed in January

The Clemenceau version that the discussions between Revertata and Armand were proceeding on his entry into office is incorrect. Not until January, 1918, did Armand, this time on instructions from Clemenceau, again get in touch with Revertata. The thread had been broken in August, 1917, and was therefore again taken up by Clemenceau himself in January, 1918.

From this fresh contact there resulted the discussions referred to in the official communiqué of April 4, 1918. It is, however, correct that Count Revertata handed to Major Armand on Feb. 23, 1918, the memorandum regarding which Premier Clemenceau only cites the first sentence and which confirms that in the discussions with Armand, which had taken place in August, 1917, Revertata was charged with the task of finding out whether proposals were obtainable from the French Government, which had addressed to Austria-Hungary an offer of a basis for a general peace, and also whether they would be such as Austria-Hungary could bring to the knowledge of her allies.

It, therefore, entirely corresponded with the facts when Count Czernin in his speech on April 2 last declared that Premier Clemenceau, some time before the beginning of the western offensive, had inquired of me whether I was prepared for negotiations and on what basis.

The accusation of lying brought against Count Czernin by M. Clemenceau cannot therefore be maintained, even in the restricted sense made by the present communiqué of the French Government.

Admits Other Peace Manoeuvres

Nothing is known to the Austro-Hungarian Government of entreaties for an alleged separate peace with which the Austro-Hungarian Government worried the Governments of Rome, Washington, and London. When M. Clemenceau asks the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister whether he remembers that two months before the Revertata affair—that is, about a year ago—an attempt of a like nature was made by a personage of far higher rank, Count Czernin does not hesitate to reply in the affirmative. But for the sake of completeness and entire correctness it should be added that this attempt also led to no result.

So much for the establishment of the facts. For the rest, it need only be remarked that Count Czernin for his part would see no reason to deny it if, in this

or any similar case, he had taken the initiative, because, in contrast to M. Clemenceau, he believes that it cannot be a matter for reproach for a Government to make attempts to bring about an honorable peace, which would liberate all peoples from the terrors of the present war.

The dispute raised by M. Clemenceau has, moreover, diverted attention from the real kernel of Count Czernin's statement. The essence of this statement was not so much who suggested the discussions undertaken before the beginning of the western offensive, but who caused their collapse. And M. Clemenceau up to the present has not denied that he refused to enter upon negotiations on the basis of the renunciation of the reacquisition of Alsace-Lorraine.

RETORT BY CLEMENCEAU

Premier Clemenceau replied to this Vienna statement on the same day by issuing the following:

A diluted lie is still a lie. Count Czernin told a lie when he said that some time before the German offensive began Premier Clemenceau caused him to be asked "if he was ready to open negotiations and upon what basis."

As to the passage in the manuscript note of Count Revertata, where he says he acted for Austria to obtain peace proposals from France, the solicitor's text is authentic, and Count Czernin has not dared to dispute it.

To hide his confusion he tries to maintain that the conversation was resumed at the request of M. Clemenceau. Unfortunately for him, there is a fact which reduces his allegation to nothing, namely, that Clemenceau was apprised of the matter on Nov. 18, 1917, (that is to say, the day after he took over the Ministry of

War,) by communication from the intermediary dated Nov. 10, and intended for his predecessors. For Count Czernin's contention to be true, M. Clemenceau would have had to take the initiative in question before he was Premier. Thus Count Czernin is categorically contradicted by facts.

He is reduced to maintaining that Major Armand was M. Clemenceau's confidential man. Well, until this incident M. Clemenceau had seen this officer of the Intelligence Department only once, for five minutes at a riding school fifteen or twenty years ago.

Finally, Count Czernin, as a last resource, says that what he attributes to M. Clemenceau is unimportant. "What is really important," he affirms, "is not to know who took the initiative for the conversations before the offensive, but who caused them to fail." Then why all this fuss? To demonstrate that every French Government, like France itself, is immovable on the question of Alsace-Lorraine?

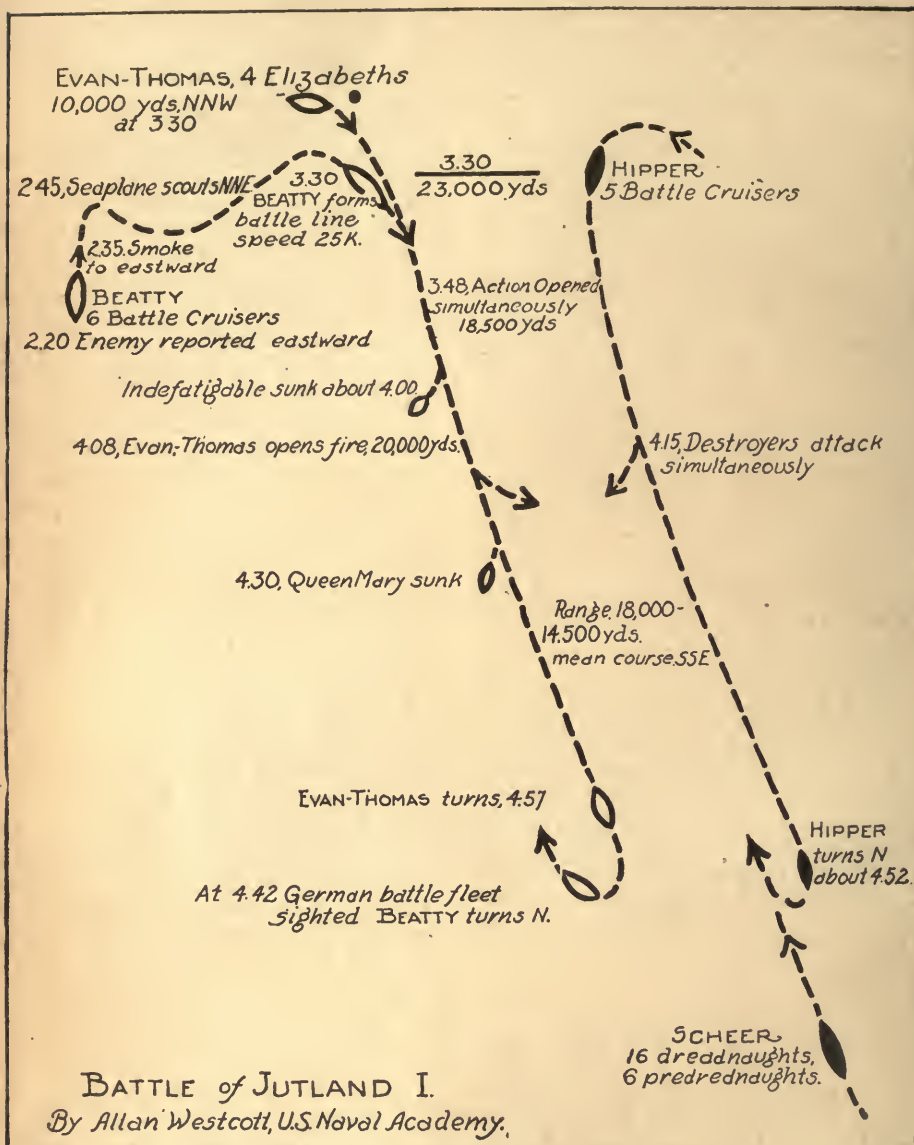
Who could have thought it would have been necessary for Count Revertata to elucidate for Count Czernin a question upon which the Emperor of Austria himself has said the last word? It was no other than Emperor Charles who, in a letter dated March, 1917, put on record in his own writing his adhesion to "France's just claim relative to Alsace-Lorraine." A second imperial letter stated that the Emperor was "in agreement with his Minister." It only remained for Czernin to contradict himself.

Ex-Premier Ribot stated on April 9 that during his Premiership "France never directly or through a neutral intermediary took the initiative in any such proceeding as the Austrian official communication asserted."

German Designs on Madeira

Colonel Lord Denbigh, in an address before the Royal Colonial Institute, London, recently told how German designs upon the Island of Madeira were checkmated by Great Britain in 1906. He said it was more or less a piece of secret history outside diplomatic and naval circles. At Madeira, he said, the Germans first took a hotel. Then they wanted a convalescent home, and, finally, desired to establish certain vested interests. They demanded certain concessions from Portugal. The German Ambassador, early in 1906, called on the Portuguese Government, and said that, if the concessions asked for were not granted, the Kaiser would send his navy up the Tagus to Lisbon. The Portuguese Government telegraphed to England, and that night the British Admiralty were on the point of mobilizing the whole resources of the British fleet. They thought of another way of meeting the situation, however, and sent the Atlantic fleet close up against the Portuguese coast. They let the Kaiser know what had happened through an undiplomatic source, with the result that next day the German Ambassador had to call again on the Portuguese Government and explain that he had exceeded his instructions.

I.—Battle of Jutland: First Phase



This diagram indicates the courses and ranges during the first stage of the battle, from the establishment of contact by the battle cruiser squadrons at 3:30 P. M. until the arrival of the German battle fleet about 5 P. M.

The British battle cruisers, and, presumably, those of Hipper also, were formed in *bow and quarter line*; or *line of bearing*—the ships on parallel courses but diagonally astern of the leader. During the approach the light cruisers and destroyers on each side—the position of which is not indicated—were spread out ahead of the main squadrons. The British second light cruiser squadron later took station ahead of Beatty and at 4:38 gave warning of the approach of the German battle fleet.

At 4:42 the British battle cruisers turned in *succession*, (squadron right countermarch,) the rear ships following the course of the leader. According to the diagram published with the official British reports in *The London Times*, Admiral Hipper's turn at 4:52 was *to the left*; but the German charts and some later British diagrams indicate the direction as above.



Graves of American soldiers who perished in the sinking of the
Tuscania, at Port Charlotte, Island of Islay, Scotland

(Times Photo Service)



County volunteers of Islay firing a volley at the funeral of Tuscania
victims at Kilnaughton, to the accompaniment of bagpipe lament

(Times Photo Service)

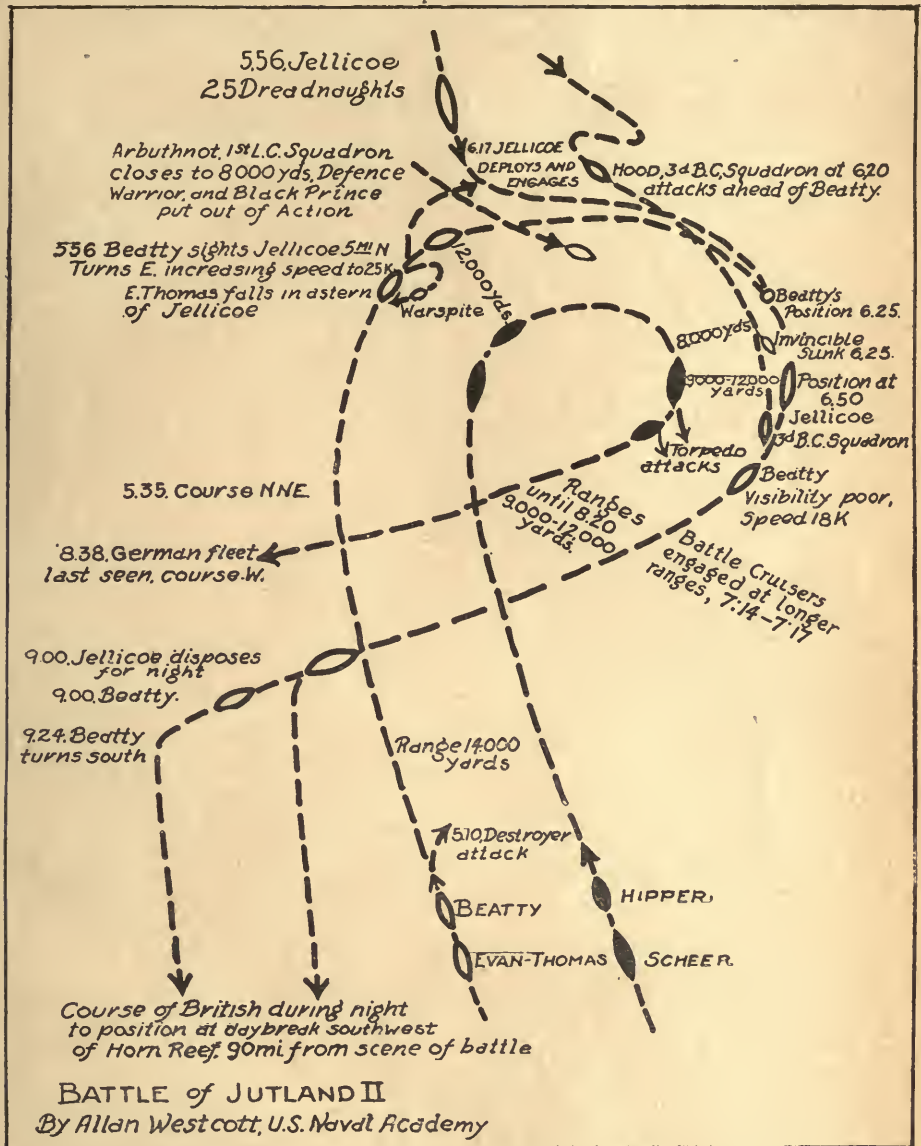
U★S★A BONDS



WEAPONS FOR LIBERTY

One of the many artistic posters used by the United States Government in the Third Liberty Loan campaign, April 6 to May 4, 1918

II.—Battle of Jutland: Main Engagement



This diagram covers the main engagement, from the approach of the German battle fleet about 5 P. M. until the British fleet assumed a southerly course at 9 P. M. At various points in the action German units are reported to have been disabled or driven out of the line. Owing to uncertainty as to exact time and place, these losses are not indicated. During the opening stage of the action (Chart I.) the visibility was at first "good," but after 4:18 "considerably obscured" toward the northeast. On the northward course, between 5 and 6, the British squadrons were "silhouetted against a clear horizon to westward, while the enemy were for the most part obscured by mist." After 6 P. M. visibility, though reduced, was favorable to the British. The sea was calm and the wind light throughout the action.

A Review of the Battle of Jutland

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

NOTE—The reader of this review will be greatly helped in following the movements of the opposing fleets by the two charts on the preceding pages. These have been ably prepared by Allan Westcott of the United States Naval Academy, and they should be carefully studied.

SUFFICIENT time has now passed since the battle of Jutland (May 31, 1916) to eliminate the early distorted versions of the action and to give a proper perspective of the tactics of the opposing fleets. To understand the battle, it is necessary to realize that it had become the custom of the British fleet to leave its safeguarded bases in the north of the British Isles and make periodical sweeps through the North Sea. At the beginning of his report of the battle Admiral Jellicoe describes this practice:

The ships of the Grand Fleet, in pursuance of the general policy of periodical sweeps through the North Sea, had left its base on the previous day in accordance with instructions issued by me. In the early afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, the first and second battle cruiser squadrons, the first, second, and third light cruiser squadrons, and destroyers from the first, ninth, tenth, and thirteenth flotillas, supported by the fifth battle squadron, were, in accordance with my directions, scouting to the southward of the battle fleet.

With the object of engaging a fleet that had been usually so disposed and so employed, the Germans came out from their bases. For some time after the battle there were tales of other objectives—to cover the escape of raiders, to get ships through the Baltic, &c. But all these theories have been abandoned, and it is now agreed that the Germans planned to fight the superior British fleet under conditions advantageous to themselves. All the German manoeuvres indicate that this was their design, and no other.

The opposing forces in the battle of Jutland were as follows:

1. An advance British force under Vice Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle

cruisers, (four Lions of 28.5 knots speed, each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns, and two Indefatigables of 25 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) supported by the fifth battle squadron, under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, (four 25-knot battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, each carrying eight 15-inch guns.)

The fleet speed of this advance force was 25 knots.

2. The main body of the British Grand Fleet, under Admiral Jellicoe, flying his flag in the Iron Duke—consisting of a fast wing under Rear Admiral Hood, (three 26-knot battle cruisers of Invincible class, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) a division of four armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Arbuthnot, and twenty-five dreadnoughts in three squadrons commanded by Vice Admirals Burney, Jerram, and Sturdee.

The fleet speed of this main body was 20 knots, and its formidable armament will be found in the table on Page 338.

3. About twenty light cruisers and 160 destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The German strength comprised:

1. An advance force under Vice Admiral Hipper, consisting of five battle cruisers, (three Derfflingers of probably 27 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, and two Moltkes of probably 28 knots speed, each carrying ten 11-inch guns.)

The fleet speed of this advance force was 27 knots.

2. The main body of the German High Seas Fleet, under Admiral Scheer, consisting of sixteen dreadnoughts and six predreadnought battleships.

The fleet speed of this main body was 17 knots, because the German dread-



CHART SHOWING POSITIONS IN BATTLE OF JUTLAND IN RELATION TO SURROUNDINGS OF THE NORTH SEA. (1) SCENE OF BATTLE. (2) POSITION OF BRITISH FLEET AT 3 A. M., JUNE 1, 1916, BEFORE RETRACING ITS COURSE TO THE BATTLEFIELD.

noughts had been eked out with pre-dreadnought battleships of less speed. Four dreadnoughts carried twelve 11-inch guns each, four twelve 12-inch guns each, the rest ten 12-inch guns each. The six old German battleships were very inferior, carrying only four heavy guns each.

3. About twenty light cruisers and eighty or ninety destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The above-described makeup of the opposing fleets must be kept in mind when studying the course of the action. The day of the battle was cloudy, but the sun shone through the clouds most of the time. At no time was there anything approaching a sea. Visibility was

reported as good in the first stages of the action, but late in the afternoon, there being little wind, mist and smoke hung heavy over the surface of the sea. These conditions must also be remembered.

DISPOSITION OF BRITISH FLEET

First of all, it should be said that any criticism of Admiral Jellicoe as to the makeup of the British advance force is not justified. The Queen Elizabeth class of dreadnoughts had been designed with the great speed of 25 knots for the purpose of working with battle cruisers on such service. This gave them a speed that was uniform with the fleet speed of Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruiser

squadrons, although the individual ships of the *Lion* class were faster. The name ship of this battleship class, the *Queen Elizabeth*, had been through a long, rack-ing service in the Dardanelles operations, and was not with the fleet. The other four ships of the class made up the fifth battle squadron under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, which was under Vice Admiral Beatty's command.

This disposition of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet, with the advance force flung out ahead, seems sound from every tactical point of view, with the assumption that the advance was to be in touch with the main fleet, or, if out of touch, tactical possibilities had been provided for and plans of action prearranged.

In the sweep through the North Sea, with the main body of the British Grand Fleet some fifty miles astern, Vice Admiral Beatty's advance force was cruising to southward of Admiral Jellicoe May 31, 1916, when, at 2:20 P. M., the presence of enemy ships was reported by a light cruiser. Admiral Beatty altered course "to the eastward and subsequently to northeastward, the enemy being sighted at 3:31 P. M. Their force consisted of five battle cruisers.*"

BEGINNING OF THE ACTION

It is stated in Vice Admiral Beatty's report that it was over an hour after the first news of the vicinity of enemy ships before he increased speed to 25 knots to engage, ("at 3:30 P. M.**) Yet Vice Admiral Beatty reports that Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas's fifth battle squadron (the four *Queen Elizabeths*) was still 10,000 yards away when he made this move to engage the enemy with his battle cruisers. This forces us to the conclusion that Admiral Beatty thought his six battle cruisers would be able to take care of the situation. His confidence is explained by the fact that all previous sorties of the Germans had been made by battle cruisers or small craft.

Both sides threw out screens of light cruisers, which clashed, and at 3:48 "the action commenced at a range of 18,500 yards, both sides opening fire practically

simultaneously."† The British battle cruisers fought on a course curving to the southeast, and then on a straight south-southeast course, and the five German battle cruisers fought them on a parallel course, instead of edging away from the superior British force. It is now easy to see that the trend of the action was absolutely in the direction of the approaching main body of the German High Seas Fleet, but this very naturally was not apparent at the time to Admiral Beatty.

The first phase of the battle may properly be studied as a fight between the British and German battle cruisers, in consequence of the before-stated gap separating the two parts of Admiral Beatty's command. This interval of 10,000 yards prevented the fifth battle squadron of *Queen Elizabeth* dreadnoughts from being a factor at the time. Vice Admiral Beatty reports that this squadron "opened fire at a range of 20,000 yards," and he continues: "The fifth battle squadron was engaging the enemy's rear ships, unfortunately at very long range." (It is interesting to note this comment on a range of 20,000 yards, in view of the fantastic distances at which the *Queen Elizabeth* had been depicted by alarmists as shelling our coast cities.)

In this part of the action came the first of the many upsets of pre-war calculations. Comparing the given strength of the two opposing squadrons in action, it will be seen that the British battle cruisers were greatly superior; in fact, the odds would have been considered prohibitive before this battle. Yet it was the British squadron that suffered, losing one-third of its ships. Ten minutes after the beginning of the action the *Indefatigable* was sunk, and at 4:30 the *Queen Mary* met the same fate. In each case it is said that there was a great explosion up through the turrets, suggesting that a weak turret construction is really a conductor of fire to the magazine in case of a heavy hit, and pointing to the need of better separation of the supply of ammunition from the magazine.

*Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

†Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

DESTROYERS TAKE PART

At 4:15 there was an attack "simultaneously"* by British and German destroyers which resulted in a lively fight, but no damage to any of the capital ships. Yet the possibilities of such torpedo attacks were so evident, here and later in the battle, that the destroyer at once attained a greater value as an auxiliary of the battleship. It should also be noted that German submarines were reported present at this stage, but they accomplished nothing against the screened fighting ships. A British airplane had been sent up from a mother ship just before the engagement, though Admiral Beatty reports that it was forced to fly low on account of the clouds, and had a hard task "to identify four enemy light cruisers." There was apparently no chance of a wide observation that would have warned Admiral Beatty of the approaching German High Seas Fleet. In this short hour were concentrated many new problems of naval warfare.

The advancing German High Seas Fleet was reported at 4:38 by a light cruiser, and sighted at 4:42 by the British battle cruisers. A few minutes later Vice Admiral Beatty's ships turned right about (180 degrees) in succession. The German battle cruisers also turned to a northwesterly course, closely followed up by the van of the German High Seas Fleet, and the action was continued on this course.

The report of Admiral Beatty and his conduct in this part of the action show that he had not suspected the presence of the German High Seas Fleet, but the lavish criticism of his turn in succession is without reason. In the first place, his ships met no disaster at the turn, and the manoeuvre is absolutely justified by the fact that it brought the four Queen Elizabeth battleships into position to fight a rearguard action against the greatly strengthened enemy. Any other disposition of Admiral Beatty's command would have been a mistake.

It also follows that, against the turn made in this way, it would have been

an error for Vice Admiral Hipper to try for a capping position, with the object of smothering Admiral Beatty's cruisers in detail at their pivoting point. Such an attempt would have exposed his own battle cruisers to the 15-inch guns of the approaching dreadnoughts of Admiral Evan-Thomas's squadron. Admiral Hipper's conduct in turning to the northwest ahead of the van of the German High Seas Fleet seems the best thing he could have done at the time. The leading German battleships, which were of the König class, fell into line, closely following Admiral Hipper's battle cruisers, and the battle was continued at 14,000 yards on a northwest course.

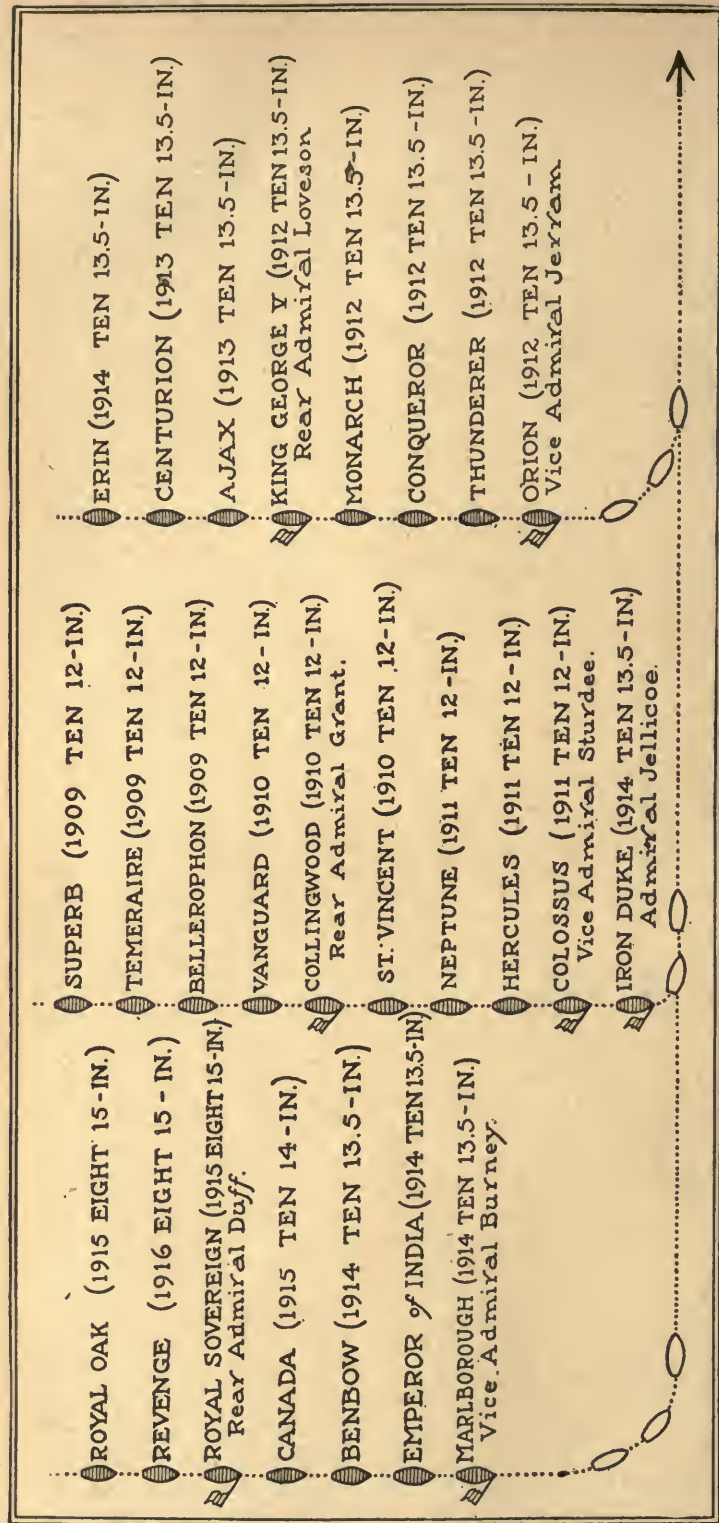
On the British side the brunt of the action was sustained by Admiral Evan-Thomas's fifth battle squadron, which from this time was in line astern of Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers. The German battle cruisers could not stand up with the same effectiveness against the heavy guns of the fifth battle squadron, and this, with an increase to full speed, enabled Admiral Beatty to draw ahead. He again opened up a gap between his battle cruisers and the fifth battle squadron, taking a course that curved to the north and northeast, in search of Admiral Jellicoe's battle fleet, which was hastening to his assistance. The leading ships of the Grand Fleet were sighted at 5:56, and Admiral Beatty altered his course to the east at extreme speed. The German van also turned to eastward.

In the meantime from the north the British Grand Fleet had been closing at utmost fleet speed on a southeast by south course. Ahead of the battle fleet was the squadron of three battle cruisers under Rear Admiral Hood. This squadron, well in advance of the main body, took position ahead of Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers, which had turned to their southerly course, as shown by the diagram.

In the second phase of the action, which has just been described, there were clashes of light cruisers and isolated torpedo attacks, none of which had any tactical effect on the battle. It is now evident from the conduct of the German command that the German fleet was not

*Report of Vice Admiral Beatty.

Make-Up and Armament of British Grand Fleet



In addition the Grand Fleet comprised Rear Admiral Hood's squadron of three battle cruisers and Rear Admiral Arbuthnot's squadron of four armored cruisers.

led into a trap, and that Admiral Scheer deliberately chose to engage the British Grand Fleet, thinking the conditions favorable, although his course necessarily curved away to the southwestward and left the British Grand Fleet between the German fleet and all its bases. It is also evident that the ships of the German van had not been damaged by the fifth British battle squadron to the extent of demoralizing the German gunfire. The immediate damage inflicted on the advance of the British Grand Fleet is proof enough of this.

HOOD'S FLAGSHIP SUNK

As stated, Rear Admiral Hood took station ahead of Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers, with his advance squadron of battle cruisers (6:21) closing to a range of 8,000 yards, (6:25.) A few minutes later his flagship, the *Invincible*, was sunk by gunfire. Almost at the same time three of Rear Admiral Arbuthnot's armored cruisers, *Black Prince*, *Warrior*, and *Defense*, "not aware of the approach of the enemy's heavy ships,"* were put out of action. (*Defense* was sunk; *Warrior* sank while attempt was being made to tow her home; *Black Prince* was sunk later, probably by gunfire.)

At this stage the British Grand Fleet formed in battle line astern of the battle cruisers, and engaged the enemy on a course to the southwest, the German fleet now being to the westward, as shown on the diagram. The fifth battle squadron then took position astern of Admiral Jellicoe's main body. It was here that the *Warspite*, a dreadnought of the *Queen Elizabeth* class, jammed her helm, and was out of control for a time, as described by her Captain after the action. The battleship was, however, extricated from her predicament. The battle cruiser *Lützow*, the flagship of the German advance force, had become totally disabled, and Vice Admiral Hipper had transhipped his flag to another battle cruiser.

By this time smoke and mist hung over the sea, and the Germans took advantage of these conditions, also using smoke screens, to fight the only action possible for their fleet against the overwhelming

force now in line against them. The German ships would appear and disappear in the smoke and mist. Admiral Jellicoe reports of this stage of the action:

Owing principally to the mist, but partly to the smoke, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time in the enemy's battle line. Toward the van only some four or five ships were ever visible at once. More could be seen from the rear squadron, but never more than eight to twelve. * * * The action between the battle fleets lasted intermittently from 6:17 P. M. to 8:20 P. M., at ranges between 9,000 yards and 12,000 yards. During this time the British fleet made alterations of course from southeast by east to west (168½ degrees) in the endeavor to close, but the enemy constantly turned away and opened the range under cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. The alterations of course had the effect of bringing the British fleet (which commenced the action in a position of advantage on the bow of the enemy) to a quarterly bearing from the enemy's battle line, but at the same time placed us between the enemy and his bases.

JELlicoe's NIGHT MANOEUVRE

As the darkness came on, it is evident that these tactics on the part of the Germans, with increasing threats of torpedo attacks, became more and more baffling to the British command, and then came the crucial decision which ended the battle. Admiral Jellicoe reports:

At 9 P. M. the enemy was entirely out of sight, and the threat of torpedo boat destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary for me to dispose of the fleet for the night, with a view to its safety from such attacks, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. I accordingly manoeuvred to remain between the enemy and his bases, placing our flotillas in a position in which they would afford protection to the fleet from destroyer attack and at the same time be favorably situated for attacking the enemy's heavy ships.

Concerning this stage of the action Admiral Jellicoe in his report quotes Vice Admiral Beatty as follows:

In view of the gathering darkness and the fact that our strategical position was such as to make it appear certain that we should locate the enemy at daylight under most favorable circumstances, I did not consider it desirable or proper to close the enemy battle fleet during the dark hours.

*Report of Admiral Jellicoe.

Here the British Admiral and his second in command were in accord, but the responsibility for the resultant movement of the British fleet must rest with Admiral Jellicoe as chief in command. By his order the British fleet steamed through the dark hours at moderate speed on southerly courses some ninety miles from the battlefield. Although the British fleet was thus placed in the general direction of Heligoland, this meant that Admiral Jellicoe had relinquished all touch with the German fleet, and this left the German fleet practically free to proceed to its bases, which was done without any interference, bringing in their damaged ships. The Germans even attempted to tow the wreck of the Lützow into port, but she sank on the way in.

This move to the southward by the British fleet ended the battle of Jutland. In the night there were isolated clashes of small fry, the adventures of lame ducks, &c., but there was nothing that affected the tactical results, and nothing that was in any sense a part of a battle of fleets. None of these encounters even indicated the location of the German fleet.

DEPARTURE OF GERMAN FLEET

At the early coming of light in these latitudes (about 3 A. M., June 1) the British fleet was to the southward and westward of the Horn Reef, about ninety miles from the battlefield. The British fleet then retraced its course to the battlefield. This return of the British fleet, by the same lane it followed in the night, did not give much opportunity to regain touch with the German fleet. Admiral Jellicoe reports that he remained in the vicinity of the battlefield until 11 A. M. when he was "reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the High Seas Fleet had returned into port." Soon afterward the British fleet proceeded to its bases.

In the early accounts of the battle there were fanciful tales of pursuit of the German ships through the night, and even after Admiral Jellicoe's report, the British public did not at first realize the situation at the end of the action. But, after a time, when this was better understood, there arose one of the greatest

naval controversies that have ever agitated Great Britain, centred around the alleged "defensive" naval policy for maintaining the supremacy of Great Britain on the seas—the pros and cons as to closing the Germans while there was light, and keeping in touch through the dark hours. With that discussion this article has nothing to do, but the tactical situation at the end of the battle should be stated.

At 9 o'clock the German fleet was to the westward. The British fleet was between it and all its bases. The British fleet was superior in speed, and had such an overwhelming superiority in ships and guns that it could afford to discard its damaged ships without impairing this superiority. The British Admiral had plenty of light cruisers and destroyers to throw out a screen and to maintain touch with the German fleet. There undoubtedly was a proportion of damaged ships in the German fleet; and this, with its original inferior fleet speed, would have made it a hard task for the German fleet to attempt to ease around the British fleet and reach its bases. These conditions were in favor of keeping in touch with the German fleet—and it is needless to point out the great results that would have come from a successful action with the German fleet in the morning.

On the other hand, one should state the elements which influenced Admiral Jellicoe's decision, first of all to safeguard his ships, and yet remain at a distance in the direction of a German base. Upon his fleet depended the established British control of the seas. Many of his ships had received hard knocks—and many were short of ammunition and fuel. Above all, there was the ominous threat of torpedo attacks in the night.

These were the conditions of the problem that confronted the British Admiral, brought about by the culminating tactics of the battle. Admiral Jellicoe's decision was that the situation did not justify him in imperiling his fleet and with it the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

In this greatest of all naval actions it is interesting to study the course of

the battle in comparison with pre-war calculations. The outstanding feature, the collapse of the three British battle cruisers, was not entirely unexpected by naval opinion. The battle cruiser had found a great vogue, especially in England, but before this battle a reaction had already set in, aided by the fact that the *Lion* had been put out by weaker gunfire in the Dogger Bank chase. Many naval men had come to believe that the battle cruiser was only a cruiser after all—though a valuable cruiser—and not up to taking a place in a real line of battle.

More surprising was the fact that at no stage of the action did the heavier British guns dominate the German guns. This was evident in the first phase, when Admiral Beatty's six battle cruisers were fighting on parallel courses with Admiral Hipper's five battle cruisers. The British ships carried thirty-two 13.5-inch and sixteen 12-inch guns, against their enemy's twenty-four 12-inch guns and twenty 11-inch guns.

In the second stage of the action on northerly courses, when Admiral Beatty's command was engaging the van of the German fleet, the four *Queen Elizabeths*, with their thirty-two 15-inch guns, were in position, and there was nothing heavier than a 12-inch gun in the German fleet.

In the third phase, after Vice Admiral Beatty's command had joined the main body of Admiral Jellicoe's fleet, the superiority of the British in heavy guns was enormous, as can be seen from the table on Page 338. It is true that the Germans took advantage of the mist and smoke as described. Yet, from Admiral Jellicoe's report, it is evident that there were many chances to let off salvos at the enemy ships, and he reports the ranges as very moderate, ("between 9,000 and 12,000 yards.")

WEIGHT OF METAL HURLED

As to the shooting on both sides, it is evident that there must be a great deal of hard thinking going on in the navies of the world as to improvement in this respect. The weight of metal hurled into the sea was prodigious. "In the first and second phases it is esti-

mated that each of the ships under "Vice Admiral Beatty and Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas fired about 600 tons" and the Germans quite as much if not "more."*

The battleships stood up well, and everything in the battle confirmed the judgment of those who had pinned their faith to the battleships as the essential of naval power.

The two most revolutionary elements in naval warfare were present, but they cannot be said to have exerted any tactical effect on the battle. The limited use of the airplane has been told, and a Zeppelin was reported at about 4 A. M. June 1, which may have observed the location of the British fleet. U-boats were reported early in the action, but there is no hint that they took any real part in the battle. Yet this does not mean that they are not to be considered. With the great improvements in the type, it is probable that in many conditions the U-boat will be a factor in battles of fleets, and such contingencies should be safeguarded in advance.

The destroyer came to its own in the battle of Jutland as an auxiliary of the battle fleet, both for offense and defense. The whole course of the action proved that a screen of destroyers was absolutely necessary. For offense, it might be argued truthfully that, of the great number of torpedoes used, very few hit anything. The *Marlborough* was the only capital ship reported struck in the real action, and she was able afterward to take some part in the battle, and then get back to her base. It is supposed that the damaged *Pommern* may have been so destroyed later, and torpedoes may have struck other scattered marks. But above all things stands out the fact that it was the threat of night torpedo attacks by destroyers which made the British fleet withdraw from the battlefield.

There is no question of the fact that this withdrawal of the British fleet had a great moral effect on Germany. The announcement to the people and to the Reichstag had a heartening effect on the

*"Naval Power in the War." Lieut. Commander Charles C. Gill, U. S. N.

Germans at just the time they needed some such stimulant. But the actual tactical result of the battle was indecisive. It may be said the Germans had so manoeuvred their fleet that a detached part of the superior British force was cut up, but the damage was not enough to impair the established superiority of the British fleet, and the end of the battle left the British control of the sea absolutely unchanged.

The following is the British statement of losses:

BATTLE CRUISERS						
	Ton-nage.	Armor Belt.	Main Battery.	Sp'd.	Men.	C'p'd
Queen Mary.	27,000	9 in.	8 13.5-in.	28	1,000	'13
Indefatigable	18,750	8 in.	8 12-in.	26	899	'11
Invincible	17,250	7 in.	8 12-in.	26	750	'08
ARMORED CRUISERS						
Defense	14,600	6 in.	4 9.2-in.	23	755	'08
Black Prince	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	20.5	704	'08
Warrior	13,550	6 in.	6 9.2-in.	22.9	704	'08
DESTROYERS						
Tipperary	1,900	.....	.....	31	160	'14
Turbulent	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fortune	920	.....	.....	29.50	100	'12
Sp'w Hawk	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Ardent	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12
Nomad	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nestor	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Shark	950	.....	3 4-in.	31.32	100	'12

The losses admitted by the German Admiralty are:

BATTLESHIP				
	Ton-nage.	Arma-ment.	Sp'd.	Date Completion.
Pommern	13,040	4 11-in. 14 6.7-in.	19	1907
BATTLE CRUISER				
Luetzow	23,000	8 12-in. 12 6-in.	27	1915
LIGHT CRUISERS				
Rostock	4,820	12 4.1-in.	27.3	1914
Frauenlob	2,656	10 4.1-in.	21.5	1903
NEW LIGHT CRUISERS				
Elbing	.....	.....	..	....
Wiesbaden	.....	.....	..	....
DESTROYERS				
Five	.....	.....	..	....
TOTAL TONNAGE LOST				
British	.....	.....	.....	117,150
German	.....	.....	.....	60,720
TOTAL PERSONNEL LOST				
British	.....	.....	.....	6,105
German	.....	.....	.....	2,414

NOTE BY EDITOR.—No official confirmation of the German losses was published. The British Admiralty maintains that the losses, including only German vessels "seen to sink," aggregated 109,220 tons. Other Admiralty claims were that the Germans lost one dreadnought of the Kronprinz type, 25,480 tons; one of the Heligoland type, 22,440 tons; battleship Pommern, 13,000 tons; battle cruiser Lützow, 23,000 tons; five Rostocks, 24,500 tons; destroyers, 4,000 tons; submarines, 800 tons; total, 117,220 tons.

British Analysis of the Jutland Battle

Expert British Admiralty writers do not concur in all the conclusions of our contributor, Mr. Frothingham, especially where he refers to the withdrawal of the British fleet.

The official report of Admiral Jellicoe states that "German vessels were entirely out of the fight at 9 o'clock," and that "the withdrawal of the British fleet was a 'manoeuvre' so as to remain between the Germans and their bases."

Sir Cyprian Bridge, a British naval expert, in referring to the situation of the German fleet when darkness fell after the battle, writes: "It was a beaten and a broken fleet that escaped from the trap," (referring to the British Battle Fleet at the north and the battle cruisers at the south, acting in strategic harmony.) "Many of its units had been lost. Its gunnery had become demoralized, and no one can blame its discretion in making for home at its topmost speed and leaving the British fleet

once more in undisputed command of the North Sea. For this, in a word, was the result of the battle. * * * Whatever their effort signified, it failed to shake our hold upon the sea. * * * We have fought many indecisive actions, * * * few which have more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy fleet might be able to accomplish. By such standards the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories."

John Buchan published a description of the battle of Jutland by authority of the British Government. He, a historical authority, says: "The result of the battle of Jutland was that Britain was more confirmed than ever in her mastery of the sea. * * * From a technical point of view the battle appears as an example of a tactical division of the fleet, undertaken in order to coax a lagged enemy to battle. * * * It defeated, utterly defeated, the German plan. If

it was not—as with two hours more daylight it would have been—a complete destruction of Germany's sea power, it was a complete demonstration of Britain's crushing superiority."

Arthur Pollen, an expert naval writer in British periodicals, referred to the results of the battle in these words: "Thus the Germans, who had entered the North Sea, according to their own account, to engage and destroy the British ships that have been systematically sweeping the waters north and east of the Horn Reef, attained the first part of their objective only. They did succeed in engaging. But the consequences were disastrous.

The plan of overwhelming the British fast division with superior numbers was defeated by the masterly handling of the British force, combined with the effective use that force made of its artillery. So far from Sir David Beatty having been overwhelmed, he succeeded admirably in his main object, which was to draw the German fleet into a position where Sir John Jellicoe's squadrons could engage it. The enemy was only saved from total destruction by mist and by the approach of night. Not only did his whole plan miscarry, but he was driven ignominiously from the field, and with a very heavy loss in ships and men."

A Leading German Churchman Defends Poison Gas

THE International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva early in 1918 issued an appeal against the use of poisonous gases. The Rev. Dr. Balan, President of the Consistory for the Prussian Province of Posen and head of the Protestant Church in that province, refused, "after conscientiously examining it before God," to indorse or circulate the appeal, and wrote as follows to the President of the International Committee:

The first question that occurred to me on reading your appeal was, Is it really a more inhumane method of waging war when Germany, in defending herself against an immensely superior force of enemies in a fight for existence forced upon her, makes use also of poisonous gas, than when her enemies pour over our armies, so much weaker in numbers, devastating and disintegrating showers of iron, lasting days and weeks, and to which we cannot reply in such volume because we have not so many human hands at our disposal for the manufacture of munitions as our enemies have? I say, No. I ask further, Is it more humane to set the whole world in motion in order by starving it to prevent a great nation that, with its noble, chivalrous Kaiser at its head, has manifested clearly enough its unbounded love of peace, from taking the place to which it is entitled by the side of other nations than when

this nation uses every means of defense that its enlightened scientists have discovered? I say again, No.

Dr. Balan maintains in the further course of his letter that the enemies of Germany cannot expect to be treated humanely in any special manner, for all war is inhumane, because they have from the outset persistently and constantly utterly disregarded the laws of nations and the "sacred sign of the Red Cross." In conclusion this Prussian church dignitary informs the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross that if he and his friends really wish to render the whole suffering population of Europe a truly great service, they should do their utmost to bring home to the French people, who are so deeply to be pitied, the fact that the phantom which, deluded by the lies of their and England's rulers, they still pursue is dragging them every day to deeper and more hopeless misery. At the very moment that France realizes this, Dr. Balan asserts, there will be peace. He explains that the phantom pursued by the French is "the recovery of two provinces that have been German from time immemorial, and of which we were once robbed against all right and justice."

Great Britain's War Work in 1917

War Cabinet's Official Survey of Military Events and Far-Reaching Economic Changes

A report issued by the British War Cabinet on March 18, 1918, in the form of a Blue Book of 200 pages or more, presents a historical review of what Great Britain accomplished in 1917, with a survey of the changes that came over the character of the war in that year, and of the far-reaching Governmental and economic developments that took place in the British Nation. As the introductory chapter is in itself a comprehensive summary, the main portions of it are here presented.

THE year 1917 saw two marked developments. On the one hand there was a profound change in the character of the war itself. The inauguration of a general attack upon the sea communications of the Allies through the unrestricted use of the submarine greatly widened the scope of warlike operations and forced the people of the British Isles to expend an immense amount of time and energy on counterpreparations of all kinds. The Russian revolution completely upset the allied plan for a concerted offensive against the Central Powers on all fronts during the Spring and Summer of 1917, and eventually led to such a disintegration of the Russian Army as enabled the German Government to transfer the greater part of its military resources from the eastern to the western theatre of war. Finally, the overthrow of the Russian autocracy, coupled with the entry of the United States into the war and the adhesion of Greece, Brazil, China, and other neutrals to the allied cause, widened the war itself from a battle for the liberty of small nations and the defense of public right in Europe into a world-wide struggle for the triumph of a free civilization and democratic government.

The year brought a gradual growth of inter-ally co-operation and creation of the Imperial War Cabinet. This development and the sessions of the Imperial War Conference were the natural outcome of the spirit of unity and self-sacrifice which has enabled the peoples

of the British Commonwealth to produce no less than 7,500,000 men to fight for freedom in addition to vast quantities of munitions and supplies of all kinds. So successful was this experiment in the opinion of its members that it was decided unanimously that there ought to be an annual meeting of the Imperial Cabinet and that the Prime Ministers of the empire or their specially delegated representatives, together with the Ministers in charge of the great Imperial offices, should be its *ex officio* members.

War Cabinet Reorganization

Another sphere in which reorganization and expansion were necessary was that of home affairs. The period began with a reconstruction of the administrative machinery at the centre. It had become increasingly evident that the older system under which the supreme direction of the war rested, with a Cabinet consisting of the departmental chiefs under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister, was not sufficiently prompt and elastic for the conduct of a war which involved the mobilization and direction of the resources not only of the United Kingdom but of the British Empire. Even the formation of a smaller Cabinet committee of the departmental Ministers chiefly concerned in the war did not meet the needs of the case. With the advent of the new Government a modification was introduced whereby the supreme direction of the war was intrusted to a small War Cabinet, freed from all administrative duties, and yet in the closest touch with all departmental Ministers, while administrative responsibility was placed in the hands of Ministers who were left free to devote their whole time to this aspect of Governmental work.

By this arrangement the War Cabinet was able to give all its attention to the task of co-ordination and direction, and so make more effective use of the immense resources which the empire had gradually produced

during the preceding years. It also made it easier to create a number of much-needed new administrative departments. The most important of these were the Ministry of Shipping, the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Food, and the Ministry of Pensions, to which were added at later dates the Ministry of Reconstruction, the Ministry of National Service, and the Ministry of the Air. * * *

The Man-Power Problem

The first problem was that of man power. During the preceding year all sources which could be tapped without trenching upon the essential supplies of the allied armies and the nation had been exhausted, and the question had narrowed itself down to that of finding substitutes for fit men of military age still engaged in industry. An attempt was, therefore, made to enroll a large army of volunteers to take the place of the men called to the army. Partly owing to difficulties in withdrawing labor from the great war industries and partly owing to the limited supply of labor, great obstacles presented themselves in the execution of this scheme. But though the plan of enrolling an army of industrial volunteers had eventually to be abandoned the system of dilution and substitution was steadily carried out, and 820,646 men of all categories were taken for the service of the army during the year.

The needs of the army, however, were not the only drain. A large amount of additional labor was required for agriculture, timber production, and iron ore mining, as well as for industrial purposes. The needs in these respects also were gradually supplied by reducing unessential industries and by organizing supplies of soldier, civilian, and foreign labor. Investigations were carried out as to the use of labor in different trades, and trade committees representing employers and employed were organized to deal with economy of man-power in particular industries. The evidence so obtained, while it demonstrated clearly the complexity and difficulty of a system of compulsory national service in industry, made it clear that in order to effect the best strategic use of the man power of the country, the National Service Department required extension rather than restriction. Accordingly, in August, 1917, the department was reorganized as a Ministry, recruiting was transferred from the War Office, and arrangements were made to insure effective co-operation between the Ministry and the employment exchanges for the period of the war.

Munitions

Notwithstanding the tremendous calls upon the man power of the country for the ever-increasing needs of the army, the supply of munitions has steadily increased. In addition to large consignments to other fronts of the war, there has been an increase of 30 per

cent. in all kinds of guns and howitzers, and of over 100 per cent. in heavy guns and howitzers in the recent offensive in France, as compared with those of last year. The weight of shell filled per month has been more than doubled since 1916. The output of high explosives has been sufficient to meet the increased demands of our armies, to build up stocks, and to supply part of the needs of the Allies. There has been a steady improvement in the detonating value of gun ammunition and a continuous reduction in the number of premature explosions. In addition to guns, shells, and rifles, the demands of the military and naval forces during the year for aircraft, tanks, mechanical transport, railway material, and equipment of every sort and kind have been endless. Despite the immensity of the demand, it has, on the whole, been supplied. The British Army is now probably the best provided of all the armies in the field, not only in technical equipment but in clothing, food, and similar provision.

Fighting the Submarine

The most difficult problems which confronted the Administration in the early part of 1917 were those which arose from the growing inadequacy of the overseas communications of the Allies—problems which were aggravated by the introduction of the unlimited submarine campaign on Feb. 1. The expansion of the armies, the ever-increasing demand for warlike material, the fall in production, especially of foodstuffs in all allied countries through the calling of men to the colors, and the decline in cultivation, coupled with the diversion of a large part of the shipping of the Allies to purely military and naval transportation, had already put a severe strain on the shipping resources of the country. The immediate effect of the new campaign was to double the rate of losses which had been incurred during 1916, and these losses rose rapidly to a climax in March and April.

The countermeasures which were adopted by the navy, however, were successful in reducing the attack to manageable proportions, though they involved a drain upon the national resources both in man power and material which is often not fully recognized, and which is by no means the least important of the contributions of the British Empire to the war. The number of men engaged either in the navy or in supplying naval needs now exceeds a million. Unfortunately it is not possible to set forth in detail the immense scope of the Admiralty operations. But they include a very great addition to the armed craft in the service of the navy from torpedo boat destroyers to mine-sweepers, airships, and airplanes, and the organization of a vast system of patrols and mine-sweepers. As a result of the self-sacrificing devotion on the part of the men of the navy and the auxiliary services, and the steadfast per-

formance in all weathers and seasons of their monotonous and dangerous duties, the enemy never succeeded in interfering to any vital degree with the sea communications of the Allies.

The Shipping Problem

The naval preparations, however, were only part of the measures which were necessary to deal with the shipping situation. The second step was to create the Ministry of Shipping. At the end of 1916 the tonnage requisitioned by the State was less than one-half of the whole, and this was mainly used on purely military and naval services for the British Government or the Allies. During 1917 practically the whole of the remainder of the British oceangoing mercantile marine was brought under requisition at Blue Book rates and organized as a national war service. The Dominion Government also liberated much overseas shipping for war purposes, and neutral shipping was brought as far as possible into allied service. A close scrutiny was then made of the countries from which the necessary imports could be derived, and shipping was concentrated on the shortest routes, thereby multiplying the number of voyages the ships could make in the year. Leading regulations were revised, which increased the carrying capacity from the 1913 figure of 106 to 150 tons per 100 tons net of shipping entering our ports, and arrangements were made for shortening the time occupied in the turn round of ships at the ports. In the latter part of the year the convoy system was introduced, which reduced the shipping losses, though it involved certain delays to individual ships.

In addition to these improvements in the methods of using shipping, a large program of shipbuilding was put into operation, not only in British yards but in all the available yards in neutral countries as well. To insure greater speed in building a large number of the new ships were ordered to a standard design. In spite of the difficulties of all kinds which have confronted the production of ships, notably the shortage in the supply of steel plates and of labor, the output has steadily mounted. During 1917 1,163,500 tons of new ships were built, as against 542,000 tons in 1916, and by the end of 1918 the rate of output of all ships, war and merchant, ought to be double that of any previous year in British history. In order to make possible this increase forty-five new berths have been provided in private shipyards, and the construction of three new national shipyards, containing thirty-four berths, has been begun. Besides this effort at home 175,000 tons of shipping were purchased abroad, an amount which would have been very greatly exceeded if the United States had not taken over the whole program of ships being constructed on British account when they entered the war.

The third step in dealing with the shipping

problem was a drastic reduction of imports. In 1916 imports were cut down by 1,600,000 tons. Early in 1917 a committee was appointed which recommended a preliminary program of reductions amounting to 6,000,000 tons. This was approved and came into operation on March 1. The program was shortly afterward increased by further severe restrictions of the imports of timber. The outcome of this policy has been that practically all cargo space is now reserved for goods carried directly or indirectly on Government account, and consists almost entirely of essential foodstuffs, raw materials required for the manufacture of national necessities and military needs or of munitions of war. The chief reductions were in timber, paper, feeding stuffs, and brewing materials. The unfortunate but inevitable consequence of the restriction of imports and of the diversion of shipping from trading to war routes has been a large diminution in exports.

The fourth step was to secure a large increase in the production of food and raw materials at home. There is now good reason to expect that in 1918 the tillage area in the United Kingdom will exceed that of 1916 by over 3,000,000 acres. These satisfactory results have only been possible through the public-spirited activity of large numbers of people throughout the country, including farmers, workers, and organizers, to whom the nation has good reason to be grateful.

Control of Food Consumption

The fifth step in meeting the shipping shortage was to expand Government control over the distribution of all the chief national supplies, partly in order to secure that the best use was made of what was available and partly in order to prevent waste. The most important measure in this sphere was the creation of the Ministry of Food. Its first step was to insure an adequate supply of breadstuffs. This was accomplished by raising the percentage of milling of wheat, by requiring the dilution of wheat with other cereals and by an increased program of imports. At the same time a scale of voluntary rations was announced and an active campaign was started in order to secure observance of them. The use of wheat, oats, barley, and maize for animal food was also restricted or prohibited. As a result, at the beginning of the Winter of 1917 the national reserve of breadstuffs was in a more satisfactory position than any time since the outbreak of war, the wheat stocks alone being 3,000,000 quarters in excess of the stocks in the corresponding period of 1916. A serious shortage, however, in the French and Italian harvests and the needs of our other allies placed a heavy demand upon our supplies of wheat, and toward the end of the year considerable quantities were diverted to their use. During the year the control of the Ministry was extended to cover all imported foodstuffs, practically all of which are now

purchased on the national account, and an increasing measure of control has been established over home-grown cereals, meat, and dairy produce. In order to prevent the artificial raising of prices through competition, these purchases are now carried out in concert with our allies through interally committees. As the year progressed the need for greater economy in consumption than was apparently attainable by voluntary means and the difficulties in distributing equitably the restricted supplies compelled the introduction of a system of rationing. The system began with sugar, and at the end of the year was gradually being extended to cover other staple foodstuffs.

Beer and Other Articles

Another large economy was effected early in the year by a reduction of the manufacture of beer from the 1914 total of about 36,000,000 barrels and the 1916 total of 26,000,000 barrels to a total of some 14,000,000 standard barrels. The manufacture of spirits for human consumption has been stopped. Strong measures have also been taken to restrict the consumption of coal, oils, timber, cotton, and other articles. At the beginning of the year the coal mines and iron mines were taken over for the period of the war, and Government control over the available supplies was established. A system of distribution of coal was then brought into operation, which has not only insured all necessary supplies, but has effected economy in railway transportation. It is estimated that this reform will result in an economy of no less than 700,000,000 railway ton miles in the carriage of coal. A Timber Controller was appointed to ration the greatly restricted supplies of wood. The consumption of petrol for private use was gradually curtailed until it was finally forbidden. Much has also been done to economize labor and material through the more active control in the national interest both of railway and canal transportation.

Naval and Military Results

The result of these drastic measures has been that, despite all the enemy efforts to win a victory by the destruction of the merchant shipping of the world, the British people have been able to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor during the whole year. The navy has continued to hold its predominant position at sea, has denied the oceans to the enemy for the purpose of transporting troops or supplies and has exercised an ever-growing pressure upon him through the blockade. At the same time, though the submarine menace has not yet been mastered, the supply both of the military expeditions in all parts of the world and of the civilian population at home has been maintained. It may, indeed, be said with confidence that as the result of the work of the navy, of the merchant marine, and of many civilian sections of the

community the German attempt to win the war by the destruction of the merchant shipping of the world has been definitely baffled.

In the military sphere, though no decision has been reached, great results have also been achieved. At the outset of the year the military prospects before the Allies were good. Their plans, however, for a converging attack on the Central Empires on all fronts were upset by the disorganization of the Russian armies which followed the revolution—a disorganization which ended in such complete dissolution that the Germans were enabled to transfer a large part of their eastern forces to the western front by the end of the year. None the less, during the whole of 1917 the German forces have been steadily pressed back from one highly fortified position to another in face of the systematic assaults of the allied armies. The enemy, indeed, has consistently borne tribute to the terrible power of the British attacks and to the heavy losses, both on land and in the air, which they have inflicted upon him. The chief successes have been gained at Arras, Messines, and in Flanders.

Non-European Theatres

On the other hand, there has been a complete transformation of the scene in the non-European theatres of the war. After a long period of comparative stagnation and failure, British arms have once more advanced to victory. The last of the German colonies—German East Africa—has been cleared of the enemy; Mesopotamia, with its capital, Bagdad, has been rescued from the devastating rule of the Turk, and Southern Palestine, including Jerusalem, after many centuries of effort, has been liberated by Christian hands. British prestige, indeed, in the East, which had fallen to a low ebb, has been completely restored; Germanic hopes of southeastern conquest have been rudely shattered through the withdrawal of over 100,000 square miles of territory from German control, and the capacity of Turkey to continue the war has been gravely impaired. The military results of the year are thus very considerable. British armies have fought not in France alone, but in Italy, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and East Africa, and from being a combination of peaceful communities the empire stands forth as the most powerful of all the Commonwealths which are withstanding Prussian aggression. The extent of this effort, the unflinching courage and morale of the British armies, and the clear determination of all the British peoples to accept no peace which does not restore national liberty and public right afford ground for confidence that the Allies will eventually secure the purpose for which they entered the war.

Social and Economic Changes

There is a nonmilitary aspect of the administrative developments of the year which it is important to note. In themselves these developments have been the result of the de-

termination of the people to leave nothing undone which could contribute to the winning of the war. None the less they are bound to produce lasting and far-reaching effects on the social and economic life of the community. No record of the year would be complete which did not point out the changes which have been wrought in the structure of society by the experiences of the war.

In the first place, the organic life of the community has been greatly strengthened. On the one hand, not only have enormous numbers of men, and latterly of women also, been mobilized for military and naval purposes, but the vast majority of the people are now working directly or indirectly on public service. If they are not in the army, the navy, or the civil service, they are growing food, or making munitions, or engaged in the work of organizing, transporting, or distributing the national supplies.

On the other hand, the State has taken control for the period of the war over certain national industries, such as the railways, shipping, coal, and iron mines, and the great majority of engineering businesses. It has also made itself responsible for the securing of adequate quantities of certain staple commodities and services, such as food, coal, timber, and other raw materials, railroad and sea transportation, and for distributing the available supplies justly as between individual and individual in the national interest.

Regulating Prices

The Government has further had to regulate prices and prevent profiteering. It has done so partly by controlling freights, fixing maximum prices to the home producer, and regulating wholesale and retail charges, and partly by its monopoly of imported supplies. The information which the Government has obtained as to sources of supply, consumption, and cost of production, and the relations it has entered into with other Governments as to the mutual purchase of essential products which they jointly control, have, for the first time, brought within the sphere of practical politics the possibility of fixing relatively stable world prices for fundamental staples. The State has even taken the drastic step of fixing the price of the four-pound loaf at 9d., at a considerable loss to itself.

Thus the war, and especially the year 1917, has brought about a transformation of the social and administrative structure of the State, much of which is bound to be permanent. Owing to the imperative importance of speed there has perhaps been an undue expansion of the function of the Central Government. But a very large amount of work has been devolved on to local authorities and to new bodies, such as the War Agricultural Executive Committees or the Local Food Control Committees. Taking the year as a whole the Administration has been brought into far closer contact with every aspect of the

life of the people, the provinces and the metropolis have been linked more closely together, and the whole community has received an education in the problems of practical democracy such as it has never had before.

The Industrial Problem

In the second place, the war has profoundly altered the conditions of the industrial problem. Since 114 the community itself has become by far the greatest employer of labor. It has assumed control for the duration of the war over a great number of the larger private undertakings, it has limited profits by imposing an 80 per cent. excess profits tax, and it has intervened to prevent profiteering in the essential requirements of the nation. Further, the regulation of the trade unions have been suspended for the duration of the war, industry has been diluted throughout, new methods and new industries have been introduced, labor-saving machinery has been everywhere installed, and the speed of production and the number and skill of workers has greatly risen. The nation today is far better organized and far more productive than it has ever been before.

With the advent of the new Government at the end of 1916 a Ministry of Labor was created to deal with labor questions. It is still early to speak of the results of its work, but an important step toward the creation of better conditions in the industrial world has been taken in the adoption by the Government of the report of the Whitley Committee, which recommended the development of machinery in the shape of industrial councils, representatives of employers and employed throughout the country, whereby it should be possible to solve the difficulties which will arise by the process of peaceful conference and negotiation in place of the methods of industrial war. Despite all difficulties and the recent increase in industrial unrest, it is probably true to say that as the result of the war there is now a better understanding both by capital and labor of their mutual problems than at any previous time.

1917 in Retrospect

Looked at as a whole, 1917 has been a remarkable year. During it the war has assumed more and more the character of a struggle on the part of all the free nations for the final destruction of militarism and the establishment of an international order which will give real securities for liberty and public right throughout the world. The nations of which the British Commonwealth is composed have been drawn together in their joint effort for the common cause. And within the United Kingdom there has been a growth in the sense of public service and of the power to improve and adapt economic and social and administrative methods which will make it far easier to build up a healthier and more equitably organized society in future.

THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI

Full Text of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's Report of a Victory and Reverse

The battle of Cambrai began on Nov. 20, 1917, with the successful surprise attack of the British Third Army under Sir Julian Byng, and came to an end on the night of Dec. 4-5 with the withdrawal of British troops from Bournon Wood to "a more compact line on the Flesquieres Ridge." A German attack, which began on Nov. 30, had succeeded in wresting away a large portion of the British gains. This reverse was later the subject of British Parliamentary inquiry, but the commission found no serious military errors to censure. Sir Douglas Haig's official report to the Secretary of War is printed below in full. It acquires a fresh interest from the fact that the terrain fought over is in part the same as that across which the Germans have since swept in their Spring offensive of 1918.

General Headquarters,
British Armies in the Field,
Feb. 20, 1918.

MY LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations on the Cambrai front during November and December, 1917:

1. As pointed out in my last dispatch, the object of these operations was to gain a local success by a sudden attack at a point where the enemy did not expect it. Our repeated attacks in Flanders and those of our allies elsewhere had brought about large concentrations of the enemy's forces on the threatened fronts, with a consequent reduction in the garrisons of certain other sectors of his line.

Of these weakened sectors the Cambrai front had been selected as the most suitable for the surprise operation in contemplation. The ground there was, on the whole, favorable for the employment of tanks, which were to play an important part in the enterprise, and facilities existed for the concealment of the necessary preparations for the attack.

If, after breaking through the German defense systems on this front, we could secure Bournon to the north, and establish a good flank position to the east, in the direction of Cambrai, we should be well placed to exploit the situation locally between Bournon and the

Sensée River and to the northwest. The capture of Cambrai itself was subsidiary to this operation, the object of our advance toward that town being primarily to cover our flank and puzzle the enemy regarding our intentions.

The enemy was laying out fresh lines of defense behind those which he had already completed on the Cambrai front; and it was to be expected that his troops would be redistributed as soon as our pressure in Flanders was relaxed. He had already brought large forces from Russia in exchange for divisions exhausted in the struggle in the western theatre, and it was practically certain that heavy reinforcements would be brought from east to west during the Winter. Moreover, his tired divisions, after a Winter's rest, would recover their efficiency.

For all these reasons, if the existing opportunity for a surprise attack were allowed to lapse, it would probably be many months before an equally favorable one would again offer itself. Furthermore, having regard to the future, it was desirable to show the enemy that he could not with impunity reduce his garrisons beyond a certain point without incurring grave risks.

Against these arguments in favor of immediate action I had to weigh the fact that my own troops had been engaged for

many months in heavy fighting, and that, though their efforts had been uniformly successful, the conditions of the struggle had greatly taxed their strength. Only part of the losses in my divisions had been replaced, and many recently arrived drafts, still far from being fully trained, were included in the ranks of the armies. Under these conditions it was a serious matter to make a further heavy call on my troops at the end of such a strenuous year.

On the other hand, from the nature of the operation, the size of the force which could be employed was bound, in any case, to be comparatively small, since success depended so much on secrecy, and it is impossible to keep secret the concentration of very large forces. The demand made upon my resources, therefore, should not be a great one.

While considering these different factors, preparations were quietly carried on, so that all might be ready for the attack if I found it possible to carry it out. The success of the enemy's offensive in Italy subsequently added great force to the arguments in favor of undertaking the operation, although the means at my disposal for the purpose were further reduced as a consequence of the Italian situation.

Eventually I decided that, despite the various limiting factors, I could muster enough force to make a first success sufficiently sure to justify undertaking the attack, but that the degree to which this success could be followed up must depend on circumstances.

It was calculated that, provided secrecy could be maintained to the last moment, no large hostile reinforcements were likely to reach the scene of action for forty-eight hours after the commencement of the attack. I informed General the Hon. Sir Julian Byng, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., M. V. O., to whom the execution of the plans in connection with the Cambrai operations was intrusted, that the advance would be stopped by me after that time, or sooner if necessary, unless the results then gained and the general situation justified its continuance.

Plan of Attack

The general plan of attack was to dispense with previous artillery preparation, and to depend instead on tanks to smash through the enemy's wire, of which there was a great quantity protecting his trenches.

As soon as the advance of the tanks and infantry, working in close co-operation, began, the artillery was to assist with counter battery and barrage work; but no previous registration of guns for this purpose could be permitted, as it would rouse the enemy's suspicions. The artillery of our new armies was therefore necessarily subjected to a severe test in this operation, and proved itself entirely worthy of the confidence placed in it.

The infantry, tanks, and artillery thus

working in combination were to endeavor to break through all the enemy's lines of defense on the first day. If this were successfully accomplished and the situation developed favorably, cavalry were then to be passed through to raid the enemy's communications, disorganize his system of command, damage his railways, and interfere as much as possible with the arrival of his reinforcements. It was explained to all commanders that everything depended on secrecy up to the moment of starting, and after that on bold, determined, and rapid action. Unless opposition could be beaten down quickly, no great results could be looked for.

The Commander in Chief of the French Armies, to whom I secretly communicated my plans, most readily agreed to afford me every assistance. In addition to the steps taken by him to engage the enemy's attention elsewhere, he arranged for a strong force of French infantry and cavalry to be in a position whence they could be moved forward rapidly to take part in the exploitation of our success, if the situation should render it possible to bring them into action. On Nov. 20 certain of these French units were actually put in motion. The course of events, however, did not open out the required opportunity for their employment, but the French forces were held in readiness and within easy reach so long as there appeared to be any hope of it. Had the situation on Nov. 20 developed somewhat more favorably in certain directions, the nature of which will become apparent in the course of this report, the presence and co-operation of these French troops would have been of the greatest value.

The Enemy's Defenses

2. The German defenses on this front had been greatly improved and extended since the opening of our offensive in April, and comprised three main systems of resistance.

The first of these three trench systems, constituting part of the Hindenburg line proper, ran in a general northwesterly direction for a distance of six miles from the Canal de l'Escaut at Banteux to Havrincourt. There it turned abruptly north along the line of the Canal du Nord for a distance of four miles to Moeuvres, thus forming a pronounced salient in the German front.

In advance of the Hindenburg line the enemy had constructed a series of strong forward positions, including La Vacquerie and the northeastern corner of Havrincourt Wood. Behind it, and at distances respectively varying from a little less to rather more than a mile, and from three and a half to four and a half miles, lay the second and third main German systems, known as the Hindenburg reserve line, and the Beaufort, Masnières, Marquion lines.

The Attack Begun

3. All necessary preparations were completed in time, and with a secrecy reflecting



MAP OF THE BATTLE OF CAMBRAI, SHOWING FURTHER BRITISH ADVANCE AND GROUND LOST AFTER GERMAN ATTACK. (SEE KEY ABOVE.)

the greatest credit on all concerned. At 6:20 A. M. on Nov 20, without any previous artillery bombardment, tanks and infantry attacked on a front of about six miles from east of Gonnelleu to the Canal du Nord opposite Hermies.

At the same hour demonstrations with gas, smoke, and artillery took place on practically the whole of the British front south of the Scarpe, and subsidiary attacks were launched east of Epéhy and between Bullecourt and Fontaine les Croisilles.

On the principal front of attack the tanks moved forward in advance of the infantry, crushing down the enemy's wire and forming great lanes through which our infantry could pass. Protected by smoke barrages from the view of the enemy's artillery, they rolled on across the German trenches, smashing up the enemy's machine guns and driving his infantry to ground. Close behind our tanks our own infantry followed, and, while the tanks patrolled the line of hostile trenches, cleared the German infantry from their dug-outs and shelters.

In this way, both the main system of the Hindenburg line and its outer defenses were rapidly overrun, and tanks and infantry proceeded in accordance with program to the attack upon the Hindenburg reserve line.

In this advance the 12th (Eastern) Division moved along the Bonavis Ridge on the right of our attack, encountered obstinate resistance at Lateau Wood, which sheltered a number of German batteries. Pierce fighting, in which infantry and tank crews displayed the greatest gallantry, continued throughout the morning at this point, and ended in the capture of the position, together with the enemy's guns.

Meanwhile the 20th (Light) Division, which had captured La Vacquerie at the opening of its attack, stormed the powerful defenses of Welsh Ridge. The 6th Division carried the village of Ribecourt, after sharp fighting among the streets and houses, while the 62d (West Riding) Division (T.) stormed Havrincourt, where also parties of the enemy held out for a time.

The capture of these two villages secured the flanks of the 51st (Highland) Division (T.) advancing on the left centre of our attack up the slopes of Flesquières Hill against the German trench lines on the southern side of Flesquières village. Here very heavy fighting took place. The stout brick wall skirting the château grounds opposed a formidable obstacle to our advance, while German machine guns swept the approaches. A number of tanks were knocked out by direct hits from German field batteries in position beyond the crest of the hill. None the less, with the exception of the village itself, our second objectives in this area were gained before midday.

Many of the hits upon our tanks at Flesquières were obtained by a German artillery officer who, remaining alone at his battery,

served a field gun single-handed until killed at his gun. The great bravery of this officer aroused the admiration of all ranks.

Capture of Marcoing

On the left of our attack, west of the Canal du Nord, the 36th (Ulster) Division captured a German strong point on the spoil bank of the canal and pushed northward in touch with the West Riding troops, who, as the first stage in a most gallant and remarkably successful advance, had taken Havrincourt. By 10:30 A. M. the general advance beyond the Hindenburg reserve line to our final objectives had begun, and cavalry were moving up behind our infantry.

In this period of the attack tanks and British infantry battalions of the 29th Division entered Masnières and captured Marcoing and Neuf Wood, securing the passages of the Canal de l'Escaut at both villages.

At Marcoing the tanks arrived at the moment when a party of the enemy were in the act of running out an electrical connection to blow up one of the bridges. This party was fired on by a tank and the bridge secured intact. At Masnières, however, the retreating enemy succeeded in destroying partially the bridge carrying the main road. In consequence the first tank which endeavored to cross at this point fell through the bridge, completing its destruction.

The advance of a number of our guns had been unavoidably delayed in the sunken roads which served this part of the battlefield, and though our infantry continued their progress beyond Masnières, without the assistance of tanks and artillery, they were not able at first to clear the enemy entirely from the northern portion of the village. Here parties of Germans held out during the afternoon, and gave the enemy time to occupy Rumilly and the section of the Beaufort-Masnières line south of it; while the destruction of the bridge also prevented the cavalry from crossing the canal in sufficient strength to overcome his resistance.

In spite of this difficulty, a squadron of the Fort Garry Horse, Canadian cavalry brigade, succeeded during the afternoon in crossing the canal by a temporary bridge constructed during the day. This squadron passed through the Beaufort-Masnières line and charged and captured a German battery in position to the east of it. Continuing its advance, it dispersed a body of about 300 German infantry, and did not cease its progress until the greater part of its horses had been killed or wounded. The squadron thereupon took up a position in a sunken road, where it maintained itself until night fell. It then withdrew to our lines, bringing with it several prisoners taken in the course of a most gallant exploit.

Brilliant Cavalry Work

Meanwhile, west of the canal de l'Escaut patrols of the 6th Division during the afternoon entered Noyelles-sur-l'Escaut, where

they were reinforced by cavalry, and other cavalry units pushed out toward Cantaing. West of Flesquières, the 62d Division, operating northward from Havrincourt, made important progress. Having carried the Hindenburg reserve line north of that village, it rapidly continued its attack and captured Graincourt, where two anti-tank guns were destroyed by the tanks accompanying our infantry. Before nightfall infantry and cavalry had entered Anneux, though the enemy's resistance in this village does not appear to have been entirely overcome until the following morning.

This attack of the 62d (West Riding) Division constitutes a brilliant achievement, in which the troops concerned completed an advance of four and a half miles from their original front, overrunning two German systems of defense and gaining possession of three villages.

On the left flank of our attack Ulster battalions pushed northward along the Hindenburg line and its forward defenses, maintaining touch with the West Riding troops, and carried the whole of the German trench systems west of the Canal du Nord as far north as the Bapaume-Cambrai road.

At the end of the first day of the attack, therefore, three German systems of defense had been broken through to a depth of some four and a half miles on a wide front, and over 5,000 prisoners had already been brought in. But for the wrecking of the bridge at Masnières and the check at Flesquières still greater results might have been attained.

Throughout these operations the value of the services rendered by the tanks was very great, and the utmost gallantry, enterprise, and resolution were displayed by both officers and crews. In combination with the other arms, they helped to make possible a remarkable success. Without their aid in opening a way through the German wire, success could only have been attained by methods which would have given the enemy ample warning of our attack and have allowed him time to mass troops to oppose it. As has been pointed out above, to enable me to undertake such an operation with the troops at my disposal secrecy to the last moment was essential. The tanks alone made it possible to dispense with artillery preparation, and so to conceal our intentions from the enemy up to the actual moment of attack.

Great credit is due also to the Royal Flying Corps for very gallant and most valuable work carried out under conditions of the greatest difficulty from low clouds and driving mist.

In the subsidiary attack at Bullecourt battalions of the 3d Division and the 16th (Irish) Division successfully completed the work begun by our operations in this area in May and June, 1917, capturing the remainder of the Hindenburg support trench on their front, with some 700 prisoners. A number of counterattacks against our new positions at Bullecourt on this and the following day were repulsed, with great loss to the enemy.

The Advance Continued

4. On the morning of Nov. 21 the attack on Flesquières was resumed, and by 8 A. M. the village had been turned from the north-west and captured. The obstacle which more than anything else had limited the results of Nov. 20 was thereby removed, and later in the morning the advance once more became general.

Masnieres had been cleared of the enemy during the previous evening, and at 11 A. M. our troops attacked the Beaufort-Masnieres line and established themselves in the portion to the east and north of Masnières. Heavy fighting took place, and a counterattack from the direction of Rumilly was beaten off. At the same hour we attacked and captured Les Rues des Vignes, but later in the morning the enemy counterattacked and compelled our troops to fall back from this position. Progress was also made toward Crèvecœur; but though the canal was crossed during the afternoon, it was found impossible to force the passage of the river in face of the enemy's machine-gun fire.

That evening orders were issued by the 3d Army to secure the ground already gained in this area of the battle, and to capture Rumilly on the morrow; but in consequence of the exhaustion of the troops engaged it was found necessary later in the night to cancel the orders for this attack.

West of the Canal de l'Escaut Infantry of the 29th Division and dismounted regiments of the 1st and 5th Cavalry Divisions, including the Ambala Brigade, were heavily engaged throughout the day in Noyelles, and beat off all attacks in continuous fighting.

Following upon the capture of Flesquières, the 51st and 62d Divisions, in co-operation with a number of tanks and squadrons of the 1st Cavalry Division, attacked at 10:30 A. M. in the direction of Fontaine-notre-Dame and Bourlon.

In this attack the capture of Anneux was completed, and early in the afternoon Cantaing was seized, with some hundreds of prisoners. Progress was made on the outskirts of Bourlon Wood, and late in the afternoon Fontaine-notre-Dame was taken by troops of the 51st Division and tanks. The attack on Bourlon Wood itself was checked by machine-gun fire, though tanks advanced some distance into the wood.

Further west, the 36th Division advanced north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, and reached the southern outskirts of Moeuvres, where strong opposition was encountered.

Position on Nov. 21

5. On the evening of the second day of the attack, therefore, our troops held a line which ran approximately as follows:

From our old front line east of Gonnelleu the right flank of our new positions lay along the eastern slopes of the Bonavis Ridge, passing east of Lateau Wood and striking the

Masnieres-Beaurevoir line north of the Canal de l'Escaut at a point about half way between Crèvecoeur and Masnières. From this point our line ran roughly northwest, past and including Masnières, Noyelles, and Cantain, to Fontaine, also inclusive. Thence it bent back to the south for a short distance, making a sharp salient round the latter village, and ran in a general westerly direction along the southern edge of Bourlon Wood and across the southern face of the spur to the west of the wood, to the Canal du Nord, southeast of the village of Moeuvres. From Moeuvres the line linked up once more with our old front at a point about midway between Bourcles and Pronville.

The forty-eight hours after which it had been calculated that the enemy's reserves would begin to arrive had in effect expired, and the high ground at Bourlon Village and Wood, as well as certain important tactical features to the east and west of the wood, still remained in the enemy's possession. It now became necessary to decide whether to continue the operation offensively or to take up a defensive attitude and rest content with what had been attained.

The Decision to Go On

6. It was not possible, however, to let matters stand as they were. The positions captured by us north of Flesquières were completely commanded by the Bourlon Ridge, and unless this ridge were gained it would be impossible to hold them, except at excessive cost. If I decided not to go on a withdrawal to the Flesquières Ridge would be necessary, and would have to be carried out at once.

On the other hand, the enemy showed certain signs of an intention to withdraw. Craters had been formed at road junctions, and troops could be seen ready to move east. The possession of Bourlon Ridge would enable our troops to obtain observation over the ground to the north, which sloped gently down to the Sensée River. The enemy's defensive lines south of the Scarpe and Sensée Rivers would thereby be turned, his communications exposed to the observed fire of our artillery, and his positions in this sector jeopardized. In short, so great was the importance of the ridge to the enemy that its loss would probably cause the abandonment by the Germans of their carefully prepared defense systems for a considerable distance to the north of it.

The successive days of constant marching and fighting had placed a very severe strain upon the endurance of the troops, and, before a further advance could be undertaken, some time would have to be spent in resting and relieving them. This need for delay was regrettable, as the enemy's forces were increasing, and fresh German divisions were known to be arriving, but, with the limited number of troops at my command, it was unavoidable.

It was to be remembered, however, that the hostile reinforcements coming up at this stage could at first be no more than enough to replace the enemy's losses; and although the right of our advance had definitely been stayed, the enemy had not yet developed such strength about Bourlon as it seemed might not be overcome by the numbers at my disposal. As has already been pointed out, on the Cambrai side of the battlefield I had only aimed at securing a defensive flank to enable the advance to be pushed northward and northward, and this part of my task had been to a large extent achieved.

An additional and very important argument in favor of proceeding with my attack was supplied by the situation in Italy, upon which a continuance of pressure on the Cambrai front might reasonably be expected to exercise an important effect, no matter what measure of success attended my efforts. Moreover, two divisions previously under orders for Italy had on this day been placed at my disposal, and with this accession of strength the prospect of securing Bourlon seemed good.

After weighing these various considerations, therefore, I decided to continue the operations to gain the Bourlon position.

Nov. 22 was spent in organizing the captured ground, in carrying out certain reliefs, and in giving other troops the rest they greatly needed. Soon after midday the enemy regained Fontaine-notre-Dame; but with our troops already on the outskirts of Bourlon Wood and Cantain held by us, it was thought that the recapture of Fontaine should not prove very difficult. The necessary arrangements for renewing the attack were therefore pushed on, and our plans were extended to include the recapture of Fontaine-notre-Dame.

Meanwhile, early in the night of Nov. 22, a battalion of the Queen's Westminsters stormed a commanding tactical point in the Hindenburg line west of Moeuvres known as Tadpole Copse, the possession of which would be of value in connection with the left flank of the Bourlon position when the latter had been secured.

Struggle for Bourlon Ridge

7. On the morning of Nov. 23, the 51st Division, supported by tanks, attacked Fontaine-notre-Dame, but was unable to force an entrance. Early in the afternoon this division repeated its attack from the west, and a number of tanks entered Fontaine, where they remained till dusk, inflicting considerable loss on the enemy. We did not succeed, however, in clearing the village, and at the end of the day no progress had been made on this part of our front.

At 10:30 A. M. the 40th Division attacked Bourlon Wood, and after four and a half hours of hard fighting, in which tanks again rendered valuable assistance to our infantry,

captured the whole of the wood and entered Bourlon village. Here hostile counterattacks prevented our further progress, and though the village was at one time reported to have been taken by us, this proved later to be erroneous. A heavy hostile attack upon our positions in the wood, in which all three battalions of the 9th Grenadier Regiment appear to have been employed, was completely repulsed.

Throughout this day, also, the 36th Division and troops of the 56th (London) Division (T.) were engaged in stubborn fighting in the neighborhood of Moeuvres and Tadpole Copse, and made some progress.

This struggle for Bourlon resulted in several days of fiercely contested fighting, in which English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish battalions, together with dismounted cavalry, performed most gallant service and inflicted heavy loss on the enemy.

During the morning of Nov. 24 the enemy twice attacked, and at his second attempt pressed back our troops in the northeastern corner of the wood. An immediate counter-attack delivered by the 14th Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, the 15th Hussars, dismounted, and the remnants of the 119th Infantry Brigade, drove back the enemy in turn, and by noon our line had been re-established. Meanwhile, dismounted cavalry had repulsed an attack on the high ground west of Bourlon Wood, and in the afternoon a third hostile attack upon the wood was stopped by our artillery and rifle fire.

Bourlon Village Captured

On this afternoon our infantry again attacked Bourlon village, and captured the whole of it. Later in the evening a fourth attack upon our positions in the wood was beaten off after fierce fighting. Further progress was made on this day in the Hindenburg line west of Moeuvres, but the enemy's resistance in the whole of this area was very strong. On the evening of Nov. 25 a fresh attack by the enemy regained Bourlon village, though our troops offered vigorous resistance, and parties of the 13th Battalion East Surrey Regiment held out in the southeast corner of the village until touch was re-established with them two days later. The continual fighting and the strength of the enemy's attacks, however, had told heavily on the 40th Division, which had borne the brunt of the struggle. This division was accordingly withdrawn, and on the following day our troops were again pressed back slightly in the northern outskirts of Bourlon Wood.

With the enemy in possession of the shoulder of the ridge above Fontaine-notre-Dame, as well as of part of the high ground west of Bourlon Wood, our position in the wood itself was a difficult one, and much of the ground to the south of it was still exposed to the enemy's observation. It was decided, therefore, to make another effort on Nov. 27 to capture Fontaine-notre-Dame and

Bourlon village and to gain possession of the whole of the Bourlon Ridge.

In this attack, in which tanks co-operated, British Guards temporarily regained possession of Fontaine-notre-Dame, taking some hundreds of prisoners, and troops of the 62d Division once more entered Bourlon village. Later in the morning, however, heavy counterattacks developed in both localities, and our troops were unable to maintain the ground they had gained. During the afternoon the enemy also attacked our positions at Tadpole Copse, but was repulsed.

As the result of five days of constant fighting, therefore, we held a strong position on the Bourlon Hill and in the wood, but had not yet succeeded in gaining all the ground required for the security of this important feature. The two following days passed comparatively quietly, while the troops engaged were relieved and steps were undertaken to prepare for a deliberate attack which might give us the tactical points we sought.

Meanwhile, on other parts of the front, the organization of our new positions was proceeding as rapidly as conditions would allow. In particular, troops of the 12th Division had effected some improvement on the right flank of our advance opposite Banteux, and the 16th Division had made further progress in the Hindenburg line northwest of Bullecourt.

At the end of November the number of prisoners taken in our operations southwest of Cambrai exceeded 10,500. We had also captured 142 guns, some 350 machine guns, and 70 trench mortars, with great quantities of ammunition, material, and stores of all kinds.

The German Attack

8. During the last days of November increased registration of hostile artillery, the movements of troops and transport observed behind the German lines, together with other indications of a like nature, pointed to further efforts by the enemy to regain the positions we had wrested from him.

The front affected by this increased activity included that of our advance, as well as the ground to Vendhuile and beyond. The massing of the enemy's infantry, however, his obvious anxiety concerning the security of his defenses south of the Sensée River, the tactical importance of the high ground about Bourlon, and the fact that we were still only in partial possession of it, all pointed to the principal attack being delivered in the Bourlon sector.

9. Measures were accordingly taken, both by the 3d Army and by the lower formations concerned, to prepare for eventualities. Arrangements had been made after our last attack to relieve the troops holding the Bourlon positions by such fresh divisions as were available, and when these reliefs had been satisfactorily completed I felt confident that the defense of this sector could be considered secure.

Covering our right flank from Cantaing to the Banteux Ravine, a distance of about 16,000 yards, five British divisions were disposed, and, though these had been fighting for several days and were consequently tired, I felt confident that they would prove equal to stopping any attack the enemy could make on them.

From the Banteux Ravine southward the divisions in line were weak and held very extended fronts. On the other hand, the line held by us in this southern sector had been in our possession for some months. Its defenses were for this reason more complete and better organized than those of the ground gained by us in our attack. Moreover, the capture of the Bonavis Ridge had added to the security of our position further south.

The reserve divisions immediately available in the area consisted of the Guards and 2d Cavalry Divisions, both of which had been engaged in the recent fighting at Fontaine and Bourlon Wood. These were located behind the La Vacquerie-Villers Guislain front, while another division, the 62d, which had also been recently engaged, was placed further to the northwest in the direction of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. A fresh South Midland Division was assembling further back, two other cavalry divisions were within from two to three hours' march of the battle area, and another cavalry division but a little further distant.

In view of the symptoms of activity observed on the enemy's front, special precautions were taken by local commanders, especially from Villers Guislain to the south. Troops were warned to expect attack, additional machine guns were placed to secure supporting points, and divisional reserves were closed up. Special patrols were also sent out to watch for signs of any hostile advance.

The Battle Reopened

10. Between the hours of 7 and 8 A. M. on the last day of November the enemy attacked, after a short but intense artillery preparation, on the greater part of a front of some ten miles from Vendhuille to Masnières inclusive. From Masnières to Banteux, both inclusive, four German divisions would seem to have been employed against the three British divisions holding this area. Between Banteux exclusive and Vendhuille one German division and portions of two others were employed against the northern half of the British division holding that front.

On the Masnières front the 29th Division, composed of English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Guernsey, and Newfoundland battalions, although seriously threatened as the day wore on by the progress made by the enemy further south, where their battery positions had been taken in reverse, most gallantly beat off a succession of powerful assaults and maintained their line intact.

At the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and in the Gonnelleu sector the swiftness with

which the advance of the enemy's infantry followed the opening of his bombardment appears to have overwhelmed our troops, both in line and in immediate support, almost before they had realized that the attack had begun.

The nature of the bombardment, which seems to have been heavy enough to keep our men under cover without at first seriously alarming them, contributed to the success of the enemy's plans. No steadily advancing barrage gave warning of the approach of the German assault columns, whose secret assembly was assisted by the many deep folds and hollows typical of a chalk formation, and shielded from observation from the air by an early morning mist. Only when the attack was upon them great numbers of low-flying German airplanes rained machine-gun fire upon our infantry, while an extensive use of smoke shell and bombs made it extremely difficult for our troops to see what was happening on other parts of the battlefield, or to follow the movements of the enemy. In short, there is little doubt that, although an attack was expected generally, yet in these areas of the battle at the moment of delivery the assault effected a local surprise.

Stubborn British Resistance

None the less, stubborn resistance was offered during the morning by isolated parties of our troops and by machine-gun detachments in the neighborhood of Lateau Wood and southeast of La Vacquerie, as well as at other points. In more than one instance heavy losses are known to have been inflicted on the enemy by machine-gun fire at short range. Northeast of La Vacquerie the 92d Field Artillery Brigade repulsed four attacks, in some of which the enemy's infantry approached to within 200 yards of our guns before the surviving gunners were finally compelled to withdraw, after removing the breech-blocks from their pieces. East of Villers-Guislain the troops holding our forward positions on the high ground were still offering a strenuous resistance to the enemy's attack on their front at a time when large forces of German infantry had already advanced up the valley between them and Villers-Guislain. South of this village a single strong point known as Limerick Post, garrisoned by troops of the 1st and 5th Battalions, (King's Own,) Royal Lancaster Regiment, and the 1st and 10th Battalions, Liverpool Regiment, held out with great gallantry throughout the day, though heavily attacked.

The progress made by the enemy, however, across the northern end of the Bonavis Ridge and up the deep gully between Villers-Guislain and Gonnelleu, known as 22 Ravine, turned our positions on the ridge as well as in both villages. Taking in flank and rear, the defenses of Villers-Guislain, Gonnelleu, and Bonavis were rapidly overrun. Gouzeaucourt was captured about 9 A. M., the outer defenses of La Vacquerie were reached,

and a number of guns which had been brought up close to the line in order to enable them to cover the battle front about Masnières and Marcoing fell into the hands of the enemy.

At this point the enemy's advance was checked by the action of our local reserves, and meanwhile measures had been taken with all possible speed to bring up additional troops. About midday the Guards came into action west of Gouzeaucourt, while cavalry moved up to close the gap on their right and made progress toward Villers-Guislain from the south and southwest.

The attack of the Guards, which was delivered with the greatest gallantry and resolution, drove the enemy out of Gouzeaucourt and made progress on the high ground known as the St. Quentin Ridge, east of the village. In this operation the Guards were materially assisted by the gallant action of a party of the 29th Division, who, with a company of North Midland Royal Engineers, held on throughout the day to a position in an old trench near Gouzeaucourt. Valuable work was also done by a brigade of field artillery of the 47th Division, which moved direct into action from the line of march.

During the afternoon three battalions of tanks which, when they received news of the attack, were preparing to move away from the battlefield to refit, arrived at Gouzeaucourt and aided the infantry to hold the recaptured ground. Great credit is due to the officers and men of the tank brigade concerned for the speed with which they brought their tanks into action.

Meanwhile, the defense of La Vacquerie had been successfully maintained, and our line had been established to the north of that village, in touch with our troops in Masnières.

The Northern Attack

11. In the northern area, from Fontaine-notre-Dame to Tadpole Copse, the German attack was not launched until some two hours later. This was the enemy's main attack, and was carried out with large forces and great resolution.

After a heavy preliminary bombardment, and covered by an artillery barrage, the enemy's infantry advanced shortly after 9 A. M. in dense waves, in the manner of his attacks in the first battle of Ypres. In the course of the morning and afternoon no less than five principal attacks were made in this area, and on one portion of the attack as many as eleven waves of German infantry advanced successively to the assault. On the whole of this front a resolute endeavor was made to break down by sheer weight of numbers the defense of the London Territorials and other English battalions holding the sector.

In this fighting the 47th (London) Division (T.), the 2d Division, and the 56th (London) Division (T.) greatly distinguished themselves, and there were accomplished many deeds of great heroism.

Under the fury of the enemy's bombardment a company of the 17th Battalion Royal Fusiliers were in the course of being withdrawn from an exposed position in a sap-head in advance of our line between Bourlon Wood and Moeuvres when the German attack burst upon them. The officer in command sent three of his platoons back, and with a rearguard composed of the remainder of his company held off the enemy's infantry until the main position had been organized. Having faithfully accomplished their task, this rearguard died fighting to the end with their faces to the enemy.

Somewhat later in the morning an attack in force between the Canal du Nord and Moeuvres broke into our foremost positions and isolated a company of the 13th Battalion, Essex Regiment, in a trench just west of the canal. After maintaining a splendid and successful resistance throughout the day, whereby the pressure upon our main line was greatly relieved, at 4 P. M. this company held a council of war, at which the two remaining company officers, the company Sergeant Major, and the platoon Sergeants were present, and unanimously determined to fight to the last and have "no surrender." Two runners who were sent to notify this decision to battalion headquarters succeeded in getting through to our lines and delivered their message. During the remainder of the afternoon and far into the following night this gallant company were heard fighting, and there is little room for doubt that they carried out to a man their heroic resolution.

Enormous German Losses

Early in the afternoon large masses of the enemy again attacked west of Bourlon Wood, and, though beaten off with great loss at most points, succeeded in overwhelming three out of a line of posts held by a company of the 1st Battalion, Royal Berks Regiment, on the right of the 2d Division. Though repeatedly attacked by vastly superior numbers, the remainder of these posts stood firm, and when, two days later, the three posts which had been overpowered were regained, such a heap of German dead lay in and around them that the bodies of our own men were hidden.

All accounts go to show that the enemy's losses in the whole of his constantly repeated attacks on this sector of the battle front were enormous. One battery of eight machine guns fired 70,000 rounds of ammunition into ten successive waves of Germans. Long lines of attacking infantry were caught by our machine-gun fire in enfilade, and were shot down in line as they advanced. Great execution also was done by our field artillery, and in the course of the battle guns were brought up to the crest line and fired direct upon the enemy at short range.

At one point west of Bourlon the momentum of his first advance carried the enemy through our front line and a short way down the southern slopes of the ridge. There,

however, the German masses came under direct fire from our field artillery at short range and were broken up. Our local reserves at once counterattacked and succeeded in closing the gap that had been made in our line. Early in the afternoon the enemy again forced his way into our foremost positions in this locality, opening a gap between the 1st and 6th Battalions and the 1st and 15th Battalions, London regiments. Counterattacks led by the two battalion commanders, with all available men, including the personnel of their headquarters, once more restored the situation. All other attacks were beaten off with the heaviest losses to the enemy.

The greatest credit is due to the troops at Masnières, Bourlon, and Moeuvres for the very gallant service performed by them on this day. But for their steady courage and stanchness in defense, the success gained by the enemy on the right of our battle front might have had serious consequences.

I cannot close the account of this day's fighting without recording my obligation to the Commander in Chief of the French Armies for the prompt way in which he placed French troops within reach for employment in case of need at the unfettered discretion of the 3d Army commander. Part of the artillery of this force actually came into action, rendering valuable service, and though the remainder of the troops were not called upon, the knowledge that they were available should occasion arise was a great assistance.

At Gonnellieu and Masnieres

12. On Dec. 1 fighting continued fiercely on the whole front.

The Guards completed the capture of the St. Quentin Ridge and entered Gonnellieu, where they captured over 350 prisoners and a large number of machine guns. Tanks took an effective part in the fighting for the ridge. At one point, where our infantry were held up by fire from a hostile trench, a single tank attacked and operated up and down the trench, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy's garrison. Our infantry were then able to advance and secure the trench, which was found full of dead Germans. In it were also found fifteen machine guns that had been silenced by the tank. In the whole of this fighting splendid targets were obtained by all tank crews and the German casualties were seen to be very great.

Further south a number of tanks co-operated with dismounted Indian cavalry of the 5th Cavalry Division and with the Guards in the attacks upon Villers-Guislain and Gauche Wood, and were in great measure responsible for the capture of the wood. Heavy fighting took place for this position, which it is clear that the enemy had decided to hold at all costs. When the infantry and cavalry finally took possession of the wood, great numbers of German dead and smashed machine guns were found. In one spot four German ma-

chine guns, with dead crews lying round, were discovered within a radius of twenty yards. Three German field guns, complete with teams, were also captured in this wood.

Other tanks proceeded to Villers-Guislain, and, in spite of heavy direct artillery fire, three reached the outskirts of the village, but the fire of the enemy's machine guns prevented our troops advancing from the south from supporting them, and the tanks ultimately withdrew.

Severe fighting took place, also, at Masnières. During the afternoon and evening at least nine separate attacks were beaten off by the 29th Division on this front, and other hostile attacks were repulsed in the neighborhood of Marcoing, Fontaine-notre-Dame, and Bourlon. With the Bonavis Ridge in the enemy's hands, however, Masnières was exposed to attack on three sides, and on the night of Dec. 1-2 our troops were withdrawn under orders to a line west of the village.

On the afternoon of Dec. 2 a series of heavy attacks developed against Welsh Ridge in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie, and further assaults were made on our positions in the neighborhood of Masnières and Bourlon. These attacks were broken in succession by our machine-gun fire, but the enemy persisted in his attempts against Welsh Ridge, and gradually gained ground. By nightfall our line had been pushed back to a position west and north of Gonnellieu.

Next day the enemy renewed his attacks in great force on the whole front from Gonnellieu to Marcoing, and ultimately gained possession of La Vacquerie. North of La Vacquerie repeated attacks made about Masnières and Marcoing were repulsed in severe fighting, but the positions still retained by us beyond the Canal de l'Escaut were extremely exposed, and during the night our troops were withdrawn under orders to the west bank of the canal.

Withdrawal From Bourlon

13. By this time the enemy had evidently become exhausted by the efforts he had made and the severity of his losses, and Dec. 4 passed comparatively quietly. For some days, however, local fighting continued in the neighborhood of La Vacquerie, and his attitude remained aggressive. Local attacks in this sector were repulsed on Dec. 5, and on this and the following two days further fierce fighting took place, in which the enemy again endeavored without success to drive us from our positions on Welsh Ridge.

The strength which the enemy had shown himself able to develop in his attacks made it evident that only by prolonged and severe fighting could I hope to re-establish my right flank on the Bonavis Ridge. Unless this was done, the situation of my troops in the salient north of Flesquières would be difficult and dangerous, even if our hold on Bourlon Hill were extended.

I had therefore to decide either to embark

on another offensive battle on a large scale, or to withdraw to a more compact line on the Flesquières Ridge.

Although this decision involved giving up important positions most gallantly won, I had no doubt as to the correct course under the conditions. Accordingly, on the night of Dec. 4-5 the evacuation of the position held by us north of the Flesquières Ridge was commenced. On the morning of Dec. 7 this withdrawal was completed successfully, without interference from the enemy.

Before withdrawing, the more important of the enemy's field defenses were destroyed, and those of his guns which we had been unable to remove were rendered useless. The enemy did not discover our withdrawal for some time, and when, on the afternoon of Dec. 5, he began to feel his way forward, he did so with great caution. In spite of his care, on more than one occasion bodies of his infantry were caught in the open by our artillery.

Much skill and courage were shown by our covering troops in this withdrawal, and an incident which occurred on the afternoon of Dec. 6 in the neighborhood of Graincourt deserves special notice. A covering party, consisting of two companies of the 1st and 15th Battalions, London Regiment, 47th Division, much reduced in strength by the fighting at Bourlon Wood, found their flank exposed by a hostile attack further east, and were enveloped and practically cut off. These companies successfully cut their way through to our advanced line of resistance, where they arrived in good order, after having inflicted serious casualties on the enemy.

The new line taken up by us corresponded roughly to the old Hindenburg reserve line, and ran from a point about one and a half miles north by east of La Vacquerie, north of Ribecourt and Flesquières to the Canal du Nord, about one and a half miles north of Havrincourt—i. e., between two and two and a half miles in front of the line held by us prior to the attack of Nov. 20. We therefore retained in our possession an important section of the Hindenburg trench system, with its excellent dugouts and other advantages.

Results of the Battle

14. The material results of the three weeks' fighting described above can be stated in general terms very shortly.

We had captured and retained in our possession over 12,000 yards of the former German front line from La Vacquerie to a point opposite Boursies, together with between 10,000 and 11,000 yards of the Hindenburg line and Hindenburg reserve line and the village of Ribecourt, Flesquières, and Havrincourt. A total of 145 German guns were taken or destroyed by us in the course of the operations, and 11,100 German prisoners were captured.

On the other hand, the enemy had occu-

pied an unimportant section of our front line between Vendhuile and Gonnelleu.

There is little doubt that our operations were of considerable indirect assistance to the allied forces in Italy. Large demands were made upon the available German reserves at a time when a great concentration of German divisions was still being maintained in Flanders. There is evidence that German divisions intended for the Italian theatre were diverted to the Cambrai front, and it is probable that the further concentration of German forces against Italy was suspended for at least two weeks at a most critical period, when our allies were making their first stand on the Piave line.

General Review

15. I have already summarized in the opening paragraphs of this dispatch both the reasons which decided me to undertake the Cambrai operations and the limitations to which these operations were subject.

In view of the strength of the German forces on the front of my attack and the success with which secrecy was maintained during our preparations, I had calculated that the enemy's prepared defenses would be captured in the first rush. I had good hope that his resisting power behind these defenses would then be so enfeebled for a period that we should be able on the same day to establish ourselves quickly and completely on the dominating Bourlon Ridge from Fontaine-notre-Dame to Moeuvres and to secure our right flank along a line including the Bonavis Ridge, Crèvecœur, and Rumilly to Fontaine-notre-Dame. Even if this did not prove possible within the first twenty-four hours, a second day would be at our disposal before the enemy's reserves could begin to arrive in any formidable numbers.

Meanwhile, with no wire and no prepared defenses to hamper them, it was reasonable to hope that masses of cavalry would find it possible to pass through, whose task would be thoroughly to disorganize the enemy's systems of command and intercommunication in the whole area between the Canal de l'Escaut, the River Sensée, and the Canal du Nord, as well as to the east and northeast of Cambrai.

My intentions as regards subsequent exploitation were to push westward and north-westward, taking the Hindenburg line in reverse from Moeuvres to the River Scarpe, and capturing all the enemy's defenses and probably most of his garrisons lying west of a line from Cambrai northward to the Sensée, and south of that river and the Scarpe.

Time would have been required to enable us to develop and complete the operation; but the prospects of gaining the necessary time, by the use of cavalry in the manner outlined above, were in my opinion good enough to justify the attempt to execute the plan. I am of opinion that on Nov. 20 and 21 we went

very near to a success sufficiently complete to bring the realization of our full program within our power.

The reasons for my decision to continue the fight after Nov. 21 have already been explained. Though in the event no advantage was gained thereby, I still consider that, as the problem presented itself at the time, the more cautious course would have been difficult to justify. It must be remembered that it was not a question of remaining where we stood, but of abandoning tactical positions of value, gained with great gallantry, the retention of which seemed not only to be within our power, but likely even yet to lead to further success.

Whatever may be the final decision on this point, as well as on the original decision to undertake the enterprise at all with the forces available, the continuation of our efforts against Fontaine-notre-Dame gave rise to severe fighting, in which our troops more than held their own.

Risks Voluntarily Accepted

On Nov. 30 risks were accepted by us at some points in order to increase our strength at others. Our fresh reserves had been thrown in on the Bourlon front, where the enemy brought against us a total force of seven divisions to three and failed. I do not consider that it would have been justifiable on the indications to have allotted a smaller garrison to this front.

Between Masnières and Vendhuile the enemy's superiority in infantry over our divisions in line was in the proportion of about four to three, and we were sufficiently provided with artillery. That his attack was partially successful may tend to show that the garrison allotted to this front was insufficient, either owing to want of numbers, lack of training, or exhaustion from previous fighting.

Captured maps and orders have made it

clear that the enemy aimed at far more considerable results than were actually achieved by him. Three convergent attacks were to be made on the salient formed by our advance; two of them delivered approximately simultaneously about Gonnelleu and Masnières, followed later by a still more powerful attack on the Bourlon front. The objectives of these attacks extended to the high ground at Beaucamp and Trescault, and the enemy's hope was to capture and destroy the whole of the British forces in the Cambrai salient.

This bold and ambitious plan was foiled on the greater part of our front by the splendid defense of the British divisions engaged; and, though the defense broke down for a time in one area, the recovery made by the weak forces still left and those within immediate reach is worthy of the highest praise. Numberless instances of great gallantry, promptitude, and skill were shown, some few which have been recounted.

I desire to acknowledge the skill and resource displayed by General Byng throughout the Cambrai operations and to express my appreciation of the manner in which they were conducted by him as well as by his staff and the subordinate commanders.

In conclusion, I would point out that the sudden breaking through by our troops of an immense system of defense has had a most inspiring moral effect on the armies I command and must have a correspondingly depressing influence upon the enemy. The great value of the tanks in the offensive has been conclusively proved. In view of this experience, the enemy may well hesitate to deplete any portion of his front, as he did last Summer, in order to set free troops to concentrate for decisive action at some other point.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, your obedient servant,
D. HAIG,
Field Marshal, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

Millions of Horses Used by the Armies

Figures compiled by the Red Star Animal Relief Society show that at the beginning of 1918 there were 4,500,000 horses in use by all the armies in the war, and that the losses on the western front alone averaged 47,000 a month. About 1,500,000 horses had been bought by the Allies in America; 33,000 of these had died before they could be embarked, and 6,000 died in the ships. The value of horses shipped to Europe in 1917 was more than \$50,000,000, and the loss in a heavy month of fighting is about \$1,500,000. The United States Army in France will need 750,000 horses for draft purposes and mounts, with several hundred thousands more to fill losses. Experience on both sides has proved that a shortage of horses means a corresponding loss of guns in battle and the impossibility of rapid advance. Only well animals can be used, and there are always thousands in the hospitals. Behind the British lines there is a horse hospital within four miles of any point, and eight miles away from each is another. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has hospitals for 10,000 horses and mules, with well-designed buildings, complete operating equipments, ambulances, forage barns, cooking kitchens, quarters for the staff, and every detail for curing the wounded animals. The veterinary surgeons of this society are saving 80 per cent. of the injured horses and sending them back to the batteries.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

In the Hands of His Friends



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoons]
"Vorwärts Mit Gott!"



Sacrificing the Manhood and Youth of a Nation to Save a Throne.



—From The New York Times.

"Hold the line! We're coming ten million strong!"

[Italian Cartoon]

In Danger of Shipwreck



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

President Wilson's war aims threaten to bring disaster to the Central Powers' peace boat.

[English Cartoon]

If They Had Been Rationed



—From *London Opinion*.

How certain great historical personages might have looked if they had lived in the days of bread cards.

[German Cartoon]

Smoking the Peace Pipe



—From Der Brummer, Berlin.

THE ENTENTE: "What a pity we are excluded!"

[English Cartoon]

The Rescuer's Usual Fate!



—From London Opinion.

POLICEMAN JOHN BULL: "But I only came on the scene because he had started to knock you about!"

MRS. RUSSIA: "Never mind about that. Go on, Bill, teach 'im to interfere—hit me again."

[American Cartoon]

Proving a Fallacy



—From The Chicago Herald.

Russia's faith in Socialist pacifism, and what came of it.

[English Cartoon]

A Threatened Interruption

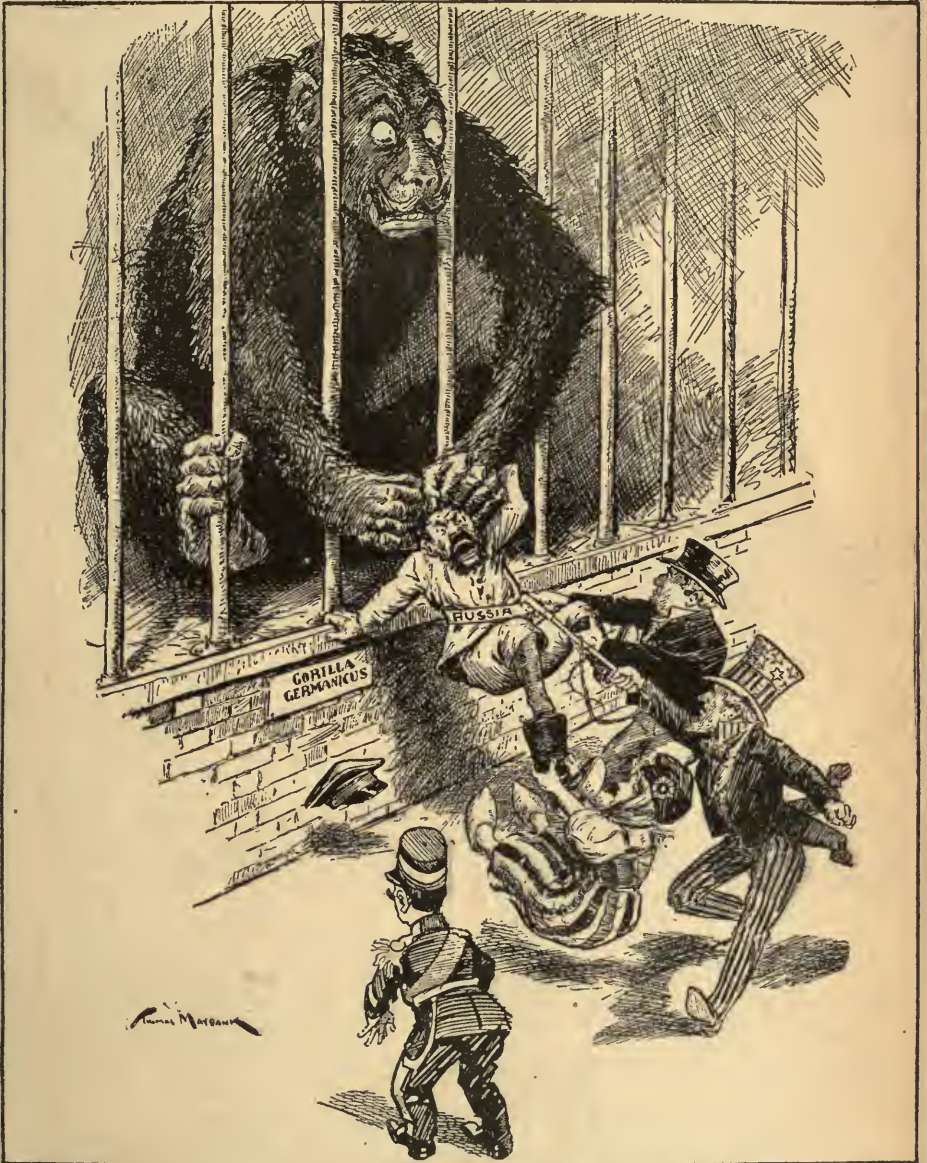


—From London Opinion.

["Japan will take steps of the most decided and most adequate character to meet the occasion."—VISCOUNT MOTONO, Minister for Foreign Affairs.]

[English Cartoon]

Russia's Fate



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

If he *would* go fooling around with him what could they do?

[English Cartoon]

Futurist Art in Russia



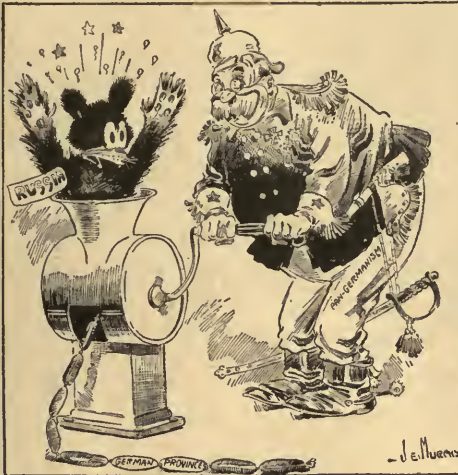
—From The National News, London.

STURDY OLD BURGESS: "And what, Sir, may your picture represent?"
PLUPERFECT FUTURIST TROTZKY: "The mental state of a Bolshevik contemplating 'German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent co-operation of English and French bourgeoisie.'"

STURDY OLD BURGESS: "Sir, you have produced a priceless masterpiece—and if it is true that you have sold it for £22,000 you have given it away!"

[American Cartoons]

The Wurst Is Yet to Come



His New Trousers



—San Francisco Call-Post.

The Kaiser's God



Tougher Than Bear Meat



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Judging the Landslide by a Pebble



—From Collier's.

"That's My Fight Too!"



—New York World.

Dealing With Gas Attacks



—Dallas News.

[German Cartoon]

Italy's Troubles



—From *Der Brummer*, Berlin.

ITALY: "Hang it all! I have been at this window for nearly three years!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Austria and America



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

GERMAN DRILL SERGEANT: "Now, Austrians! Eyes front! Mark time! Keep your eyes on me!"

[Italian Cartoon]

That Dinner in Paris



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

WILHELM: "Now that we have settled Russia, prepare that Paris feast."

CHEF: "For Paris, Sire? I am afraid the food will turn bad, as it did the other time."

[American Cartoon]

The Hohenzollern Fingerprints



—Macauley in *Butterfield Syndicate*.

[English Cartoon]

"Here's to Dear Old Trotzky!"



—Passing Show, London.

[American Cartoon]

In the Lion's Mouth



—Knickerbocker Press, Albany.

[French Cartoon]

The Russian Campaign



"Where are you running?"

"To kill our General before he commits suicide."

—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

[American Cartoon]

The Progress of Kultur



—From The New York World.

Under His New Colonel—
R. E. Morse



A Tail of Camouflage



Anxious Moments



But Can He Get Out?



—Bushnell for Central Press Association.

[American Cartoons]

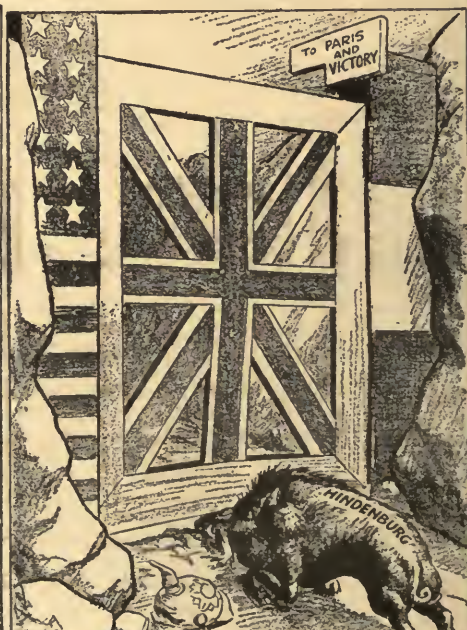
"Sire, Ve Haf Located die
Sammies!"

Putting All Their Punch in
One Glove



Bringing the War Home to Us

Stuck



—Baltimore American.

Another German Substitute



—Dayton Daily News.

Back to Earth



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

It Shoots Further Than He Dreams



—Dallas News.

"Whither Are We Going?"



—Satterfield Syndicate.

The Bolsheviki as Art Collectors



Thus It Was—Thus It Is



The Bolsheviki Even Brought
the English to Their Knees

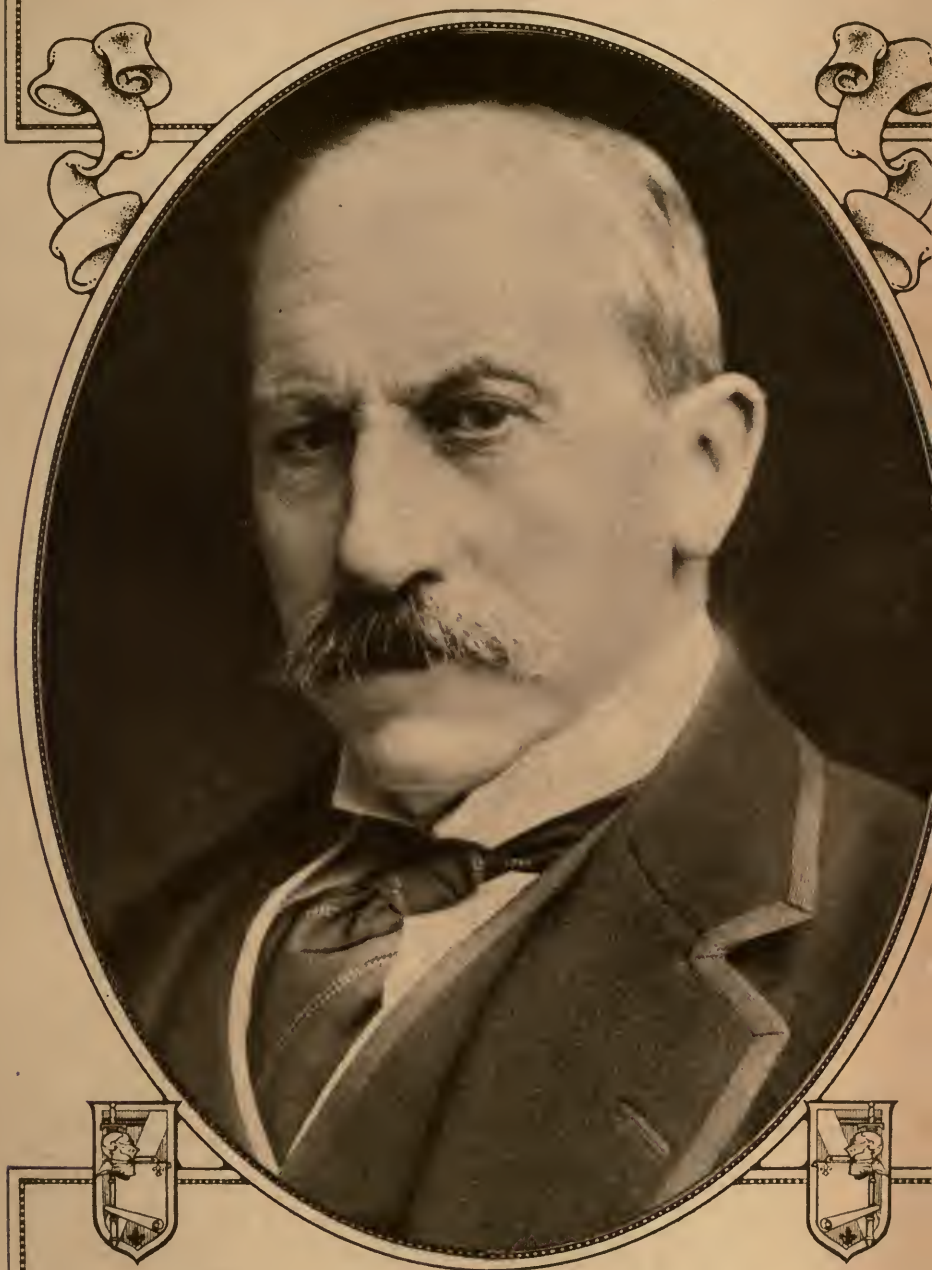
The Feast



[Russian papers state that prayers for Russia were held in England, beginning, "Save Russia from the Bolsheviki."]

—From *Novi Satirikon*, Petrograd.

VISCOUNT MILNER



The new British War Secretary in succession to Lord Derby. He had been a member of the War Cabinet since its creation in December, 1916
(*Central News*)

GENERAL SIR W. R. MARSHALL



Commander in Chief of the British forces in Mesopotamia
(Central News)

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 19, 1918.]

SUMMARY OF WAR ACTIVITIES

FOUR weeks of comparative calm on the western front intervened after the furious fighting that had continued throughout the preceding month. The Germans made several desperate efforts to smash their way through the British lines to the channel ports, but they failed. The British and French lines stood firm as granite, and the enemy suffered frightful losses. The battle lines remained practically unchanged.

From the English Channel to the Adriatic there was complete union of the British, French, American, and Italian forces under a single command; these forces, including reserves, were estimated at 6,000,000 men. No military event of importance occurred on the other fronts, though the British made some further advances in Palestine and Mesopotamia.

In political matters the month brought events of more importance, chief of which was the renewal of an alliance between Germany and Austria; this was accomplished at a meeting of the Emperors.

The acceleration of troop movements from the United States to France was a feature of the month, the estimate for the four weeks running as high as 150,000; it was semi-officially stated that in April, 1918, more than 500,000 American soldiers were in France, and that by Jan. 1, 1919, there would be 1,500,000 of our fighting men at the front, with 500,000 more at transportation, supply, and civil work; the speeding up of shipbuilding and other war work was significant. The Third Liberty Loan aggregated more than \$4,000,000,000, with 17,000,000 subscribers, proving a brilliant success. The President by proclamation extended enemy alien restrictions to women also. A bill was passed enabling the President to consolidate and co-ordinate executive bureaus, thus giving him extraordinary executive powers. The sedition law was strengthened. A new commercial agreement was made with Norway.

In Great Britain the chief event was the triumph of the Premier over a military group that tried to overthrow his Ministry. There was a recrudescence of the spirit of rebellion in Ireland. In France the conviction of the Bonnet Rouge editors on a charge of treason deepened confidence in the stability of the Government. The German penetration of Russia continued, and all the evidence indicated that the country was coming under Teutonic control, economically, industrially, and financially. The humiliating peace forced on Rumania was ratified, and the country passed practically under German and Austrian domination.

The month's record of enemy U-boat losses strengthened faith that this menace was being eliminated and that new allied tonnage would exceed losses in increasing ratio from May 1, 1918.

The chief naval event was the daring British raid on the German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend; the channel at the first named port was blocked, and the harbor entrance at Ostend, by means of a second raid, was partially blocked, resulting in a serious hampering of submarine operations. The Italians penetrated Pola Harbor, May 14, with a small torpedo boat and sank a 20,000-ton Austrian dreadnought.

* * *

SINN FEIN PLOT FRUSTRATED

DURING the night of May 18 the British authorities in Ireland suddenly arrested at their homes about 500 of the leading Sinn Feiners on the charge of having treasonable communication with the German enemy. Among those arrested were the Sinn Fein members of Parliament, also the conspicuous Irish agitators and irreconcilables, both men and women. A proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant declaring that a conspiracy with Germany had been discovered, calling upon all loyal Irishmen to assist in suppressing it, and urging voluntary enlistments. It was believed that this prompt action had prevented a

contemplated uprising, which was being aided by German spies. Comparative calm followed the arrests.

* * *

FOCH'S ARMY COMPRISES ALL RACES OF EARTH

IT seems certain that never in the world's history were so many different races, peoples, and tongues united under the command of a single man as are now gathered together in the army of Generalissimo Foch. If we divide the human races into White, Yellow, Red, and Black, all four are largely represented. Among the white races there are Frenchmen, Italians, Portuguese, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Canadians, Australians, South Africans, (of both British and Dutch descent,) New Zealanders; in the American Army, probably every other European nation is represented, with additional contingents from those already named, so that every branch of the white race figures in the ethnological total. There are representatives of many Asiatic races, including not only the volunteers from the native States of India, but elements from the French colony in Cochin China, with Annam, Cambodia, Tonkin, Laos, and Kwang Chau Wan. England and France both contribute many African tribes, including Arabs from Algeria and Tunis, Senegalese, Saharans, and many of the South African races. The red races of North America are represented in the armies of both Canada and the United States, while the Maoris, Samoans, and other Polynesian races are likewise represented. And as, in the American Army, there are men of German, Austrian, and Hungarian descent, and, in all probability, contingents also of Bulgarian and Turkish blood, it may be said that Foch commands an army representing the whole human race, united in defense of the ideals of the Allies. The presence, among Foch's strategic reserves, of 250,000 Italian soldiers is peculiarly interesting, as no Italian force at all comparable to this in numbers seems ever to have operated on French soil, though French armies have again and again fought in Italy. During the early wars of Napoleon this was the case, and again

in 1859, when the battles of Magenta and Solferino gave names to two new shades of red. In 1870 also there were French troops in Rome; their withdrawal, in the Summer of that year, opened the way for the final union of Italy.

* * *

MEETING OF THE GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN EMPERORS

THE German and Austrian Emperors held a consultation at German Great Headquarters on May 12 to discuss future relations between the two empires. Emperor Karl was accompanied by Foreign Minister Burian, Field Marshal von Arz, Chief of the General Staff, and Prince Hohenlohe, Austrian Ambassador at Berlin. Germany was represented by Imperial Chancellor von Hertling, Field Marshal von Hindenburg, General Ludendorff, Foreign Secretary von Kuehlmann, and Count von Wedel, Ambassador at Vienna.

According to an official statement issued in Berlin, all the fundamental political, economic, and military questions affecting present and future relations were thoroughly discussed, and "there was complete accord on all these questions, tending to deepen the existing alliance." In many quarters the impression prevailed that the result of the meeting was to define and recognize formally the subservient relations of Austria-Hungary toward the German Empire. The State Department at Washington made public a report based upon indications given by the Berlin newspapers that the agreement made at the meeting concerned three points:

1. The duration of the alliance was fixed for twenty-five years.
2. Germany and Austria-Hungary are to sign a military convention imposing upon each much stricter military obligations than did the preceding treaty.
3. The economic relations will be regulated so as to realize the plan of Mitteleuropa.

A solution of the Polish question was also arrived at, according to a newspaper statement published in Berlin, on the lines of complete union between Austria-Hungary and Poland. Another message said that the German and Austrian Em-

perors had selected monarchs for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and Esthonia. It was officially stated that no actual treaty was signed.

One of the most interesting subsequent revelations was that King Ludwig of Bavaria and King Frederick August of Saxony were also present at the meeting at German Great Headquarters. Some of the reports represented these two monarchs as having been present uninvited.

* * *

THE PRINCE SIXTUS LETTER

ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, replying to inquiries in the House of Commons, May 16, stated that Emperor Karl's peace letter to Prince Sixtus, which had been received while Mr. Balfour was in America, was

a private letter written by Emperor Charles to a relative (Prince Sixtus of Bourbon) and conveyed by him to President Poincaré and the French Premier under seal of the strictest secrecy, but with no permission to communicate it to any one except the Sovereign and Premier of this country, [Great Britain.] The letter was communicated to the French and English Premiers under these pledges.

He stated that he had no secrets from President Wilson, and added: "Every thought I have on the war or on the diplomacy connected with the war is as open to President Wilson as to any other human being." He declared that he regarded the Sixtus letter as not a peace effort, but a manoeuvre to divide the Allies. He declared that they were not fighting for "a bigger Alsace-Lorraine than in 1870," and added:

If any representative of any belligerent country desires seriously to lay before us any proposals we are ready to listen to them.

Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of Blockade, in the same debate, after indorsing the preceding statement of Mr. Balfour, added this reference to Russia:

We have no quarrel with Russia at all. On the contrary, with the Russian people we have always desired to be on the closest possible terms of friendship. We are anxious to do all we can to support and assist the Russian people to preserve Russia as a great country, not only now, but in the period after the war.

Lord Robert denied that Great Britain had any quarrel with the Bolsheviks over their domestic policy, saying:

That is a matter for Russia, and Russia alone; we have no other desire than to see Russia great, powerful, and non-German.

* * *

ATTACKS ON HOSPITAL SHIPS

THE British Admiralty issued an official announcement on May 1, stating that it was considered proved conclusively that the British hospital ship *Guilford Castle* was attacked by a German submarine in the Bristol Channel, March 10, and narrowly escaped destruction. At the time the *Guilford Castle* was carrying 438 wounded soldiers and flying a Red Cross flag of the largest size with distinguishing marks distinctly illuminated. The attack occurred at 5:35 P. M., in clear weather. Two torpedoes were fired. In evidence of attacks on hospital ships the British Admiralty quotes the following extracts from the German official message, sent through the German wireless stations on April 24, 1918:

With respect to the results of the submarine war for the month of March, the *Deutsche Tageszeitung* says: "Lloyd George and Geddes falsify the losses of ships plying in the military service (? ignoring) so-called naval losses, auxiliary cruisers, guard ships, *hospital ships*, and very probably also troop transports and munition steamers, that is to say, precisely that shipping space *which is particularly exposed to and attacked by the U-boats*."

* * *

TWO MORE LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS ALIGNED AGAINST GERMANY

ON April 22, 1918, the National Assembly of Guatemala declared that that republic occupied the same position toward the European belligerents as did the United States. Guatemala had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany in April, 1917. On May 7 Nicaragua declared war against Germany and her allies. The declaration was in the form of a recommendation of President Chamorro, which the Nicaraguan Congress adopted with only four dissenting votes. A further declaration was adopted of solidarity with the United States and the other American republics at war with

Germany and Austria-Hungary. Nicaragua was the twentieth nation to declare war against Germany. Uruguay remains a neutral at this writing. On April 12 the Government asked Berlin, through Switzerland, whether Germany considered that a state of war existed with Uruguay, as stated by the commander of a submarine who had captured a Uruguayan military commission bound for France. The German Government replied on May 16 that it did not consider that a state of war existed. Chile refused to ask free passage of Spain for a commission of Chileans who sought to reach Germany, thereby indicating partiality to the Germans. Argentina in the President's message, delivered May 18, 1918, reaffirmed its neutrality.

* * *

FRANCE'S SECOND TREASON TRIAL

DUVAL, who was director of the suppressed Germanophile newspaper, *Bonnet Rouge*, was condemned to death May 15 by court-martial for treason, and six other defendants were sentenced to imprisonment: Marion, assistant manager, for ten years; Landau, a reporter, eight years; Goldsky, a reporter, eight years; Joucla, a reporter, five years; Vercasson, two years and \$1,000 fine; Leymarie, former director of the Ministry of the Interior, two years' imprisonment and \$200 fine.

The *Bonnet Rouge* was an evening paper of decided pacifist tendency, which lost no occasion of belittling the military and political leaders and policy, not only of France, but also of England. The attention of the Government was drawn to it early in 1917, and its editor, Almeyreda, and its manager, Duval, were under lock and key by August, 1917.

The police investigations showed that the *Bonnet Rouge* was to a great extent dependent for its capital upon men whose ardor in the allied cause had not been notable, and revealed the astonishing fact that M. Malvy, as Minister of the Interior, had thought fit to subsidize the paper to the extent of \$1,200 a month and to encourage it in other ways. It also became known to the public that Almeyreda before the war had

been in the closest contact with M. Caillaux and that he had received from that politician, at the moment when Mme. Caillaux was being tried for the murder of M. Calmette, the editor of the *Figaro*, the sum of \$8,000.

Duval, whose journeys to Switzerland had aroused the misgivings of the Government, was detained at the French frontier station, searched, and found to be in possession of a check for \$32,800 drawn to the order of a Mannheim banking firm, the business relations of which will appear in subsequent trials. This check was photographed and was handed back to Duval by some one of the French military or civil secret service officials.

Almeyreda had hardly reached prison when he fell seriously ill and was removed to the infirmary prison at Fresnes. There he died. The official doctors first of all declared that he had been strangled, and then gave it as their opinion that he had committed suicide.

Louis J. Malvy, who was at the time Under Secretary of the Interior, and was Minister of the Interior under Ribot, will be tried by a parliamentary court on the charge of having been in personal relations with Duval and of having delivered to the Germans the scheme of the abruptly ended French offensive in the Champagne in April, 1917.

* * *

THE CITY OF AMIENS.

AMIENS, the old capital city of Picardy, goes far back into the military history of Europe. Probably deriving its name from the Belgic tribe of Ambiani, it was the centre of Julius Caesar's campaigns against those warlike tribes. Several Roman Emperors had military headquarters there, and it early gained importance as a bishopric. Evrard de Fouillo, the forty-fifth Bishop, began the great Gothic cathedral of Amiens, one of the finest in the world, in the year 1220, the plans being made by René de Luzarches, while the work was completed by Thomas de Cormont and his son Renault in the year 1288, though the two great towers were not finished until a century later. Because it is intersected by eleven canals Louis XI. called Amiens "the little Venice."

Only second to the great cathedral in fame is the Hôtel de Ville, built between 1660 and 1760, in which, on May 25, 1802, was signed the famous treaty of Amiens, Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, being plenipotentiary for France. The parties to the Peace of Amiens were France, England, Holland, and Spain. To Holland were restored the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana, and other colonies; France received Martinique and Guadeloupe; Spain received Minorca; Malta went to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, while Egypt was restored to Turkey. England was secured in the control of India, and received Ceylon, (which had been first Portuguese and later Dutch,) and the island of Trinidad. But many of these dispositions were greatly modified thirteen years later, at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

In Amiens there is a famous Napoleonic Museum, which has many fine paintings by Puvis de Chavannes, including "War," "Peace," "Work," and "Rest." When, on Nov. 28, 1876, Amiens was captured by the army of the Prussians all religious monuments, including the cathedral, were scrupulously guarded against any possible damage, and the rights of private property were respected. Another of the titles of Amiens to fame is the fact that Peter the Hermit, leader of the First Crusade, was born there in 1050.

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THE RUMANIAN NATION

OF the Emperor Hadrian's colony of Roman veterans at the mouth of the Danube there remain many architectural monuments, including parts of two fine bridges across the great river, a language largely Latin in substance, and the name Romania. The Roman colony spread through the Carpathians along the Roman road into Transylvania. It was in part submerged by Hun and Magyar waves of invasion, and the western part of the Rumanian people, west of the Carpathians, is still under Magyar rule, while a small number of Rumanians inhabit the Austrian crownland of Bukovina, once Rumanian soil. The Turks, following in the track of the Huns and Magyars, once more swept over Rumania

and on toward Vienna and Russia, completely submerging the Balkan Peninsula, with the exception of the Black Mountain, Montenegro, held by Serbs.

In the nineteenth century the Balkan nations began to extricate themselves: Greece, with the aid of France, England, and Russia; Serbia, with the aid of Russia; and the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which were later to become Rumania. In the wars of Catherine the Great and Suvoroff, which Byron has embodied in his comedy epic, making Don Juan take part in the siege of Ismail, Russia took from Turkey the Province of Bessarabia, named from an old Rumanian princely house and largely populated by Rumanians.

The western half of Bessarabia was taken back from Russia and restored to Turkey after the Crimean War, immediately after which, in 1861, the two principalities were united in the single principality of Rumania, under Colonel Cuza, a Rumanian, as Hospodar, or Lord, Turkish suzerainty being acknowledged. In this way the strip of Bessarabia which had been Russian for half a century became not Turkish, but Rumanian. When Russia declared war against Turkey in 1877 she announced to Rumania that she sought the restoration of her strip of Bessarabian land; and, knowing this, Rumania became Russia's ally in the war against Turkey, with Prince Carol as commander of her forces, he being of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns. In 1881 he took the title of King, to which his nephew Ferdinand succeeded in 1914.

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THE HETMAN OF THE UKRAINE

WRITING in 1818, Byron described Mazeppa as "the Ukraine Hetman, calm and bold," and it is to the period of Mazeppa and even earlier that this title and office goes back. The word Hetman is of uncertain origin, but is probably derived from the Bohemian Heitman, a modification of Hauptmann or Headman. When the Ukraine, the "borderland," was under Polish suzerainty, in the period from 1592 to 1654, the epoch of "Fire and Sword," "Pan Michael," and "The Deluge," the Het-

man of the Cossacks, (a Tartar word, *kazak*, meaning warrior,) was a semi-independent viceroy.

After the acceptance of Russian suzerainty by the Ukraine under the great Hetman, Khmel'nitski, in 1654, the title and authority of the Hetman were at first continued, but his power and privileges were gradually curtailed and finally abolished. It is not certain whether the word *Ataman* is a modification of *Hetman* or a Tartar title; at any rate, we find the title, "*Ataman of all the Cossacks*," coming into use as an appanage of the *Czarevitch*, or heir apparent of Russia, somewhat as the title of *Prince of Wales* is an appanage of the heir apparent of England. The *Czarevitch* was represented by *Hetmans* by delegation, for each division of the Cossacks, these divisions being military colonies westward as far as the Caspian, like that described by Tolstoy in his novel, "*The Cossacks*."

Writing in 1799, W. Tooke, in his "*View of the Russian Empire*," described the insignia of the *Hetman* as being the truncheon, the national standard, the horsetail, kettledrums and signet, a group of emblems strongly suggesting Tartar influence; the dress of the Cossacks was, likewise, borrowed from that of the Caucasus Mohammedan tribes, and in this Caucasian dress the new *Hetman of the Ukraine*, *Skoropadski*, took office at Kiev. His name indicates that he is not a *Ruthenian*, (*Little Russian*), but a *Pole*. It has been a consistent element of Austrian policy to favor the *Poles* at the expense of the *Ruthenians*, with the result that many *Poles* are strongly pro-Austrian, and hold high office under the Austrian crown.

* * *

PRECEDENTS FOR A SEPARATE ULSTER.

WHEN the Dominion of Canada was formed by the British North America act of 1867, it included only four provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, (Ontario and Quebec,) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Provision was made in the act for the voluntary admission of Prince Edward's Island, the Northwest Territories and Newfoundland into

the Dominion. While the Northwest Territories took advantage of this provision, and are now organized as the Provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Yukon and the Northwest Territories, Newfoundland, with Labrador, the latter 120,000 square miles in area, preferred to remain outside the Dominion of Canada, and has a wholly distinct Constitution and administration, as independent of Canada as is that, for example, of British Guiana. Compulsion was never suggested to bring Newfoundland and Labrador within the Dominion of Canada, though Labrador is geographically a part of the Canadian mainland.

In Australia likewise the union of the colonies was entirely voluntary. Five of these, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania, by legislative enactments, approved by the direct vote of the electors, declared their desire for a federal union, and the Imperial Parliament gave effect to this by the act of July 9, 1900. This act provided for the inclusion of Western Australia in the Australian Commonwealth, if that colony so desired; and Western Australia shortly expressed and carried out that desire.

The population of Ulster in 1911 was 1,581,696, (that of Belfast being 386,947;) the population of Newfoundland with Labrador in 1914 was 251,726; the population of Western Australia when it exercised the option of inclusion in the Commonwealth of Australia was 184,114; it has since nearly doubled. A similar case of separate treatment, this time within the United States, is that of West Virginia, which, in 1862, determined to remain within the Union when the rest of Virginia seceded. West Virginia became a State on Dec. 31, 1862, and was not re-integrated in the Old Dominion at the close of the civil war.

* * *

COURT-MARTIAL IN ITALY.

FOUR principal Directors of the Genoaese Electrical Power Company, named Königsheim, Ampt, Martelli, and Hess, early in April were sentenced to death by court-martial at Milan by being "shot in the spine," and a decoy girl

was doomed to twenty years' imprisonment, while three associates were relegated to the galleys for life. It was proved that the condemned men received from Germany wireless messages, to be forwarded to North and South America for the purposes of its underseas campaign, and incriminating letters of their treasonable acts were discovered. Ampt and his three co-Directors received a decoration from the Imperial Government, but were so successful in deceiving the Italian Government that they were subsequently decorated as *Cavalieres of the Crown of Italy*.

* * *

AMERICAN TRADE PACT WITH NORWAY.

THE signing of a general commercial agreement between the United States and Norway—the first agreement of the kind to be entered into by America with one of the North European neutrals—was announced by the War Trade Board on May 3, 1918. It was signed by Vance McCormick, Chairman of the War Trade Board, and Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the famous explorer, who was sent to the United States at the head of a special mission.

Under the agreement Norway is assured of supplies to cover her estimated needs so far as they can be furnished without detriment to the war needs of the United States and its allies, and Norway, on her part, agrees to permit the exportation to America and its allies of all Norwegian products not needed for home consumption. It is provided that none of the supplies imported from the United States or its allies or forwarded with the aid of American bunker coal shall go directly or indirectly to the Central Powers or be used to replace commodities exported to those countries. This applies to anything produced by any auxiliaries to production obtained under the agreement. In consequence of the agreement the War Trade Board announced on May 9 that exports to Norway were about to be resumed.

Another result of the improved relations between the two countries was the chartering by the United States Shipping Board of 400,000 tons of Norwegian sailing ships, to be put in non-hazardous

trades, thereby releasing other ships for traffic in the danger zones. This was one of the most substantial increases which the American-controlled merchant fleet has received since its inception.

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BRITISH SHIPPING LOSSES

IN the May issue of the *Fortnightly Review* of London appears the following analysis of the gains and losses of the British merchant navy since the outbreak of the war:

1914 (August to December.)			
	Tons.		Tons.
Built	675,010	Total losses..	468,728
Captured from enemy	753,500	Total gains..	1,429,110
Total gains..	1,429,110	Balance ...	+060,382
1915.			
Built	650,919	Total losses..	1,103,379
Captured from enemy	11,500	Total gains..	662,419
Total gains..	662,419	Balance in 1915	-440,960
		Brought down from 1914..	+060,382
		Balance at end of 1915..	+519,422
1916.			
Built	541,552	Total losses..	1,497,848
Captured from enemy	3,500	Total gains..	545,052
Total gains..	545,052	Balance in 1916	-952,796
		Brought down from 1915..	+519,422
		Balance at end of 1916..	-433,374
1917.			
Built	1,163,474	Total losses..	4,009,537
Captured from enemy	11,500	Total gains..	1,174,974
Total gains..	1,174,974	Balance in 1917	-2,834,563
		Brought down from 1916..	-433,374
		Balance at end of 1917..	-3,267,937

During the first three months of 1918 the net losses were 367,296 tons; 320,280 tons were built and 687,576 were lost, bringing the adverse balance on April 1, 1918, to 3,635,233 tons.

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN'S WAR EXPENSES

THE British Government has issued a White Paper estimating the cost of the war for Great Britain in the year

ending March 31, 1919, at \$12,750,000,-000, of which \$9,305,000,000 is allocated to navy, army, air service, munition and ordnance factories, \$205,000,000 to pensions, \$750,000 to National War Aims Committee; services not specified, (presumed to include shipping,) \$500,000,-000; Treasury loans, \$1,750,000,000; Board of Trade, \$265,000,000; wheat supplies, \$230,000,000, of which \$200,000,-000 is the estimated loss on the sale of the 18-cent loaf of bread. Subsidies toward the sale of potatoes are estimated at \$25,000,000; purchases of wool and other raw materials are put at \$40,000,-000, payment to railways at \$175,000,-000, and \$25,000,000 for timber.

* * *

HATRED BETWEEN ITALIANS AND AUSTRIANS

THE implacable hatred which has developed between Italians and Austrians is illustrated by the following Italian *communiqué*, issued in Rome on Feb. 11, in reply to the Austrian Supreme Command's denial that the Austro-Germans were first to bombard cities from airplanes. It points out that the Austro-Germans first bombarded Udine, Treviso, Padua, Verona, Venice, Ravenna, &c., massacring defenseless and innocent populations and ruining valuable art treasures, and adds:

The Italians went to Trieste not to bombard citizens and private houses, but the hydroplane stations in which are sheltered the assassins of Venice, and the two vessels of the Monarch type which were kept by the Imperial and Royal Navy behind the dyke, in the hope that the Italian elements of the city would help to protect them and afterward enable them to set out on some heroic enterprise against the defenseless localities on the Adriatic Coast. Immediately the hydroplanes, yielding to the indignation of the whole world, ceased bombarding Venice, and immediately the two vessels of the Monarch type were removed from Trieste, our aerial raids ceased, since an understanding was proposed.

We wage war against the enemy's armed forces, and not against women, children, monuments, and hospitals. In spite of the most solemn denial issued by the Austrians of the acts which, after the first bombardments of Padua, Treviso, and Vicenza at the end of December and the beginning of January, they declared to be a question of reprisals for bombardments, carried out by Franco-British aviators on

German towns, the Germans, in substance, gave to be understood what the Austrians hypocritically wished to hide, that is, that the pretext of reprisals enabled them to persevere with their nameless atrocities, which had been imposed upon them by some of their leaders having yielded to the impulses of a criminal mentality. Thus it happened that the Austrian Catholic command, bowing to the orders of the German Lutheran pastors, bombarded Catholic churches in the Italian cities. And so we see the Austro-Hungarian Government—so solicitous for peace and love between nations—sowing hatred which nothing can quench.

* * *

THE ORIGIN OF THE IRISH

PERHAPS some light may be shed on the internal divisions which make the solution of the Irish question so nearly impossible by a realization of the fact that the population of Ireland consists of an unassimilated congeries of races, every element of which except one represents foreign invasion and conquest.

The earliest race, short, round-headed, dark, appears to be akin to the Ligurian race of the Mediterranean; this race hunted the huge Irish elks with flint arrows and axes, and may claim to be the real indigenous stock, still surviving in the west. The second race, tall, dark, long-headed, was akin to the Iberians (Basques) of Spain, who also invaded Western France, and who probably built the cromlechs and stone circles, since these are also found in Iberian Spain and Western France, as at Carnac in Brittany. The third race, tall, golden-haired, blue-eyed, came from the Baltic, bringing amber beads, and building chambered pyramids, such as are also found in Denmark. The fourth race to arrive included the Gaels, tall, round-headed, with red hair and gray eyes; they came from Central Europe, probably by way of France.

Each new arrival was followed by wars of conquest, the Gaels finally making themselves predominant, but not exterminating the older races, examples of whom may still be found, with unchanged race characteristics. In 1169 Norman French and Welsh came, as mercenaries in the army of the King of Leinster. The Burkes are descended from the Normans, the Fitzgeralds from the Welsh.

Battles in Picardy and Flanders

Military Review of All Fronts
from April 17 to May 18, 1918.

IN order to obtain a view of the situation of the German offensive on April 17, which forms a background for the events to be related in this review, it is necessary to point out a few controlling facts and conditions—some long obvious, some recently revealed.

Ludendorff's major plan, based on the assumed shortness of vision on the part of the Allies, to separate the British from the French and, by isolating the former in the north and driving the latter toward their bases in the south, thereby reach the mouth of the Somme, had failed. It had failed, just as did the plan of Napoleon at Charleroi in 1815 to separate the English from the Prussians. It failed because the military genius of the British General Carey and the French General Fayolle on two separate occasions had closed up gaps in the line of the Allies, and because the vast masses of German troops were incapable, on account of their demoralization, of making the fractures permanent.

It is now evident that the demoralization of General Gough's 5th Army, which began on March 23, not only threatened his junction with Byng's 3d Army, by forming an eight-mile gap between the two—into which, as has already been related, Carey moved his hastily gathered nondescript detachment—but as the 5th Army retreated another gap, gradually lengthening to nearly thirty miles, was opened between its right wing and the 6th French Army. Here General Fayolle, who had just appeared on the field from Italy, did with organized divisions what Carey had done with his scratch volunteers further north.

From statements made before the Reichstag Main Committee, but more especially from letters and diaries found on captured German officers, it appears that both Carey and Fayolle stopped an armed mob, utterly incapable of taking advantage of the situation it had created

as a disciplined force. Regiments thrown together, officers separated from their commands, detachments without control, all due to the impetuous rush forward, could not recover in time to

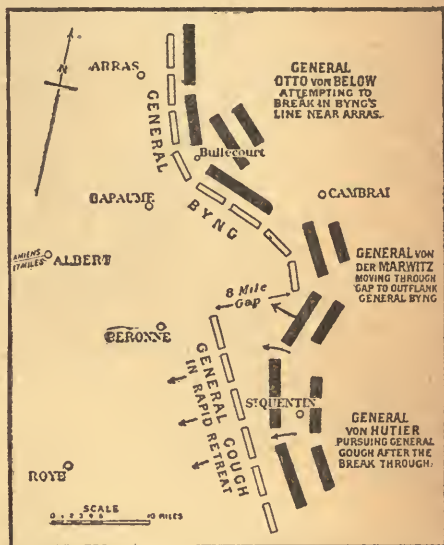


DIAGRAM SHOWING 8-MILE GAP, MARCH 23, WHICH WAS FILLED BY CAREY'S "SCRATCH DIVISION," WHO HELD THE BREACH FOR SIX DAYS

prevent Carey and Fayolle from completing their work.

But Ludendorff's major plan, having failed in the first month of his offensive, could not be repeated in the second. Since April 30 there has been no French, British, Belgian, Portuguese, or American front in Flanders or Picardy—only the front of the Allies, with the troops of their several nations used wherever needed by the supreme commander, Foch.

During the first month of the offensive two angles had been developed by Ludendorff: The first, the great one, in the south, from a base of sixty miles with a forty-mile perpendicular and its vertex near the Somme; the second in the north, from a base of twenty miles

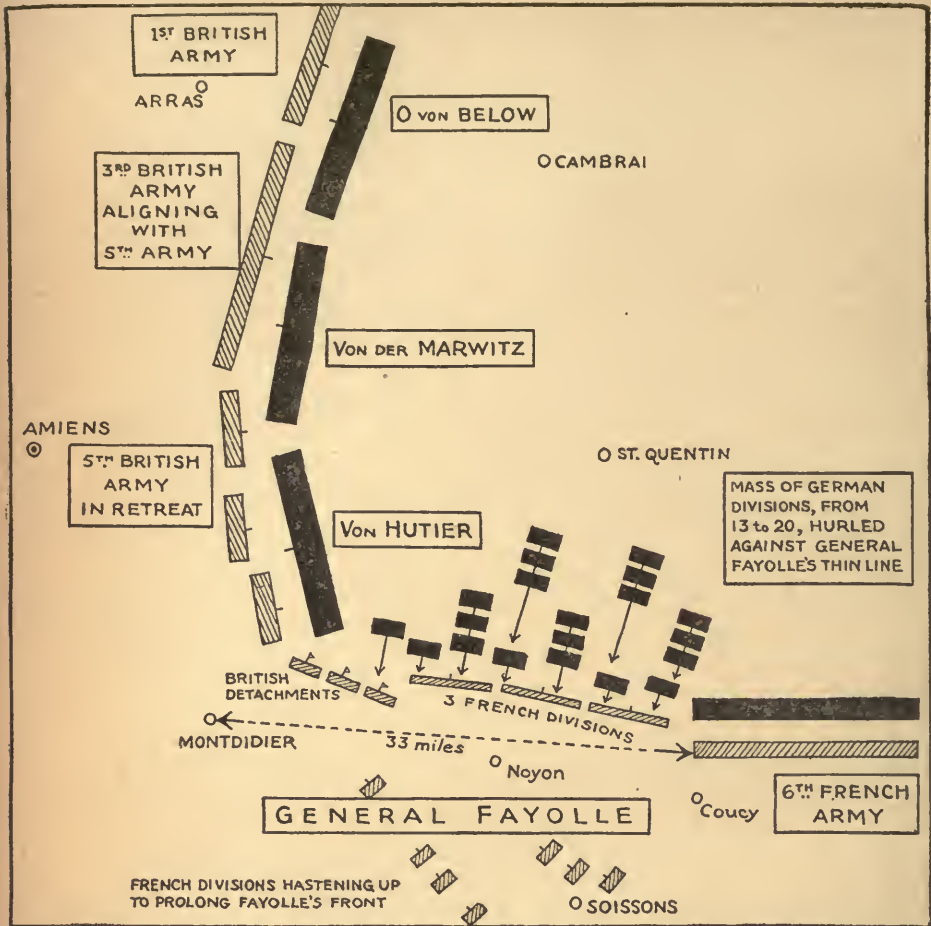


DIAGRAM OF CRITICAL SITUATION, MARCH 24, 1918, WHERE GENERAL FAYOLLE SAVED THE DAY BY THROWING HIS DIVISIONS INTO THE THIRTY-MILE GAP LEFT BY RETIREMENT OF BRITISH 5TH ARMY

with a fifteen-mile perpendicular and its vertex on the edge of the Forest of Nieppe. Between these two angles the original front of Lens, from Bailleul north to Givenchy; still held, fifteen miles in length. There had been voluntary or forced changes made by the Allies east of Ypres and east of Arras.

The corollary in Flanders, unless it could be demonstrated, would be as great a failure as the main proposition in Picardy. And the still possible successful issue of the latter depended absolutely, as we shall see, on a complete demonstration of the former. Both have been so far handicapped by the augmenting mobility of the Allies, their growing numbers, their centralized com-

mand, and their successful insistence to control the air.

Such was the situation in Flanders and Picardy which confronted Ludendorff at the dawn of the second month of the German offensive. The whole problem to be solved was just as apparent to the Allies as it was to him—to gain the barriers which threatened his angles of penetration, in order again to utilize his preponderant forces of men and guns on a broad front. To attempt to extend the vertices without broadening the sides would mean to court danger, even destruction, at their weakest points.

His frontal attacks upon Ypres and Arras, respectively from the Passchendaele Ridge and against the Vimy Ridge,



PERSPECTIVE MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF OPPOSING FORCES IN PICARDY AND FLANDERS. THE BLACK ARROW LINE ON THE RIGHT SHOULD NOT BE MISTAKEN FOR THE OLD BATTLELINE, WHICH IS NOT INDICATED AT ALL. GENERAL SIXT VON ARNIM'S FORCE, EAST OF YPRES, WAS INADVERTENTLY OMITTED

having failed, it became necessary to attempt to flank the Allies by the occupation of their defensive ridges. This explains his successful assaults upon Mont Kemmel, 325 feet high, and his desire

to envelop Mont Rouge, 423 feet high, and his persistent attacks along the La Bassée Canal against the heights of Bèthune, 141 feet, all preceded by diversions between the Somme and Avre, with

concentrations at Villers-Bretonneux, Hangard, and elsewhere.

On April 18 the French made a feint on both banks of the Avre River south of Hangard, drove in a mile, and picked up some prisoners; simultaneously the Germans, with a force of 137,000, made a heavy assault upon the allied front lying across the La Bassée Canal, with a diversion on the Lys River near St. Venant.

BATTLE FOR MONT KEMMEL

Meanwhile the Germans had been preparing for a decisive assault against Mont Kemmel with ever-augmenting artillery fire and with the concentration of vast numbers of troops on the sidings of the railroad between the villages of Messines and Wytschaete. These troops numbered nine divisions, or about 120,000 men. From the 24th till the 27th they



SCENE OF THE MONTH'S HEAVIEST FIGHTING IN FLANDERS, ESPECIALLY ABOUT MOUNT KEMMEL

Before the day was done they had switched their attack to the Kemmel sector. In all three places the Germans suffered repulse, with the loss of a few hundred prisoners. Four days later the British advanced their lines on the Lys, just as the French had on the Avre. Then on the 24th came the great enemy diversion at Villers-Bretonneux, nine miles southeast of Amiens. Here the Germans used tanks for the first time. The village, lost to the British on the first day, was recovered on the second, when just to the south the French and American troops were hotly contesting with the Germans the possession of Hangard. The sharp salient at this place made it difficult for the Allies to hold, while its retention, except as a site from which losses could be inflicted on the Germans, was unnecessary. Consequently it was evacuated, after the attacking detachment of the Prussian Guards had been annihilated.

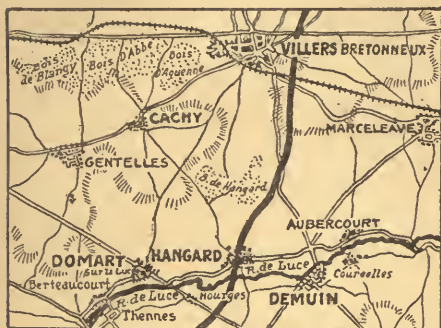
incessantly swung around Mont Kemmel in massed front and flank attacks, until the French and British were forced to give up the height, together with the village of the same name and the village of Dranoutre, retiring on La Clytte and Scherpenberg.

The occupation of Mont Kemmel, however, did not, as Ludendorff had anticipated, force the British out of the Ypres salient, for their voluntary retirement from part of the Passchendaele Ridge on April 17-19 had strengthened the salient, which could hold as long as the line of hills west of Kemmel held—Mont Rouge, Mont Divienne, Mont des Cats, &c.

The Berlin publicity bureau advertised the fact that a direct thrust at Ypres had brought the Germans to within three miles of the town—an achievement of no particular military value—while it quite ignored the capture of Mont Kemmel, for the simple reason that its value

was now discovered to repose in their ability to carry their occupation throughout the entire range.

This they have since been vainly, except for local advances, trying to do, often employing great forces of men in mass for two or three days at a time—striving vainly to broaden the salient in



REGION OF HANGARD AND VILLERS-BRETONNEUX, WHERE GERMANS USED TANKS FOR THE FIRST TIME

three places: between Dickebusch and Voormezeele, due south from Ypres; by an envelopment of Mont Rouge to the southwest; on the south by an advance in the direction of Béthune.

VON ARNIM'S EFFORTS

In the northern part of the salient the attacks reached their climax on Monday, April 29, when General Sixt von Arnim's army was hurled in wave after wave between Voormezeele and Scherpenberg and on the latter and Mont Rouge, only to end in a repulse, which, on account of the number of men believed to have been lost by the enemy, may be considered a disastrous defeat. All this time a heavy bombardment had been going on in the Béthune region in preparation for an infantry attack there; yet on account of the defeat further north, it could not be delivered.

Henceforth, until May 16, von Arnim was obviously placed on the defensive, whereas the Allies were locally on the offensive, either recovering lost strategic points or consolidating their lines. On May 5, between Locre and Dranoutre, the Franco-British forces advanced on a 1,000-yard front to the depth of 500 yards. On the 8th the Germans made a

half-hearted attack on the sector south of Dickebusch Lake and entered British trenches, only to be repulsed with heavy loss. A similar attack the next day between La Clytte and Voormezeele not only met with a similar repulse, but was followed up by a strong British counter-attack which won considerable ground. On the 12th the French captured Hill 44 on the north flank of Kemmel, between La Clytte and Vierstraat.

On May 13 renewed enemy artillery activity on the lines back of Béthune seemed to presage that an infantry attack was intended there. Nothing of this nature ensued, however. On the 15th the Germans made a sudden attack against Hill 44 but were hurled back by the French. On the 16th-17th they maintained a concentrated fire north of Kemmel.

GERMAN ATTACKS ON THE LYS

All these operations on the German northern salient, which is gradually coming to be called the Lys salient, have shown no indication of being intended to pave the way for a renewal of the general offensive in Flanders. Their success might, and probably would, have forced the evacuation of Ypres and affected the Picardy salient with its vertex near Amiens, forcing the evacuation of Arras. But, as we have seen, the operations on the Lys salient, meeting with an overwhelming obstruction on April 29, did not achieve these results. Throughout the next three weeks the manoeuvres of the enemy in Picardy afforded excellent opportunities for counterattacks on the part of the Allies, whose object here has been to punish the enemy as much as possible and to consolidate every strategic position on a broad front in anticipation of a renewal of Germany's original scheme to isolate the allied armies north of the Somme by a dash to the mouth of that river via Amiens.

In these circumstances, the enemy on April 30 launched heavy attacks on the French lines in the region of Hangard and Noyon. These fell down, and on May 2 the French made distinct gains in Hangard Wood and near Mailly-Rameval. The next day the French advanced

their lines between Hailles and Castel, south of the Avre, and captured Hill 82. On the 6th the British advanced their lines between the Somme and the Ancre, southwest of Morlancourt, and in the neighborhood of Locon and the Lawe River, taking prisoners in both places. On the 11th skirmishes southwest of Maily-Raineval, between Hangard and Montdidier, developed into a pitched battle, in which the French at first lost ground and then recovered it. On May 14 the Germans, after an intense local bombardment, delivered a spirited attack on a mile front of the British southwest of Morlancourt, gaining a footing in their first trenches. Instantly some Australian troops counterattacked and completely re-established the British positions. On the 16th and 17th the enemy showed impressive and portentous artillery activity along the Avre and at Rollett, on the Abbéville road, south of Montdidier, similar in character to that observed north of Kemmel, on the Lys salient.

There are now believed to be over half a million American rifles on the western front, either at definite places or available as reserves. On April 20 a battalion of Germans made a raid on our eight-mile sector south of the Woëuvre, and succeeded in reaching the front-line trenches and taking the village of Seicheprey. Our losses were between 200 and 300; 300 German dead were counted. A detachment of our army, principally artillery, holds a sector of five miles with the French infantry east of Montdidier, on the Picardy front, protecting the Beauvais-Amiens road. Here their fire is principally employed in breaking up German concentrations and transport in and around Montdidier.

THE ZEEBRUGGE RAID

The German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend on the Belgian coast have been repeatedly bombed from the sea and shelled by British monitors with indifferent results. With the adding of super-U-boats to the German submarine fleet and the increased transatlantic traffic of the Allies the necessity for effectually sealing these bases has long

been apparent. Theoretically the nature of the entrance to the harbors of both places, resembling the neck of a bottle, about 250 feet wide, made such a task easy by the sinking of block ships. Practically it was most difficult, on account of both sea obstructions and the shore batteries.

On the night of April 22-23 British naval forces, commanded by Vice Admiral Keyes, with the co-operation of French destroyers, and hidden by a newly devised smoke-screen, invented and here employed by Wing-Commander Brock, attempted to seal up the harbors. At Zeebrugge the enterprise was entirely successful. The Intrepid and Iphigenia were sunk well within and across the narrow channel, the Thetis at the entrance. All three were loaded with cement, which became solid concrete after contact with the water and can be removed only by submarine blasting. A detachment of troops was also landed on the mole from the Vindictive and engaged the crews of the German machine gun batteries stationed there. An old submarine was placed under the bridge of the mole and detonated. A German destroyer and some small craft were sunk. Before the blockships were placed a torpedo had been driven against the lock gates which lead from the channel into the inner harbors. The expedition retired with the loss of fifty officers and 538 men, of whom sixteen officers and 144 men had been killed.

At Ostend, the entrance to whose harbor is protected by no mole, the block ships Sirius and Brilliant were not effectively placed. Against this port the experiment was, therefore, repeated on the night of May 9-10. The Vindictive, with a cargo of concrete, was planted and sunk at the entrance to the channel, but not entirely blocking it.

ITALIAN RAID AT POLA

Another naval exploit of the month worthy of record was the sinking in the Austrian Harbor of Pola of a dreadnought of the Viribus Unitis class (20,000 tons) by Italian naval forces, in the morning of May 15. The achievement was similar to that performed by the

CHARLES M. SCHWAB



Head of the Bethlehem Steel Works, who has been appointed Director
General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to carry
out the Government's shipbuilding program

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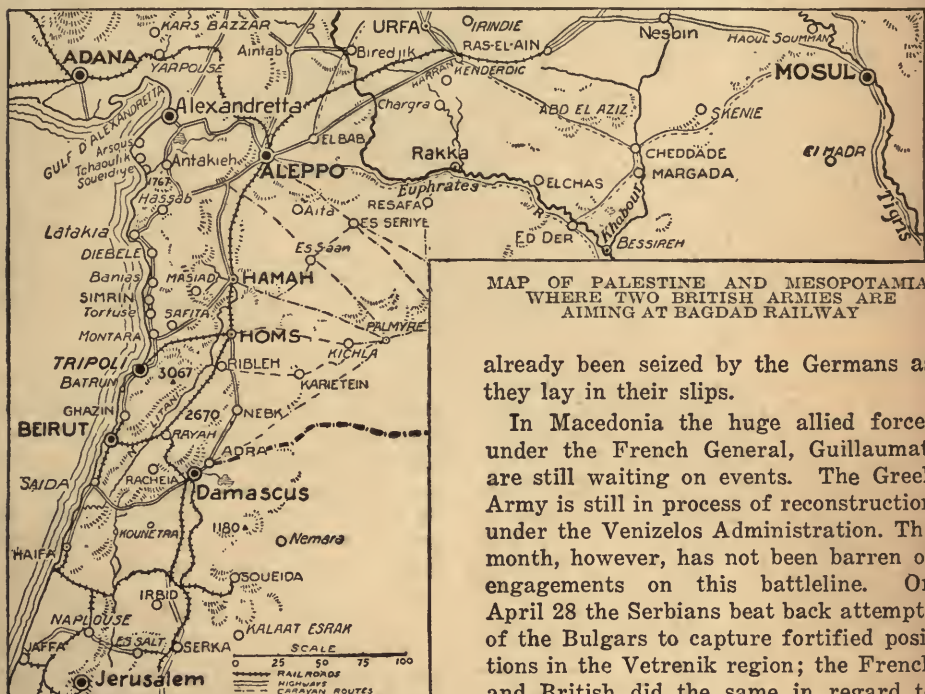
JOHN D. RYAN



President of the Anaconda Copper Company, who has been appointed
Director of Aircraft Production for the United States Army

Italians on the night of Dec. 9-10, when a destroyer sawed her way through the steel net protecting the Harbor of Trieste and torpedoed the predreadnoughts *Wien* and *Monarch*, (5,000 tons each,) sinking the former. The Harbor of Pola, however, is much more difficult to penetrate. It is three miles deep and entered

Russian Black Sea fleet was taken possession of by the Germans at that place, while the remainder escaped to Novorossysk. Among the captured vessels only the battleship *Volga* and the protected cruiser *Pamiat Merkuria* were in serviceable condition. At Odessa a new dreadnought and two protected cruisers had



MAP OF PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA, WHERE TWO BRITISH ARMIES ARE AIMING AT BAGDAD RAILWAY

already been seized by the Germans as they lay in their slips.

In Macedonia the huge allied forces under the French General, Guillaumat, are still waiting on events. The Greek Army is still in process of reconstruction under the Venizelos Administration. The month, however, has not been barren of engagements on this battleline. On April 28 the Serbians beat back attempts of the Bulgars to capture fortified positions in the Vetrenik region; the French and British did the same in regard to German attacks aimed at points west of Makovo and south of Lake Doiran. So it has been all the month, the monotony only varied on April 27, when there was intense artillery fire by the allied guns in the neighborhood of Monastir, on the Cerna, and, in the Vetrenik region, a Serbian assault annihilated a Bulgar section.

IN THE NEAR EAST

by a two-mile channel, at certain places less than half a mile wide, and protected along its entire course by strong defenses. A mole covers its mouth, making the channel here less than 1,000 yards wide. Forts Cristo and Musil guard the entrance.

TEUTONIZING THE BLACK SEA

Save for the reports which have come to hand denoting the steady progress of the British forces in Palestine and Mesopotamia, little of importance has occurred in the Near East. Still the Teutonizing of the Black Sea goes steadily on. On May 2 it was announced that a German force had occupied the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol, famous for its protracted siege by the British and French in 1855, and until then considered impregnable. On May 12 part of the

There has been no serious attempt on the part of the Turks during the month to oppose the expansion of General Allenby's front beyond Jerusalem or the triumphant march of General Marshall up the Euphrates and the Tigris—on the latter river now sixty miles below Mosul, Marshall's obvious objective. The objective of Allenby is Aleppo, where there is said to be a single division of German



SCENE OF LATEST ITALIAN FIGHTING IN THE ALPS

troops in addition to the Turks, who have been forced north from Jerusalem. Allenby and Marshall are advancing along parallel lines with a desert space of about 400 miles between. The Turks and their ally still have possession of the caravan trail and the partly built and entirely surveyed Bagdad Railway, which intersect the prospective parallel paths of Allenby and Marshall, whose lines of communication already reach hundreds of miles to the rear. But while Allenby has a lateral sea communication with Syrian ports, no such advantage is enjoyed by Marshall, who must get all his supplies from the head of the Persian Gulf, 450 miles to the south. Whatever be the force at the disposition of the enemy, it is evident that he will continue to possess a predominating tactical and strategic advantage until he has been decisively defeated at both Aleppo and Mosul or a junction has been established between Allenby and Marshall, or both.

The former's line, which is a sixty-mile front, extending from Arsuf el Haram on the Mediterranean east to the Jordan, took Es-Salt with thirty-three German and 317 Turkish prisoners on May 1—twenty miles north of Jerusalem—which was first occupied by Allenby early in December.

Marshall's advance has been much more rapid. In the week of May 1 his cavalry, in pursuit of the fleeing Turks, advanced twenty miles and captured 1,000 prisoners. On May 7 he was 80 miles from Mosul; on May 10 he was within 60 miles. Allenby is 300 miles from Aleppo and 110 miles from Damascus.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

Without any large movements of troops taking place, several things have occurred since April 18 to invite attention to the Italian front, and much speculation by military men has been indulged in as to whether the resumption of the Teutonic offensive would be from the Piave or south from the Astico-Piave line lying across the Sette Comuni and the Brenta, or from the west of the Adige and the Lago di Garda, in an attempt to reach Brescia and the metallurgic centre of Italy.

And most of the things in question which have occurred have served to restore and augment the confidence of the Italians in their position. A new 2d Army has taken the place of the old, annihilated in the Cappareto campaign. All the lost guns have been replaced and new heavies added. Revolution is, at any moment, expected to break out in Austria-Hungary, while the Congress of

Jugoslavs in Rome on April 9-11 has secured the adhesion to the Allies of the subjects of the Hapsburgs and enabled the Italian Government to make use of them as a fighting force. There are now believed to be no German divisions on the Italian front, where the entire enemy strength, not measurably increased since the snows have disappeared in the north, consists of 800 Austro-Hungarian battalions, or less than 1,000,000 men.

But what has promoted most satisfaction in the Italian Government and people was the decree issued by the Inter-allied Supreme Council of War at Abbéville on May 3, giving General Foch authority to include the Italian front under his supreme command, that front thereby becoming the right wing of the allied battle line in Europe—now “one army, one front, and one supreme command.”

That is the way Bonaparte fought his victorious battles in the days of the First Republic, alternately on the Rhine and the Adige. Moreau could not win without Bonaparte, nor Bonaparte without Moreau, while Carnot, in the centre, was the vehicle of transit.

Before the snows made manoeuvres impossible the Italians had closed two gates which threatened the plains of Veneto from the north—one at the junction of the front with the Piave, one at the angle of the Frenzela Torrent and the Brenta River.

Gunfire had been steadily augmenting on the front when, on May 10, they closed another, and on May 15 still another. The first of these was the capture of Monte Corno, which commanded the part up the Vallarsa, the second was a partial recovery of Monte Asolone, between the Brenta and the Piave, sufficient to cover the path up the Val San Lorenzo. Both mountains are really plateaus of about two square miles area each, whose irregular summits the enemy had strongly fortified in order to clear the valleys below. In both places subsequent Austrian counterattacks were broken up.

Meanwhile, Italian aircraft dominate from above. On May 14 the enemy lost eleven airplanes with no losses to the Italians and the British, who were assisting them.

Premier Lloyd George on German Autocracy

Premier Lloyd George wrote the following preface for a volume containing extracts from speeches he delivered during the war:

I have never believed that the war would be a short war, or that in some mysterious way, by negotiation or compromise, we would free Europe from the malignant military autocracy which is endeavoring to trample it into submission and moral death. I have always believed that the machine which has established its despotic control over the minds and the bodies of its victims and then organized and driven them to slaughter in order to extend that control over the rest of the world, would only be destroyed if the free peoples proved themselves strong and steadfast enough to defeat its attempt in arms. The events of the last few weeks must have made it plain to every thinking man that there is no longer room for compromise between the ideals for which we and our enemies stood. Democracy and autocracy have come to death grips. One or the other will fasten its hold on mankind. It is a clear realization of this issue which will be our strength in the trials to come. I have no doubt that freedom will triumph. But whether it will triumph soon or late, after a final supreme effort in the next few months or a long-drawn agony, depends on the vigor and self-sacrifice with which the children of liberty, and especially those behind the lines, dedicate themselves to the struggle. There is no time for ease or delay or debate. The call is imperative. The choice is clear. It is for each free citizen to do his part.

The Greatest Battle of the War

Second Month of the Desperate Fighting in Flanders and Picardy

By Philip Gibbs

Special Correspondent With the British Armies

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The May issue of Current History Magazine contained Philip Gibbs's story of the great German offensive up to April 18, 1918. At that time the Germans were seeking to break the British lines in front of Ypres, as part of their drive for Amiens and the British Channel ports, generally known as the battle of Picardy. The pages here presented are a continuation of his eyewitness narrative of the most sanguinary battle in history.

APRIL 18.—The arrival of French troops on our northern front is the most important act that has happened during the last three or four days, and it was with deep satisfaction that we met these troops on the roads and knew that at last our poor, tired men would get support and help against their overwhelming odds.

Beside the khaki army of the British has grown very quickly an army in blue, the cornflower blue of the French poilus. They are splendid men, hard and solid fellows, who have been war-worn and weather-worn during these three and a half years past, and look the great fighting men who have gone many times into battle and know all that war can teach them in endurance and cunning and quick attack.

As they came marching up the roads to the front they were like a streaming river of blue—blue helmets and coats and blue carts and blue lorries, all blending into one tone through these April mists as they went winding over the countryside and through French market towns, where their own people waved to them, and then through the villages on the edge of the Flanders battlefields, where they waited to go into action under shell-broken walls or under hedges above which British shellfire traveled, or in fields where they made their

bivouacs, and fragrant steams arose to one's nostrils as cuistots lifted the lids of stewpans and hungry men gathered around after a long march.

The attack this morning from Robecq, below St. Venant, down to Givenchy, is a serious effort to gain La Bassée Canal and form a strong defensive flank for the enemy while he proceeds with his battles further north and also to get more elbow room from the salient in which he is narrowly wedged below Mer-ville.

For this purpose he brought up several more divisions, including the 239th, which was in the Somme fighting of March, but not heavily engaged. This one attacked the British at Robecq and was repulsed with heavy losses. It was at a place called La Bacquerolles Farm, near Robecq, where after heavy shelling last night the enemy rushed one of the outposts at 10 o'clock. In order to facilitate the attack this morning of German divisions north and south at 4 o'clock the German guns began a heavy bombardment of the British lines as far down as Givenchy and maintained it for five hours, using large numbers of gas shells, on account of the east wind, which was in their favor.

His guns shelled the bridges across the canal in the hope of preventing the British supports going up. Then his troops

came forward in waves on a wide front. They were in immense numbers as usual, with many mixed battalions. One of the British units today took prisoners from ten different regiments. There were some ten German divisions facing four British ones north of Béthune, and all along the line the troops were much outnumbered; nevertheless, the enemy was repulsed at all but a few points of attack and beaten back bloodily.

THE GHASTLY LOSSES

In this battle one regiment of the 42d German Division has lost over 50 per cent. of its strength, and other losses are on a similar scale. These ghastly casualties have been piling up along this line between Merville and Béthune since the 13th of this month, when the Germans made a series of small attacks as a prelude to today's battle, owing, it seems, to battalion officers taking the initiative without orders from the High Command, in order to push forward and break the British lines if they could find weakness there.

On the 13th and 14th some of the South Country troops were attacked by strong forces repeatedly, and on the second day for five hours at a stretch the enemy endeavored to come across from houses and inclosures west of Merville toward St. Venant. For those five hours the South Country lads fired with rifles, Lewis guns, and machine guns into solid bodies of Germans, and their field guns tore gaps in the enemy's formations and broke up their assemblies before the attacks could proceed. One advance in five waves was mown down before it could make any progress, and others were dealt with in the same way.

Mr. Gibbs describes the German repulse between Robecq and Givenchy as a "black day for the enemy," and continues:

April 19.—At the end of the day all the enemy's efforts ended in bloody failure, in spite of the daring and courage of his troops, who sacrificed themselves under the British fire, but were only able to gain a few bits of trench work and one or two outposts below the fortified works at Givenchy, which are

quite useless to them for immediate or future use.

It was a big attack, for which they had prepared in a formidable way. After the shock of their repulse by the Lancashire men of the 55th Division they increased their strength of heavy artillery by three times bringing up large numbers of howitzers, including eleven-inch monsters. They were massed in divisions in front of us and determined to smash through in the wake of a tremendous bombardment.

BRITISH UNDER FIRE

For five hours, as I said, this storm went on with high explosives and gas, and the devoted British had to suffer this infernal thing, the worst ordeal human beings may be called upon to bear, this standing to while all the earth upheaved and the air was thick with shell splinters.

But when the bombardment had passed and the German infantry came forward the British received them with blasts of machine-gun fire, incessant volleys of rifle fire, and a trench mortar bombardment that burst with the deadliest effect among the attacking troops.

This trench mortar barrage of the British was one of the most awful means of slaughter yesterday, especially when the enemy tried to cross La Bassée Canal further north, and in that sector the infantry and gunner officers say more Germans were killed yesterday along the canal bank than on any other day since the fighting in this neighborhood. One battery of trench mortars did most deadly execution until their pits were surrounded, and only two of their crews were able to escape.

The machine gunners fought out in the open after some of their positions had been wiped out by gunfire, caught the enemy waves at fifty yards' range, and mowed them down; but the enemy was not checked for a long time, despite his losses, and when one body fell another came up to fill its place and press on into any gap that had been made by their artillery or their own machine-gun sections.

There was one such momentary gap

between a body of the Black Watch, who had been weakened by shellfire, and some of their comrades further north, and into this the enemy tried to force a way. Other Scottish troops were in reserve, and when it became clear that a portion of the line was endangered by this turning movement they came forward with grim intent, and by a fierce counterattack swept through the gap and flung back the enemy, so that the position was restored.

Further north some Gloucesters were fighting the enemy both ways, as once before in history, when they fought back to back, thereby winning the honor of wearing their cap badge back and front, which they do to this day. The Germans had worked behind them as well as in front of them, and they were in a tight corner, but did not yield, and finally, after hard fighting, cleared the ground about them.

Meanwhile further south some Lancashire troops on the canal lost some parts of their front line under an intense bombardment, but still fought on in the open, repulsing every effort to drive them back and smashing the enemy out of their positions, so that only remnants of the German outposts clung on until late last night, up to which time there was savage strife on both sides.

FIGHTING FOR THE CANAL

Extraordinary scenes took place on the canal bank when the enemy tried to cross. In the twilight of early dawn a party came out of a wood and tried to get across the water, but was seen by the British machine gunners and shot down.

Then another body of men advanced and carried with them a floating bridge, but when those who were not hit reached the water's edge they found the bridge as fixed did not reach to the other side. Some of them walked on it, expecting perhaps to jump the gap, but were shot off, and other men on the bank also were caught under British fire.

A Corporal went down to the canal edge and flung hand grenades at the Germans still struggling to fix the bridge, and then a Lieutenant and a few men rushed down and pulled the bridge on to their side of the bank.

Later this young officer saw one of the British pontoons drifting down and swam to it and made it fast beyond the enemy's reach, but in a position so that some of his men ran across and caught the enemy under their fire on his side of the canal.

At 7 o'clock yesterday morning, while a handkerchief was hoisted by the enemy, three hundred of them made signs of surrender. Some of them changed their minds at the last moment and ran away, but 150 gave themselves up, and some of them swam the canal in order to reach our side for this purpose. They were shivering in their wet clothes and in the northeast wind, which lashed over the battle lines yesterday, and they were very miserable men.

THE BELGIAN VICTORY

Mr. Gibbs declares that had the Germans been able to pass Givenchy or cross the canal north of Béthune on the 18th and 19th the result would have proved disastrous. He gives credit for the repulse to the British and French combined lines. He thus describes the achievement of the Belgians on April 17:

The Germans on the 17th pressed the attack in force against the Belgians. Besides three regiments of the 1st Landwehr Division usually holding this sector, between the Ypres-Staden railway and Kippe, they brought up from Dixmude—poor Dixmude, into whose flaming ruins I went when it was first bombarded in October, 1914—two regiments of the 6th Bavarian Division, and from the coast the 5th Matrosen Regiment of the 2d Naval Division, with a regiment of the 58th Saxons. It was a heavy force, and they hoped to surprise and annihilate the Belgian resistance by their weight and quickness of attack.

The Belgians were waiting for them, standing, too, in those swampy fields which they have held against the enemy for three and a half years, always shelled, always paying daily a toll of life and limb, not getting much glory or recognition because of the great battles elsewhere, but patient and enduring as when I knew them on the Yser in the first dreadful Winter of the war, and their little regular army fought to a finish.

Even before the battle the German marines,

Saxon troops, and Landwehr suffered misery and lost many men. They lay out in the flat, wet fields two nights previously, and were very cold, and scared by the Belgian gunfire which burst among them. They had no great artillery behind them, and the Saxons and German sailors now prisoners of the Belgians curse bitterly because they were expected to get through easily in spite of this.

Germans Cut Off

The enemy's intention was to take Bixschoote and advance across the Yser Canal, driving south to Poperinghe. What they did by their massed attacks was to penetrate to a point near Hoekske, southeast of Merckem, the main weight of their pressure being directed along the Bixschoote road. The Belgians delivered a quick counterattack, with wonderful enthusiasm among officers and men. They had perfect knowledge of the country, and used this fully by striking up from a place called Luyghem in such a way that the enemy was driven toward the swamp, where any who went in sank up to his neck in the ice-cold water.

The Germans were cut off from their own lines and trapped. Seven hundred of them surrendered, men of all the regiments I have mentioned, and they seemed to think themselves lucky at getting off so cheaply, though they quailed when they were brought back through the towns behind the lines, and the Belgian women, remembering many things, raised a cry as these men passed. It was not a pleasant sound. I heard it once in France when a German officer passed through with an escort. It was a cry which made my blood run cold. But there is gladness among the Belgian troops, for they had long waited for their chance of striking, and made good.

Heroism of the Doctors

As heroic a story as anything in all this history of the last four weeks is that of the medical officers, nurses, orderlies, and ambulance men belonging to these casualty clearing stations, who were not far behind the fighting lines when the battle began on March 21.

And then in a few hours they were on the very edge of the enemy's advancing tide, so that they were almost caught by it and had to make brave efforts to rescue the wounded, save their equipment, and get away to a place where for a little while again they could go on with their noble work until the red edge of war swept up with its fire again and they had to retreat still further.

I used to pass very often the outer ring of those casualty clearing stations on the right of the British line beyond Bapaume, in the Cambrai salient, and away toward St. Quentin.

They were almost caught on that day of March 21 when the infernal bombardment

was flung over a wide belt of the British lines, and the enemy stormed the defenses and the British fought back in heroic rear-guard actions. It became a question of only a few hours, sometimes of the last quarter of an hour, when these brave medical officers with the nurses and orderlies could get away.

It is always the rule of patients first, and at Ham there were 1,200 wounded, and many others in other places. The railways were choked with military transport or destroyed by shellfire. On the roads refugees were mixed up with the transport and guns and troops. It was a frightful problem, but the medical staffs did not lose their nerve, and set about the business of removal with fine skill and discipline.

Caring for the Wounded

What wounded could walk were gathered together and sent on to the roads to make their way back as far as their strength would carry them. The badly wounded were packed into all the available ambulances and sent away. The equipment had sometimes to be put on any train, regardless of its destination. It was gathered in afterward from whatever place it went to.

A casualty clearing station of 1,000 beds needs 100 lorries to move it, but nine lorries take a full kit for 200 beds, and always nine lorries moved off first after the wounded to take up a new station further back and carry on. The medical officers looked after the surgical instruments and trundled them along the roads on wheeled stretchers. One officer went twenty-five miles this way and another seventeen miles. The sisters, after the wounded had left, were put on any vehicle going back from the battleline.

During these days I saw them squeezed between drivers and men on motor lorries, sitting among the Tommies in transport wagons, one at least on a gun limber, and others perched on top of forage, still merry and bright in spite of all the tragedy about them, because that is their training and their faith.

In this retreat one poor sister was killed and another wounded. Many of them, with the medical officers, lost their kits. At Achiet le Grand, on March 21, a shell killed eight orderlies and blew out the back of the operating theatre, and at another village on a second night, three ambulances were smashed up by bombs. Two drivers, with some of their patients, were killed, but all the wounded were brought away from the outer ring of casualty clearing stations safely, and then from the second ring through Roye and Marincourt, Dernacourt, and Aveluy.

At Roye there was no time to spare, owing to the enemy's rapid advance, and seventy patients remained with a medical officer and twelve orderlies until they could be rescued, if there was any possible chance. There seemed at first no chance, but on the way back to Villers-Bretonneux the medical offi-

cer in command of the first convoy met some motor ambulances and begged the drivers to go into Roye and rescue those who had been left behind. They went bravely and brought away all the wounded and the staff, and had no time to spare, because the last ambulance came under the German rifle fire.

It is a strange and wonderful thing that the patients do not seem to be harmed in any way by this excitement and fatigue, and one of the chiefs who made a tour of inspection of all his clearing stations at this time tells us he found all the wounded in good condition and apparently no worse for their experience.

Fall of Villers-Bretonneux

On April 24 the Germans attacked the important village of Villers-Bretonneux, near Amiens; it is on a hill above the Somme, and was used as a corps headquarters and administrative office by the British. The attack was in great force, including tanks, the first time they had been used by the Germans.

The initial assault was a success and the Germans took the village and advanced nearly a mile beyond—but let Mr. Gibbs tell the rest:

During the night they were driven out by Australian troops, who, by a most skillful and daring piece of generalship, were sent forward in the darkness without preliminary artillery preparation, and, relying absolutely on the weapons they carried to regain this important portion, which gave the enemy full observation of the British positions on both sides of the Somme Valley beyond Amiens.

The splendid courage of the Australian troops, the cunning of their machine gunners, and the fine leadership of their officers achieved success, and, in conjunction with English battalions, they spent the night clearing out the enemy from the village, where he made a desperate resistance, and brought back altogether something like 700 or 800 prisoners.

It was a complete reversal of fortune for the enemy, and in this twenty-four hours of fighting he has lost great numbers of men, whose bodies lie in heaps between Villers-Bretonneux and Warfusee and all about the ruins and fields in that neighborhood.

First German Tanks

The attack on Villers-Bretonneux was made by four divisions. They were the 4th Guards, the 77th, quite new to this phase of the war, the 228th, and the 243d. They were in the full strength of divisions, twelve regiments in each, and a great weight of men on such a narrow front against one British division, whose men had already been under frightful fire and had been living in clouds of poison gas with masks on.

An officer of the Middlesex was in a bit of a trench when the first German tank attacked his men on the east side of the village,

and it went right over him as he lay crouched, and traveled on, accompanied by bodies of troops.

The Middlesex and West Yorks put up a great fight but had to give ground to superior numbers. The East Lancashires, who were the garrison of Villers-Bretonneux, were also attacked with great odds, and after a brave resistance fell back with the general line, which took up a position toward the end of this first phase of the battle west of Villers-Bretonneux and in the edge of Bols Abbé to the left of it. Into this wood in the course of the day a German patrol of one officer and forty men made their way and stayed there out of touch with their own men, and were taken prisoners last night.

The Night Battle

The attack by the Australians was made after 10 o'clock at night. It was difficult to attack suddenly like this. There was no artillery preparation. There should have been a moon, but by bad luck it was veiled in a thick, wet mist.

It was decided by the Australian General that his men should go straight into the attack with bayonet and machine gun, not waiting for artillery protection which would tell the enemy what was coming.

The plan of attack was to push forward in two bodies and to encircle Villers-Bretonneux, while some Northampton and others were in the centre with the order to fight through the village from the north. This manoeuvre was carried out owing to the magnificent courage of each Australian soldier and the gallantry of the officers.

The Germans fought desperately when they found themselves in danger of being trapped. They had nests of machine guns along the railway embankment below the village, and these fired fiercely, sweeping the attackers who tried to advance upon them.

Those who worked around north and east of the village also came under a burst of machine-gun fire from weapons hidden among the ruins and trenches, but they rounded up the enemy and fought him from one bit of ruin to another in streets which used to be filled with civilian life only a few weeks ago and crowded with staff officers and staff cars, but now were littered with dead bodies and raked by bullets.

The Australians captured two light field guns, which the enemy had brought up in the morning, according to his present habit of advancing guns behind his third wave of men, and several minenwerfer and many machine guns.

Great Piles of Dead

During the night they and the English troops seized over 500 men as prisoners and sent them back, and several hundred seem to have been routed out. Today, [the 25th,] judging from these I saw myself, the living were not so many as the dead.

It was fierce fighting in Villers-Bretonneux

and around it last night and this morning the enemy fought until put out by bayonet, rifle bullet, or machine gun. The Australian officers say that they have never seen such piles of dead, not even outside of Bullecourt or Lagnicourt last year, as those who lie about this village of frightful strife.

The German tanks, which were first seen in this battle, though heavier than the British, with bigger guns, have now beaten a retreat, leaving one of their type in No Man's Land. The tank has a high turret and thick armor plates, and is steered and worked on a different system from the British. One of them was "killed" by a tank of the old British class, and then the British put in some of the newer, faster, and smaller types, which can steer almost as easily as a motor car, as I know, because I have traveled in one at great pace over rough ground.

These set out to attack bodies of German infantry of the 77th Division forming up near Cachy. It was a terrible encounter, and when they returned this morning their flanks were red with blood. They slew Germans not by dozens nor by scores, but by platoons and companies. They got right among the masses of men and swept them with fire, and those they did not kill with their guns they crushed beneath them, manoeuvring about and trampling them down as they fell. It seems to have been as bloody a slaughter as anything in this war.

Battle for Kemmel Hill

The furious battle for the possession of Kemmel Hill, an eminence of strategic importance in the Ypres region, occurred April 25, 26, and 27, and was as sanguinary as any in Flanders. Although the Germans won the hill, their victory involved such colossal sacrifices that this deadly thrust ended their serious offensive for the time. Mr. Gibbs's description of this battle in part follows:

After several attempts against Kemmel had been frustrated the enemy all went out, April 25, to capture this position. Four divisions at least, including the Alpine Corps, the 11th Bavarians, and the 5th, 6th, and 107th, were moved against Kemmel in the early morning fog after a tremendous bombardment of the Franco-British positions. It was a bombardment that begun before the first glimmer of dawn, like one of those which the British used to arrange in the days of their great Flanders battles last year. It came down swamping Kemmel Hill so that it was like a volcano, and stretched away on to the British lines on the left of the French by Maedelstede Farm and Grand Bois down to Vierstraat.

Then the German infantry attacked in depth, battalion behind battalion, division behind division, and their mountain troops of Alpine Corps and Jägers and Bavarians came on first in the assault of Kemmel Hill, which was not much more than a hillock, though it looms large in Flanders, and in this war. The French had suffered a ter-

rible ordeal of fire, and the main thrust of the German strength was against them.

Foe Strikes in Two Directions

The enemy struck in two directions to encircle the hill and village of Kemmel, one arrowhead striking to Dranoutre and the other at the point of junction between the French and British northward.

In each case they were favored by fog and the effect of their gunfire. They were able to drive in a wedge which they pushed forward until they had caused gaps. The French on Kemmel Hill became isolated and there was a gulf between the British and the French and between the French left and right.

On the hill the French garrison fought with splendid heroism. These men, when quite surrounded, would not yield, but served their machine guns and rifles for many hours, determined to hold their positions at all costs, and to the death. Small parties of them on the west of the hill held out until midday or beyond, according to the reports of the airmen, who flew low over them, but by 9 o'clock this morning, owing to the gaps made by the enemy, the French main line was compelled to draw back from Kemmel.

They inflicted severe losses on the enemy as they fell back and thwarted his efforts to break their line on the new defensive positions. Meanwhile a body of Scottish troops were seriously involved. Some of their officers whom I saw today tell me the fog was so thick, as on March 21, that after a terrific bombardment the first thing known at some points a little way behind the line was when the Germans were all around them.

Germans Under Von Arnim

The German army of assault upon Kemmel and the surrounding country was under command of General Sixt von Arnim, who was the leading opponent of the Allies in the long struggle of the first Somme battles, and whose clear and ruthless intelligence was revealed in the famous document summing up the first phase of that fighting, when he frankly confessed to many failures of organization and supply, but with acute criticism which was not that of a weak or indecisive man.

Under his command as corps commanders were Generals Seiger and von Eberhardt, and they had picked troops, including the Alpine Corps and strong Bavarian and Prussian divisions specially trained for assault in such country as that of Kemmel. Their plan of attack to strike at the points of junction between the French and British east of Kemmel, and also at the French troops south of it, near Dranoutre, proved for the time successful, and by driving in wedges they were able to make the Allies fall back on the flanks and encircle Kemmel Hill after furious and heroic fighting by the French and British troops.

The British now were in weak numbers compared with the strength brought against them. Their withdrawal to the new lines of defense by Vierstraat and the furious attacks across the Ypres-Comines Canal gave the enemy some ground in the region of St. Eloi and the bluff and the spoil bank of the canal itself. It is villainous ground there, foul with wreckage of the old fighting.

British troops and Canadian troops were put to the supreme test of courage to take and hold these places. The glorious old 3d Division, commanded in those days of 1915 and 1916 by General Haldane, fought from St. Eloi to the bluff, month in and month out, and lost many gallant officers and men there after acts of courage which belong to history.

German storm troops made three violent attacks on Loere, which were flung back by the French, with heavy casualties among the enemy, and it was only at the fourth attempt with fresh reserves that they were able to enter the ruins of the village, from which the French then fell back in order to reorganize for a counterattack. This they launched today at an early hour, and now Loere is in their hands after close fighting, in which they slew numbers of the enemy.

After their success on April 25, when they captured Kemmel, the Germans have made little progress, and, though there was fierce fighting all day yesterday, they failed to gain their objectives, and were raked by fire hour after hour, so that large numbers of their dead lie on the field of battle. At 4 in the afternoon they engaged in fresh assaults upon the positions near Ridge Wood, to which the line had fallen back, but English and Scottish troops repulsed them and scattered their waves. It was a bad day for them because of their great losses. The British have broken the fighting quality of some of the enemy's most renowned regiments.

The Country Devastated

All the roads and camps around Ypres are under a heavy, harassing fire once more, Ypres itself being savagely bombarded by high-explosive and gas shells, so that after some months of respite those poor ruins are again under that black spell which makes them the most sinister place in the world. Suicide Corner has come into its own again, and the old unhealthy plague spots up by the canal are under fire.

The enemy's guns are reaching out to fields and villages hitherto untouched by fire, and these harassing shots, intended, perhaps, to catch traffic on the roads or soldiers' camps, often serve the enemy no more than by the death of innocent women and children. A day or two ago a monstrous shell fell just outside a little Flemish cottage tucked away in an angle of a road which I often pass. It scooped out a deep pit in the garden without even scarring the cottage walls, but two children were playing in the garden and were laid dead beside a flower bed.

Yesterday a small boy I know went grubbing about this plot of earth and brought back a great chunk of shell bigger than his head. Those are the games children play in this merry century of ours. They are astoundingly indifferent to the perils about them, and sleep o' nights to the thunder of gunfire not very far away, or slip their heads under the bedclothes when bombs fall near.

But older folk find this gradual creeping up of the war a nervous strain and a mental agony which keeps them on the rack. It is pitiful to watch their doubts and perplexities and their clinging on to their homes and property. Shells smash outlying cottages to dust with their people inside them, but still the people in the village itself stay on, hoping against hope that the Germans' guns have reached their furthest range.

"I shall not go till the first shell falls in the middle of the square," said a girl.

Another woman said:

"If I go I lose all I have in life, so I will risk another day."

They take extraordinary risks, and our officers and men find some of them on the very battlefields and in farmyards where they unlimber their guns.

Heavy German Losses

The enemy's losses in this continual fighting have been severe. We have been able to get actual figures of some of their casualties, which are typical of the more general effect of the British fire. Of one company of the 7th German Division which fought at St. Eloi on Friday only 40 men remained out of its full strength of 120.

The 4th Ersatz Division lost most heavily, and a prisoner of the 279th Pioneer Company, which relieved the 360th Regiment of that division, says the average company strength was fifteen men.

The entire regimental staff was killed by a direct hit of a British shell on their headquarters dugout near Cantieux. The same thing happened to the battalion headquarters of the 223d Regiment, which is now in a state of low morale, having been fearfully cut up.

The 1st Guards Reserve Regiment of the 1st Guards Division, which was much weakened in the fighting on the Somme and afterward was sent to La Bassée, lost thirty-six officers, including a regimental commander and one battalion commander. These losses are affecting inevitably the outlook of the German troops on the prospects of their continued offensive.

Prisoners from divisions which suffered most confess they have no further enthusiasm for fighting, and that their regiments can only be made to attack by stern discipline and the knowledge that they must fight on or be shot for desertion.

On the other hand, the best German troops, especially those now attacking in Flanders, like the Alpine Corps and 11th Bavarian Division, are elated and full of warlike spirit.

Even their prisoners profess to believe they

are winning the war and will have a German peace before the year is out.

Desperate Fighting for Ypres

The Germans vainly launched desperate attacks of unexampled fury against the British and French lines in the Ypres region on April 29. Mr. Gibbs in his cable dispatch of that date thus refers to these assaults:

It becomes clearer every hour that the enemy suffered a disastrous defeat today. Attack after attack was smashed up by the British artillery and infantry, and he has not made a foot of ground on the British front.

The Border Regiment this morning repulsed four heavy assaults on the Kemmel-La Clytte road, where there was extremely hard fighting, and destroyed the enemy each time.

One of the enemy's main thrusts was between Scherpenberg and Mont Rouge, where they made a wedge for a time and captured the crossroads, and it was here that a gallant French counterattack swept them back.

The British had no more than a post or two in Voormezele this morning, and the enemy was there in greater strength, and sent his storm troops through this place, but was never able to advance against the fire of the British battalions.

His losses began yesterday, when his troops were seen massing on the road between Zillebeke and Ypres in a dense fog, through which he attempted to make a surprise attack. This was observed by low-flying planes, and his assembly was shattered by gunfire. After a fierce shelling all night, so tremendous along the whole northern front that the countryside was shaken by its tumult, German troops again assembled in the early morning mist, but were caught once more in the British bombardment.

At 3 o'clock a tremendous barrage was flung down by the German gunners from Ypres to Bailleul, and later they began the battle by launching first an attack between Zillebeke Lake and Meteren. South of Ypres they crossed the Yser Canal by Lock 8, near Voormezele, which was their direction of attack against the British, while they tried to drive up past Loere against the French on the three hills.

The successful defense has made the day most bloody for many German regiments.

Enemy's Attacks Futile

In order to turn them if frontal attacks failed against the French, German storm troops—they are now called grosskampff, or great offensive troops—were to break the British lines on the French left between Loere and Voormezele and on the French right near Merris and Meteren. That obviously was the intention of the German High Command this morning, judging from their direction of assault.

So far they have failed utterly. They failed to break or bend the British wings on

the French centre, and they failed to capture the hills, or any one of them, defended by the French divisions.

They have attacked again and again since this morning's dawn, heavy forces of German infantry being sent forward after their first waves against Scherpenberg and Voormezele, which lies to the east of Dickebusch Lake, but these men have been slaughtered by the French and British fire and made no important progress at any point.

For a time the situation seemed critical at one or two points, and it was reported that the Germans had been storming the slopes of Mont Rouge and Mont Noir, but one of the British airmen flew over these hills at 200 feet above their crests, and could see no German infantry near them.

Round about Voormezele, North Country and other English battalions had to sustain determined and furious efforts of Alpine and Bavarian troops to drive through them by weight of numbers, after hours of intense bombardment, but the men held their ground and inflicted severe punishment upon the enemy.

All through the day the German losses have been heavy under field-gun and machine-gun fire, and the British batteries, alongside the French seventy-fives, swept down the enemy's advancing waves and his masses assembled in support at short range.

There is no doubt that the French guarding the three hills have fought with extreme valor and skill. For a brief period the Germans apparently were able to draw near and take some of the ground near Loere, but an immediate counterattack was organized by the French General, and the line of French troops swung forward and swept the enemy back. Further attacks by the Germans north of Ypres and on the Belgian front were repulsed easily, and again the enemy lost many men.

French and British Valor

On April 30 Mr. Gibbs confirmed the details of the disastrous German defeats on the two preceding days and gave these further particulars:

It was the valor of Frenchmen as well as Englishmen which yesterday inflicted defeat upon many German divisions, and the Allies fought side by side, and their batteries fired from the same fields and their wounded came back along the same roads, and the khaki and blue lay out upon the same brown earth.

I have already given an outline of yesterday's battle, how, after a colossal bombardment, the German attack early in the morning from north of Ypres to south of Voormezele, where English battalions held the lines, and from La Clytte past the three hills of Scherpenberg, Mont Rouge, and Mont Noir, which French troops held to the north of Meteren, where the English joined them; again, how the English Tommies held firm

against desperate assaults until late in the evening; how the enemy made a great thrust against the French, driving in for a time between Scherpenberg and Mont Noir until they were flung back by a French counter-attack.

In the night the French, who had now regained all the ground that had been temporarily in the enemy's hands, made a general counterattack and succeeded in advancing their line to a depth of about fifteen hundred yards beyond the line of the three hills, which thereby was made more secure against future assaults.

Deadly Machine-Gun Work

Meanwhile throughout the day the English battalions had been sustaining heavy assaults, breaking the enemy against their front. The Leicesters, especially, had fierce fighting about Voormezele, where, as I told yesterday, the enemy was in the centre of the village. German storm troops advanced against our men here and along other parts of the line with fixed bayonets, but in most places, except Voormezele, where there was close fighting, they were mowed down by Lewis-gun fire before they could get near. Line after line of them came on, but lost heavily and fell back.

Over the ground east of Diekebusch Lake some Yorkshire troops saw these groups of field gray men advancing upon them, and the glint of their bayonets, wet in the morning mist, and swept them with bullets from the Lewis guns and rifles until heaps of bodies were lying out there on the mud flats in the old Ypres salient. The most determined assaults were concentrated upon the 25th Division, but it held firm and would not budge, though the men had been under fearful fire in the night bombardment, and their machine gunners kept their triggers pressed, and bullets played upon the advancing Germans like a stream from a garden hose.

The troops in the whole division yielded no yard of ground and they hold that they killed as many Germans as any battalion in this battle. It was a black day for Germany. More than ten German divisions, probably thirteen, seem to have been engaged in this attempt to smash our lines and encircle the three hills. They included some of the enemy's finest divisions, so they lost quality as well as quantity in this futile sacrifice of man-power—man-power which seems to mean nothing in flesh and blood and heart and soul to men like Ludendorff, but is treated as a material force like guns and ammunition and used as cannon fodder.

Brilliant French Fighters

Referring to the French troops in this battle, Mr. Gibbs wrote:

Today again I have been among the thousands of French soldiers. It is splendid to see them because of their fine bearing. They are men in the prime of life, not so young as

some of the British and with a graver look than one sees on British faces, when they have not yet reached the zone of fire. They are men who have seen all that war means during these years of agony and hope and boredom and death. They have no illusions. They stare into the face of death unflinchingly and shrug their shoulders at its worst menace and still have faith in victory.

So I read them, if any man may read the thoughts that lie behind those bronzed faces with the dark eyes and upturned mustaches under the blue painted helmets or the black Tam o' Shanter.

They are not gay or boisterous in their humor, and they do not sing like the British as they march, but they seem to have been born to this war, and its life is their life, and they are professionals.

The Tricolor passes along the roads of France and Flanders, and French trumpets ring out across the flat fields below Scherpenberg, and all the spirit of the French fighting men, who have proved themselves great soldiers in this war, as for thousands of years of history, is mingled with our own battalions. Together yesterday they gave the German Army a hard knock.

The British Guards

In his cable of May 1 Mr. Gibbs gave details of the extraordinary heroism of the British Guards. He related incidents which had occurred April 11 to 14, after the Germans had broken through the Portuguese in their efforts to widen the gap between Armentières and Merville by gaining the crossings of the Lys.

The Grenadier, Irish, and Coldstream Guards were sent forward along the Hazebrouck-Estaires road when the situation was at its worst, when the men of the 15th Division and other units had fought themselves out in continual rearguard and holding actions, so that some of those still in the line could hardly walk or stand, and when it was utterly necessary to keep the Germans in check until a body of Australian troops had time to arrive. The Guards were asked to hold back the enemy until those Australians came and to fight at all costs for forty-eight hours against the German tide of men and guns which was attempting to flow around the other hard pressed men, and that is what the Guards did, fighting in separate bodies with the enemy pressing in on both flanks.

Greatly outnumbered, they beat back attack after attack, and gained precious hours, vital hours, by the most noble self-sacrifice. A party of Grenadiers were so closely surrounded that their officer sent back a message saying:

"My men are standing back to back and shooting on all sides."

The Germans swung around them, circling them with machine guns and rifles and pouring a fire into them until only eighteen men were left. Those eighteen, standing among

their wounded and their dead, did not surrender. The army wanted forty-eight hours. They fixed bayonets and went out against the enemy and drove through him. A wounded Corporal of Grenadiers, who afterward got back to the British lines, lay in a ditch, and the last he saw of his comrades was when fourteen men of them were still fighting in a swarm of Germans.

Fought Back to Back

The Coldstream Guards were surrounded in the same way and fought in the same way. The army had asked for forty-eight hours until the Australians could come, and many of the Coldstreamers eked out the time with their lives. The enemy filtered in on their flanks, came crawling around them with machine guns, sniped them from short range and raked them from ditches and upheaved earth.

The Coldstream Guards had to fall back, but they fought back in small groups, facing all ways and making gaps in the enemy's ranks, not firing wildly, but using every round of small-arms ammunition to keep a German back and gain a little more time.

Forty-eight hours is a long time in a war like this. For two days and nights the Irish Guards, who had come up to support the Grenadiers and Coldstreamers, tried to make a defensive flank, but the enemy worked past their right and attacked them on two sides. The Irish Guards were gaining time. They knew that was all they could do, just drag out the hours by buying each minute with their blood. One man fell and then another; but minutes were gained, and quarters of hours and hours.

Small parties of them lowered their bayonets and went out among the gray wolves swarming around them, and killed a number of them until they also fell. First one party and then another of these Irish Guards made those bayonet charges against men with machine guns and volleys of rifle fire. They bought time at a high price, but they did not stint themselves nor stop their bidding because of its costliness.

The brigade of Guards here and near Vieux Berquin held out for those forty-eight hours, and some of them were fighting still when the Australians arrived, according to the timetable.

Carnage Near Locre

Mr. Gibbs, in a dispatch dated May 3, gave these vivid descriptions of the fighting in the Locre-Dranoutre-Kemmel region:

On April 24 the German bombardment was intensified and spread over a deep area, destroying villages, tearing up roads, and making a black vomit of the harrowed fields. Dranoutre, Locre, Westoutre, and other small towns were violently bombarded. That night the French discovered that the Germans were preparing an attack for the next morning, to be preceded by a gas bombardment. The officers warned all their men,

and they stood on the alert with gas masks when at 3:30 in the morning thousands of gas shells fell over them, mixed with high explosives of all calibres up to the monster twelve-inch, which burst like volcanic eruptions.

In the intensity of bombardment several officers who fought at Fleury said: "This is the most frightful thing we have seen. Verdun was nothing to it."

All the French troops jammed on gas masks, and on one day put them on fifty times, only removing them when the wind, which was fairly strong, blew away the poison fumes until other storms of shells came. For nearly a week they wore them constantly, sleeping in them, officers giving orders in them, and the men fighting and dying in them and charging with the bayonet in them. It was worth the trouble and suffering, for this French regiment between Locre and Dranoutre had only twelve gas casualties.

That morning the German attack fell first on Kemmel Hill, which they turned from the north, and two hours later, the bombardment continuing all along the line, they developed a strong attack against Dranoutre in the south in order to take Locre and turn the French right. Until evening the troops on Kemmel Hill, with a small body of British, still held out with great devotion in isolated positions, but by 8 o'clock that morning Kemmel Hill was entirely cut off.

Other British Units in Danger

This was a severe menace to their comrades at Locre and southward, because both their flanks were threatened. They did heroic things to safeguard their right and left, which again and again the enemy tried to pass. I have already told in a previous message how a gallant French officer and a small company of men made a counter-attack at Dranoutre and held the post there against all odds.

Up by Locre the commandant of the left battalion found machine-gun fire sweeping his left flank, and his men had to face left to defend their line. Small parties of Germans with machine guns kept filtering down from the north and established themselves on the railway in order to rake the French with an enfilade fire.

One French company, led by devoted officers, counterattacked there five times with the bayonet into the sweep of those bullets, and by this sacrifice saved their flank. Another company advanced to hold the hospice. There was desperate fighting day after day, so that its ruins, if any bits of wall are left, will be as historic as the château at Vermelles, or other famous houses of the battlefields.

French and Germans took it turn and turn about, and although the enemy sent great numbers of men to garrison this place they never were able to hold it long, because always some young French Lieutenant and a

handful of men stormed it again and routed the enemy. When it was taken last on April 29, the day of the enemy's severe defeat, the French captured 100 prisoners in the cellars there, and they belonged to fourteen battalions of four regiments of three divisions, showing the amazing way in which the enemy's divisions have been flung into confusion by the French fire.

Under Constant Shellfire

On the morning of April 26 French companies made six attacks, and in the afternoon two more, and though their losses were heavy, that evening both the village and hospice of Loere stayed in their hands. That night, their men being exhausted for a time after so many hours under fire, they withdrew their line a little to the Loere-Bailleul road by the Château of Loere and west of Dranoutre in order to reorganize a stronger defense. The German bombardment slackened on the morning of April 28 owing to fog, and those few hours on that day and one other were the only respite these French troops had from the incessant and infernal gunfire when, owing to open warfare, "en rase campagne," as the French call it, as in 1914, without a complete system of trenches or dugouts or other artificial cover, they were much exposed.

"There were ten big shells a second," one of these officers told me, "and that lasted, with only two short pauses, for six days all through the battle, and other shells were uncountable."

The enemy had brought up light artillery and trench mortars almost to his front lines in Dranoutre Wood and other places and attempted to take the French in an enfilade fire from Kemmel, but by this time many French guns were in position, reinforcing the British artillery, and on the 28th they opened up and killed great numbers of the enemy.

Allied aviators saw long columns of Germans on the roads by Neuve Eglise and in Dranoutre Wood, and signaled to the guns to range on these human targets. The guns answered. Masses of Germans were smashed by the fire and panicstricken groups were seen running out of Dranoutre Wood.

Night of Horror for Germans

That night the Germans seemed to be relieving their troops, and again the French and British guns flung shells into them, and for the enemy it was a night of death and horror; but the next day, the 29th, the enemy made reply by a prolonged bombardment, more intense even than before, and then attacked with new troops all along the line. But the French also had many fresh troops in line—not those I met yesterday—who at 2 o'clock in the morning went forward into attack and took back the village. This defeated the enemy's plan of turning the French left.

All through that day the enemy's desperate

efforts to break through were shattered, and that night the French held exactly the same ground as before and had caused enormous losses to the German divisions, at least 40 per cent. of their strength, as it is reckoned on close evidence.

That night even the German guns stopped their drumfire, as though Sixt von Arnim's army was in mourning for its dead. It was a night of strange and uncanny silence after the stupendous tumult, but for those French regiments who had been holding the line for nearly a week it had been a day of supreme ordeal.

Preparing for Another Advance

There were no general engagements during the preceding five days nor up to May 18, but incessant artillery fire was kept up and raids were constantly made. On May 5 Mr. Gibbs described the difficulties encountered by the Germans in preparing for a new advance:

The enemy has many divisions, both up in the Flemish fields and on the Somme, divisions in line and divisions in reserve—divisions crowded in reserve—and there are few roads for them down which to march. There is not much elbow room for such masses to assemble, and not much cover in trenches or dugouts from high explosives or shrapnel. So we pound them to death, many of them to death and many of them to stretcher cases, and relief comes up, gets wildly mixed with the divisions coming down, and at night there is mad confusion in the ranks of marching men and transport columns, which gallop past dead horses and splintered wagons and wrecks of transport columns, and among the regimental and divisional staffs, trying to keep order in the German way when things are being smashed into chaos, while the Red Cross convoys are overloaded with wounded and unable to cope with all the bodies that lie about.

This is what is happening behind the German lines—I have not overdrawn the picture, believe me—and it is upsetting somewhat the plans of the high German officers who are arranging things from afar through telephones, down which they shout their orders.

"The Drums of Death"

In his dispatch of May 9 the following was written to describe the difficulties of the Germans in reorganizing their battered forces:

From many points the British have complete observation of the enemy's positions there, as he has of theirs from the other side of the way, and, needless to say, they are making use of this direct view by flinging over storms of shells whenever his transport is seen crawling along the tracks of the old Somme battlefields or his troops are seen massing among their shell craters.

The town of Albert itself, where once until

recent history the golden Virgin used to lean downward with her babe outstretched above the ruins, is now a death trap for the German garrisons there and for any German gunners who try to hide their batteries among the red brick houses. By day and night their positions are pounded with high explosives and soaked in asphyxiating gas.

I went within 2,000 yards of it yesterday, and saw the heaviest work of the British upon it. It was a wonderful May day, as today is, and the sun shone through a golden haze upon the town. As I looked into Albert and saw the shells smashing through, and then away up the Albert-Bapaume road, past the white rim of the great mine crater of La Boisselle to the treeless slopes of Posi res, and over all that ground of hills and ditches to the high, wooded distant right, with its few dead stumps of trees, it was hard to believe that all this was in the area of the German Army, that the white, winding lines freshly marked upon this bleak landscape were new German trenches, and that the enemy's outposts were less than 2,000 yards from where I stood.

Fritz Having a "Thin Time"

Some siege gunners were lying on their stomachs and observing the enemy's lines for some monsters I had seen on my way up, monsters that raised their snouts slowly, like elephants' trunks, before bellowing out with an earthquake roar, annihilating all one's senses for a second. Some of the men passed the remark to me that "Albert isn't the town it was" and that "Fritz must be having a thin time there." They also expressed the opinion that the Albert-Bapaume road was not a pleasant walk for Germans on a sunny afternoon.

I did not dispute these points with them, for they were beyond argument. Big shells were smashing into Albert and its neighborhood from many heavy batteries, raising volcanic explosions there, and shrapnel was bursting over the tracks in white splashes.

In describing the artillery fire which broke up a threatened assault on May 5, Mr. Gibbs wrote:

A new German division, the 52d Reserve, and the 56th German Division prepared an assault on Ridge Wood. All these men were crowded into narrow assembly grounds and did not have quiet hours before the moment of attack. They had hours of carnage in the darkness. British and French guns were answering back the German bombardment with their heaviest fire. French howitzers, long-muzzled fellows, which during recent weeks I had seen crawling through Flanders with the cornflowers, as the French soldiers call themselves, crowded about them on the gun limbers and transport wagons and muddy horses, and which had traveled long kilometers, were now in action from their emplacements between the ruined villages of the Flemish war zone, and with their little

brothers, the soixante-quinzes, their blood-thirsty little brothers, were savage in their destruction and harassing fire.

I have seen the soixante-quinze at work and have heard the rafale des tambours de la mort—the ruffle of the drums of death—as the sound of their fire is described by all soldier writers of France. It was that fire, that slashing and sweeping fire, which helped to break up any big plan of attack against the French troops yesterday morning, and from those assembly places a great part of the German infantry never moved all day, but spent their time, it seems, in carrying back their wounded.

Tragic Desolation of Arras

Mr. Gibbs on May 11 described a visit to Arras, as follows:

Since the beginning of these great battles in bleak, cold weather Spring has come, and almost Summer, changing all the aspect of the old battlefields and of the woods behind craterland and of the cities under fire.

I went into one of those cities the other day, Arras, which to me and to many of us out here is a queerly enchanted place because of its beauty, which survives even three years of bombardment, and because of the many great memories which it holds in its old houses and streets and the sense of romance which lurks in its courtyards and squares, reaching back to ancient history before its death. For Arras is dead and but the beautiful corpse of the city that was once very fair and noble.

During the recent weeks the enemy has flung many big explosive shells into it, so that its ruins have become more ruined and many houses hardly touched before have now been destroyed. It was sad to see this change, the fresh mangling of stones that had already been scarred, the heaps of masonry that lay piled about these streets that were utterly deserted. I walked down many of them and saw no living soul, only a few lean cats which prowled about, slinking close to the walls and crouching when a German shell came over with a rending noise.

Bright sunlight shone down these streets, putting a lazy glamour upon their broken frontages and flinging back shadows from high walls, except where shell holes let in the light. The cathedral and the great Palace of the Bishops were unroofed, with tall pillars broken off below the vaulting and an avalanche of white masonry about them. They were clear-cut and dazzling under the blue sky, and one was hushed by the tragic grandeur of these ruins.

One of the British airplanes flew low over the city, and its engine sang loudly with a vibrant humming, and now and again the crash of a gun or a shell loosened some stones or plaster below its wings. Other birds were singing, Spring birds, who are not out for war but sweethearting in the gardens of Arras.

America's Sacrifice

By Harold Begbie

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

ONE of the finest moral actions in this war has been done by America. It is action on a gigantic scale, and yet of a directly personal character. Insufficient publicity, I think, has been given to this action.

Is it realized by the people of this country that America has already saved us from capitulating to the enemy? Either we should have been forced into this surrender (with our armies unbroken and our munitions of war unexhausted) or we should at this moment be struggling to live and work and fight on one-third of our present rations.

America is sending to these islands almost two-thirds of our food supplies. Sixty-five per cent. of the essential food-stuffs eaten by the British citizen comes to him from the American Continent. This in itself is something which calls for our lively gratitude. But there is a quality in the action of America which should intensify our gratitude. For these American supplies, essential to our health and safety, represent in very large measure the personal and voluntary self-sacrifice of the individual American citizen. They are not crumbs from the table of Dives. They are not the commandeered supplies of an autocratic Government. They represent, rather, the kindly, difficult, and entirely willing self-sacrifice of a whole nation, the vast majority of whom are working people.

There is only one altar for this act of sacrifice—it is the table of the American working classes. And the rite is performed by men, women, and children, at every meal of the day, day after day, week after week.

This act of self-sacrifice, let us remember, is made in the midst of plenty. Well might the American housewife ask why she should deprive her children of food, why she should institute wheatless and meatless days, when all about her there is a visible superabundance of these things. Questions such as these are natural

enough on the other side of the Atlantic, and on the other side of the American continent, 5,000 miles away from the battlefields of France.

But the citizens of America do not ask such questions. With a cheerfulness and a courage which are as vigorous as their industry, and with a moral earnestness which is by far the greatest demonstration America has yet given to the world of American character, these people so far away from us on the other side of the Atlantic have willingly and with no coercion by the State denied themselves for the sake of the Entente. They are going short, they are going hungry, for our sakes. They are practicing an intimate self-sacrifice in order that we may hold our own till their sons come to fight at our side. All over America the individual American citizen is making this self-sacrifice, and making it without a murmur. He is feeding, by his personal self-sacrifice, not only these islands, but France, Italy, and many of the neutrals.

This great demonstration of character has had no other impetus than the simple declaration of the facts by Herbert Hoover, the man who fed Belgium. Hoover has told his countrymen how things stand. That is all. The Winter of 1918, he declared to them, will prove to mankind whether or not the American Nation "is capable of individual self-sacrifice to save the world." His propaganda has never descended to unworthy levels. He has appealed always to the conscience of his countrymen. He has spoken of "a personal obligation upon every one of us toward some individual abroad who will suffer privation to the extent of our own individual negligence."

America has answered this appeal in a manner which marks her out as one of the greatest moral forces in the world. It should be known out there, in the farmhouses and cottages of the American Continent, that the people of this country are mindful of America's self-sacrifice, and are grateful.

GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS WITH PERSHING



Brig. Gen. Benjamin Alvord,
Adjutant
(© Harris & Ewing)



Brig. Gen. Andre W. Brewster,
Inspector
(© Harris & Ewing)



Brig. Gen. Edgar Russell,
Signal Officer
(Underwood from Buck)



Brig. Gen. Harry L. Rogers,
Quartermaster
(© Harris & Ewing)

PROMINENT IN WAR ACTIVITIES



Brig. Gen. B. D. Foulois,
Aviation Officer on Pershing's Staff
(*Press Illustrating Service*)



Dr. F. P. Keppel,
Recently appointed Assistant Secretary of War
(© Harris & Ewing)



W. C. Potter,
Chief of Equipment Division of Signal Corps
(© Harris & Ewing)



Brig. Gen. C. B. Wheeler,
Ordnance Officer on Pershing's Staff
(© Harris & Ewing)

American Soldiers in Battle

How They Repelled an Attack at Seicheprey and Fought in Picardy

[MONTH ENDED MAY 20, 1918]

SEICHEPREY, in the Toul sector, was the scene on April 20, 1918, of the most determined attack launched against the American forces in France up to that time. A German regiment, reinforced by storm troops, a total of 1,500, was hurled against the American positions on a one-mile front west of Remières Forest, northwest of Toul, after a severe bombardment of gas and high explosive shells. The Germans succeeded in penetrating the front-line trenches and taking the village of Seicheprey, but after furious hand-to-hand fighting the American troops recaptured the village and most of the ground lost in the early fighting.

Next morning, after a brief bombardment, the Americans attacked and drove the enemy out of the old outposts, which they had gained, and thus broke down an offensive which, it was believed, was intended as the beginning of a German plan to separate the Americans and the French. The French lines also were attacked, but the Germans were repulsed and the lines re-established.

The losses were the heaviest sustained by Americans since they began active warfare in France. In a dispatch to the War Department General Pershing indicated that the losses among his men were between 200 and 300. According to the German official statement 183 Americans were taken prisoner, so that the American casualties apparently came mostly under the heading of captured. Official reports of the German losses, according to a prisoner captured later, gave 600 killed, wounded, and missing.

IN THE PICARDY BATTLE

"Franco-American positions south of the Somme and on the Avre" were officially mentioned for the first time in the French War Office report of April 24,

indicating that forces of the United States were there on the battlefield resisting the great German offensive. The report stated that an intense bombardment of the positions all along this front was followed by an attack directed against Hangard-en-Santerre, the region of Hailles, and Senecat Wood. The Germans were repulsed almost everywhere.

Formal announcement that American troops sent to reinforce the allied armies had taken part in the fighting was made by the War Department in its weekly review of the situation issued on April 29. "Our own forces," the statement read, "have taken part in the battle. American units are in the area east of Amiens. During the engagements which have raged in this area they have acquitted themselves well."

UNDER INTENSE FIRE

Another heavy attack was launched by the Germans against the Americans in the vicinity of Villers-Bretonneux on April 30. It was repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy. The German bombardment opened at 5 o'clock in the afternoon and was directed especially against the Americans, who were supported on the north and south by the French. The fire was intense, and at the end of two hours the German commander sent forward three battalions of infantry. There was hand-to-hand fighting all along the line, as a result of which the enemy was thrust back, his dead and wounded lying on the ground in all directions. The French troops were full of praise for the manner in which the Americans conducted themselves under trying circumstances, especially in view of the fact that they are fighting at one of the most difficult points on the battlefield. The American losses were rather severe.

The gallantry of the 300 American engineers who were caught in the

opening of the German offensive on March 21 was the subject of a dispatch from General Pershing made public by the War Department on April 19. The engineers were among the forces hastily gathered by Major Gen. Sanderson Carey, the British commander, who stopped the gap in the line when General Gough's army was driven back. [See diagram on Page 389.] During the period of thirteen days covered by General Pershing's report, the engineers were almost continuously in action. They were in the very thick of the hardest days of the great German drive in Picardy.

General Pershing embodied in his report a communication from General Rawlinson, commander of the British 5th Army, in which the latter declared that "it has been largely due to your assistance that the enemy is checked." The report covered the fighting period from March 21 to April 3. The former date marked the beginning of the Ludendorff offensive along the whole front from La Fère to Croisilles. It showed that while under shellfire the American engineers destroyed material dumps at Chaunles, that they fell back with the British forces to Moreuil, where the commands laid out trench work, and were then assigned to a sector of the defensive line at Demuin, and to a position near Warfusee-Abancourt.

During the period of thirteen days covered by the report the American engineers had two officers killed and three wounded, while twenty men were killed, fifty-two wounded, and forty-five reported missing.

STORY OF CAREY EPISODE

A correspondent of The Associated Press at the front gave this account of the part played by Americans in the historic episode under General Carey:

A disastrous-looking gap appeared in the 5th Army south of Hamel in the later stages of the opening battle. The Germans had crossed the Somme at Hamel and had a clear path for a sweep southwestward.

No troops were available to throw into the opening. A certain Brigadier General was commissioned by Major Gen.

Gough, commander of the 5th Army, to gather up every man he could find and to "hold the gap at any cost." The General called upon the American and Canadian engineers, cooks, chauffeurs, road workmen, anybody he could find; gave them guns, pistols, any available weapon, and rushed them into the gap in trucks, on horseback, or on mule-drawn limbers.

A large number of machine guns from a machine-gun school near by were confiscated. Only a few men, however, knew how to operate the weapons, and they had to be worked by amateurs with one "instructor" for every ten or twelve guns. The Americans did especially well in handling this arm.

For two days the detachment held the mile and a half gap. At the end of the second day the commander, having gone forty-eight hours without sleep, collapsed. The situation of the detachment looked desperate.

While all were wondering what would happen next, a dusty automobile came bounding along the road from the north. It contained Brig. Gen. Carey, who had been home on leave and who was trying to find his headquarters.

The General was commandeered by the detachment and he was found to be just the commander needed. He is an old South African soldier of the daredevil type. He is famous among his men for the scrapes and escapades of his school-boy life as well as for his daring exploits in South Africa.

Carey took the detachment in hand and led it in a series of attacks and counter-attacks which left no time for sleeping and little for eating. He gave neither his men nor the enemy a rest, attacking first on the north, then in the centre, then on the south—harassing the enemy unceasingly with the idea of convincing the Germans that a large force opposed them.

Whenever the Germans tried to feel him out with an attack at one point, Carey parried with a thrust somewhere else, even if it took his last available man, and threw the Germans on the defensive.

The spirit of Carey's troops was wonderful. The work they did was almost supernatural. It would have been impossible with any body of men not physical giants, but the Americans and Canadians gloried in it. They crammed every hour of the day full of fighting. It was a constantly changing battle, kaleidoscopic, free-for-all, catch-as-catch-can. The Germans gained ground. Carey and his men were back at them, hungry for more punishment. At the end of the sixth day, dog-tired and battle-worn, but still full of fight, the detachment was relieved by a fresh battalion which had come up from the rear.

STAFF CHANGES

Major Gen. James W. McAndrew, it was announced on May 3, was appointed Chief of Staff of the American expeditionary force in succession to Brig. Gen. James G. Harbord, who was assigned to a command in the field. Other changes on General Pershing's staff included the appointment of Lieut. Col. Robert C. Davis as Adjutant General, and Colonel Merritte W. Ireland as Surgeon General.

The General Staff of the American expeditionary forces in France, as the result of several changes in personnel, consisted on May 14, 1918, of the following:

Commander.....General John J. Pershing
Aid de Camp.....Colonel James L. Collins
Aid de Camp.....Colonel Carl Boyd
Aid de Camp....Colonel M. C. Shallenberger
Chief of Staff...Major Gen. J. W. McAndrew
Adjutant.....Lieut. Col. Robert C. Davis
Inspector.....Brig. Gen. Andre W. Brewster
Judge Advocate..Brig. Gen. Walter A. Bethel
Quartermaster..Brig. Gen. Harry L. Rogers
Surgeon.....Colonel Merritte W. Ireland
Engineer.....Brig. Gen. Harry Taylor
Ordnance Officer..Brig. Gen. C. B. Wheeler
Signal Officer.....Brig. Gen. Edgar Russell
Aviation Officer.....Brig. Gen. B. D. Foulis

President Wilson on May 4 pardoned two soldiers of the American expeditionary force who had been condemned to death by a military court-martial in France for sleeping on sentry duty and

commuted to nominal prison terms the death sentences imposed on two others for disobeying orders.

HEALTH OF THE SOLDIERS

Major Hugh H. Young, director of the work of dealing with communicable blood diseases in our army in France, made this striking statement on May 12 regarding the freedom of the American expeditionary force from such diseases:

In making plans for this department of medical work in France it had been calculated by the medical authorities in Washington to have ten 1,000-bed hospitals, in which a million men could receive treatment, but with 500,000 Americans in France there is not one of the five allotted Americans in any of the hospitals now running, and only 500 cases of this type of disease needing hospital treatment, instead of the expected 5,000.

In other words, instead of having 1 per cent. of our soldiers in hospitals from social diseases, as had been expected, the actual number is only one-tenth of 1 per cent. There is no reason to doubt that this record will be maintained. The hospitals prepared for this special treatment are to be used for other cases.

This means that the American Army is the cleanest in the world. The results, according to Major Young, have been achieved by preventive steps taken by the American medical directors, coupled with the co-operation of the men.

Overseas Forces More Than Half a Million Preparing for an Army of 3,000,000

THE overseas fighting forces of the United States have been increasing at a much more rapid rate than the public was aware of. Early in May the number of our men in France was in excess of 500,000. A great increase in the ultimate size of the army was further indicated when the War Department asked the House Military Affairs Committee for a new appropriation of \$15,000,000,000.

Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, appeared before the committee on April 23 and, after describing the results of his inspection of the army in France, said that the size of the army that the United

States would send abroad was entirely dependent upon the shipping situation. Troops were already moving to France at an accelerated rate.

President Wilson, through Mr. Baker, presented the House Military Affairs Committee on May 2 with proposals for increasing the army. The President asked that all limits be removed on the number of men to be drafted for service. Mr. Baker said that he declined to discuss the numbers of the proposed army "for the double reason that any number implies a limit, and the only possible limit is our ability to equip and transport men, which is constantly on the increase."

The Administration's plans were submitted in detail on May 3, when the committee began the preparation of the army appropriation bill carrying \$15,000,000,000 to finance the army during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919. Mr. Baker again refused to go into the question of figures, but it became known at the Capitol that the estimates he submitted were based on a force of not fewer than 3,000,000 men and 160,000 officers in the field by July 1, 1919. The plan contemplated having 130,000 officers and 2,168,000 men, or a total of 2,298,000, in the field and in camps by July 1, 1918, and approximately an additional million in the field before June 30, 1919.

Mr. Baker said that all the army camps and cantonments were to be materially enlarged, to take care of the training of the men to be raised in the next twelve months. The General Staff had this question under careful consideration, and the idea was to increase the size of existing training camps rather than to establish new camps. These camps, it was estimated, already had facilities for training close to a million men at one time.

The Secretary of War also made it clear that the total of \$15,000,000,000 involved in the estimates as revised for the new army bill did not cover the whole cost of the army for the next fiscal year. The \$15,000,000,000, he explained, was in addition to the large sums that would be carried in the Fortifications Appropriation bill, which covers the cost of heavy ordnance both in the United States and overseas. Nor did it include the Military Academy bill. It was emphasized that, although estimates were submitted on the basis of an army of a certain size, Congress was being asked for blanket authority for the President to raise all the men needed, and the approximate figures of \$15,000,000,000 could be increased by deficiency appropriations.

It was brought out in the committee that the transportation service had improved and that the War Department was able to send more men to France each month. It was estimated that if transport facilities continued to improve, close to 1,500,000 fighting men would be on the western front by Dec. 31, 1918. The

United States had now in camp and in the field, it was explained to the committee, the following enlisted men and officers:

Enlisted men.....	1,765,000
Officers	120,000
Total	1,885,000

Provost Marshal General Crowder announced on May 8 that 1,227,000 Americans had been called to the colors under the Selective Draft act, thereby indicating approximately the strength of the national army. Additional calls during May for men to be in camp by June 2 affected something like 366,600 registrants under the draft law. These men were largely intended to fill up the camps at home, replacing the seasoned personnel from the divisions previously training there. With the increase of the number of divisions in France, the flow of replacement troops was increasing proportionately.

In regard to the number of men in France, Mr. Baker on May 8 made the following important announcement:

In January I told the Senate committee that there was strong likelihood that early in the present year 500,000 American troops would be dispatched to France. I cannot either now or perhaps later discuss the number of American troops in France, but I am glad to be able to say that the forecast I made in January has been surpassed.

This was the first official utterance indicating even indirectly the number of men sent abroad. The first force to go was never described except as a division, although as a matter of fact it was constituted into two divisions soon after its arrival in France.

An Associated Press dispatch dated May 17 announced that troops of the new American Army had arrived within the zone of the British forces in Northern France and were completing their training in the area occupied by the armies which were blocking the path of the Germans to the Channel ports. The British officers who were training the Americans stated that the men from overseas were of the finest material. The newcomers were warmly greeted by the British troops and were reported to be full of enthusiasm.

American Troops in Central France

By Laurence Jerrold

This friendly British view of our soldiers in France is from the pen of a noted war correspondent of The London Morning Post

I HAVE recently visited the miniature America now installed in France, and installed in the most French part of Central France. There is nothing more French than these ancient towns with historic castles, moats, dungeons, and torture chambers, these old villages, where farms are sometimes still battlemented like small castles, and this countryside where living is easy and pleasant. On to this heart of France has descended a whole people from across the ocean, a people that hails from New England and California, from Virginia and Illinois. The American Army has taken over this heart of France, and is teaching it to "go some." Townsfolk and villagers enjoy being taught. The arrival of the American Army is a revelation to them.

I was surprised at first to find how fresh a novelty an allied army was in this part of France. Then I remembered that these little towns and villages have in the last few months for the first time seen allies of France. The ports where the American troops land have seen many other allies; they saw, indeed, in August, 1914, some of the first British troops land, whose reception remains in the recollection of the inhabitants as a scene of such fervor and loving enthusiasm as had never been known before and probably will not be known again. In fact, to put it brutally, French ports are blasé. But this Central France for the first time welcomes allied troops. It is true they had seen some Russians, but the least said of them now the better. Some of the Russians are still there, hewing wood for three francs a day per head, and behaving quite peaceably.

These old towns and villages look upon the American Army in their midst as the greatest miracle they have ever known, and a greater one than they ever could have dreamed of. One motors through scores of little towns and vil-

lages where the American soldier, in his khaki, his soft hat, (which I am told is soon to be abolished,) and his white gaiters, swarms. The villagers put up bunting, calico signs, flags, and have stocks of American "canned goods" to show in their shop windows. The children, when bold, play with the American soldiers, and the children that are more shy just venture to go up and touch an American soldier's leg. Very old peasant ladies put on their Sunday black and go out walking and in some mysterious way talking with American soldiers. The village Mayor turns out and makes a speech utterly incomprehensible to the American soldier, whenever a fresh contingent of the latter arrives. The 1919 class, just called up, plays bugles and shouts "Good morning" when an American car comes by.

Vice versa, this Central France is perhaps even more of a miracle to the American troops than the American troops are to it. To watch the American trooper from Arkansas or Chicago being shown over a castle which is not only older than the United States, but was in its prime under Louis XII., and dates back to a Roman fortress now beneath it, is a wonderful sight. Here the American soldier shows himself a charming child. There is nothing of the "Innocents Abroad" about him. I heard scarcely anything (except about telephones and railways) of any American brag of modernism in this ancient part of France. On the contrary, the soldier is learning with open eyes, and trying to learn with open ears, all these wonders of the past among which he has been suddenly put. The officer, too, even the educated officer, is beautifully astonished at all this past, which he had read about, but which, quite possibly, he didn't really believe to exist. The American officers who speak French—and there are some of them, coming chiefly from

the Southern States—are, of course, heroes in every town, and sought after in cafés at recreation hours by every French officer and man. Those who do not know French are learning it, and I remember a picturesque sight, that of a very elderly, prim French governess in black, teaching French to American subalterns in a Y. M. C. A. canteen.

A great French preacher the other day, in his sermon in a Paris church, said that this coming to France of millions of English troops and future millions of American troops may mean eventually one of the greatest changes in Continental Europe the world has ever known. His words never seemed to me so full of meaning as they did when I was among the Americans in the heart of France. There, of course, the contrast is infinitely greater than it can be in the France which our own troops are occupying and defending. These young, fresh, hustling, keen Americans, building up numerous works of all kinds to prepare for defending France, have brought with them Chinese labor and negro labor; and Chinese and negroes and German and Austrian prisoners all work in these American camps under American officers' orders. Imagine what an experience, what a miracle, indeed, this spectacle seems to the country-folk of this old French soil, who have always lived very quietly, who never wanted to go anywhere else, and who knew, indeed, that France had allies fighting and working for her, but had never seen any of them until these Americans came across three thousand miles of ocean.

Something of a miracle, also, is what our new allies are accomplishing. They are doing everything on a huge scale. I saw aviation camps, training camps, aviation schools, vast tracts where barracks were being put up, railways built, telegraphs and telephones installed by Chinese labor, negro labor, German prisoners' labor, under the direction of American skilled workmen, who are in France by the thousand. There are Y. M. C. A. canteens, Red Cross canteens, clubs for officers and for men, theatres and cinemas for the army, and a prodigious

amount of food—all come from America. The hams alone I saw strung up in one canteen would astonish the boches. American canned goods, meat, fruit, condensed milk, meal, &c., have arrived in France in stupendous quantities. No body of American troops land in France until what is required for their sustenance several weeks ahead is already stored in France. Only the smallest necessities are bought on the spot, and troops passing through England on their way to France are strictly forbidden, both officers and men, to buy any article of food whatsoever in England. As for the quality, the American has nothing to complain of, so far as I could see. All pastry, cakes, sweets are henceforth prohibited throughout civilian France, but the American troops rightly have all these things in plenty. I saw marvelous cakes and tarts, which would create a run on any Paris or London teashop, and the lady who manages one American Red Cross canteen (by the way, she is an Englishwoman, and is looked up to by the American military authorities as one of the best organizers they have met) explained to me wonderful recipes they have for making jam with honey and preserved fruit. The bread, of course, they make themselves, and, as is right, it is pure white flour bread, such as no civilian knows nowadays.

One motors through scores of villages and more, and every little old French spot swarms with American Tommies billeted in cottages and farmhouses. Many of them marched straight to their billets from their landing port, and the experience is as wonderful for them, just spirited over from the wilds of America, as it is for the villagers who welcome these almost fabulous allies. But it is the engineering, building, and machinery works the Americans are putting up which are the most astonishing. Gangs of workers have come over in thousands. Many of these young chaps are college men, Harvard or Princeton graduates. They dig and toil as efficiently as any laborer, and perhaps with more zeal. One American Major told me with glee how a party of these young workers arrived straight from America at 3:30 P. M.,

and started digging at 5 A. M. next morning. "And they liked it; it tickled them to death." Many of these drafts, in fact, were sick and tired of inaction in ports before their departure from America, and they welcomed work in France as if it were some great game.

Perhaps the biggest work of all the Americans are doing is a certain aviation camp and school. In a few months it has neared completion, and when it is finished it will, I believe, be the biggest of its kind in the world. There pilots are trained, and trained in numbers which I may not say, but which are comforting. The number of airplanes they use merely for training, which also I must not state, is in itself remarkable. "Training pilots is the one essential thing," I was told by the C. O. These flying men—or boys—who have, of course, already been broken in in America, do an additional course in France, and when they leave the aviation camp I saw they are absolutely ready for air fighting at the front. This is the finishing school. The aviators go through eight distinct courses in this school. They are perfected in flying, in observation, in bombing, in machine-gun firing. On even a cloudy and windy day the air overhead buzzes with these young American fliers, all getting into the pink of condition to do their stunts at the front. They seemed to me as keen as our own flying men, and as well disciplined. They live in the camp, and it requires moving heaven and earth for one of them to get leave to go even to the nearest little quiet old town.

The impression is the same of the American bases in France as of the American front in France. I found there and here one distinctive characteristic, the total absence of bluff. I was never once told that we were going to be shown how to win the war. I was never once told that America is going to win the war. I never heard that American men and machines are better than ours, but I did hear almost apologies from American soldiers because they had not come into the war sooner. They are, I believe,

spending now more money than we are—indeed, the pay of their officers is about double that of ours. I said something about the cost. "Yes, but you see we must make up for lost time," was all the American General said. And he told me about the splendid training work that is being done now in the States by British and French officers who have gone out there knowing what war is, and who teach American officers and men from first-hand experience. This particular General hoped that by this means in a very short time American troops arriving in France may be sent much more quickly to the front than is now the case.

An impression of complete, business-like determination is what one gets when visiting the Americans in France. A discipline even stricter than that which applies in British and French troops is enforced. In towns, officers, for instance, are not allowed out after 9 P. M. Some towns where subalterns discovered the wine of the country have instantly been put "out of bounds." No officer, on any pretext whatsoever, is allowed to go to Paris, except on official business. From the camps they are not even allowed to go to the neighboring towns. They have, to put it quite frankly, a reputation of wild Americanism to live down, and they sometimes surprise the French by their seriousness. It is a striking sight to see American officers and men flocking into tiny little French Protestant churches on Sundays in this Catholic heart of France. The congregation is a handful of old French Huguenots, and the ancient, rigid French pasteur never in his life preached to so many, and certainly never to soldiers from so far. They come from so far, and from such various parts, these Americans, and for France, as well as for themselves, it is a wonderful experience. I was told that the postal censors who read the letters of the American expeditionary force are required to know forty-seven languages. Of these languages the two least used are Chinese and German.

American Shipbuilders Break All Records

Charles M. Schwab Speeds the Work

[MONTH ENDED MAY 15, 1918]

ALL shipbuilding records have been broken by American builders in the last month. On May 14 it was announced that the first million tons of ships had been completed and delivered to the United States Government under the direction of the Shipping Board. The actual figures on May 11 showed the number of ships to be 159, aggregating 1,108,621 tons. More than half of this tonnage was delivered since Jan. 1, 1918. Most of these ships were requisitioned on the ways or in contract form when the United States entered the war. This result had been anticipated in the monthly records, which showed a steady increase in the tonnage launched:

Month.	Number of Ships Launched.	Aggregate Tonnage.
January	11	91,541
February	16	123,100
March	21	166,700

The rapidity with which ships are being produced was shown by the breaking of the world's record on April 20 and in turn the breaking of this record on May 5. On the former date the 8,800-ton steel steamship *West Lianga* was launched at Seattle, Wash., fifty-five working days from the date the keel was laid. This was then the world's record. But on May 5 at Camden, N. J., the steel freight steamship *Tuckahoe*, of 5,548 tons, was launched twenty-seven days after the keel was laid.

Ten days after this extraordinary achievement the *Tuckahoe* was finished and furnished and ready for sea—another record feat.

Charles M. Schwab, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, was on April 16, 1918, appointed Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to speed up the Government's shipbuilding program. He was invested with practically unlimited powers over all construction work in shipyards producing vessels for the

Emergency Fleet Corporation. Charles Piez in consequence ceased to be General Manager of the Corporation, remaining, however, as Vice President to supervise administrative details of construction and placing contracts.

Mr. Schwab, who was the fifth man to be put in charge of the shipbuilding program, was not desirous of accepting the position when first approached because he considered his work in producing steel of first importance in the carrying out of the nation's war program. But after a conference with President Wilson, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board; Bainbridge Colby, another member of the board, and Charles Piez, he decided to accept the new position.

Almost the first thing Mr. Schwab did was to move his headquarters to Philadelphia as the centre of the steel-shipbuilding region, taking with him all the division chiefs of the Fleet Corporation directly connected with construction work and about 2,000 employes. The Shipping Board and Mr. Piez retained their offices in Washington with 1,500 subordinates and employes. As a further step toward decentralization it was arranged to move the operating department, including agencies such as the Interallied Ship Control Committee, headed by P. A. S. Franklin, to New York City.

The original "cost-plus" contract under which the Submarine Boat Corporation of Newark was to build 160 ships of 5,000 tons for the Government was canceled by Mr. Schwab as an experiment to determine whether shipyards operating under lump-sum contracts and accepting all responsibility for providing materials could make greater speed in construction than those operating with Government money, such as the Hog Island yards. The result was to increase the cost of each of the 160 ships from \$787,500 to \$960,000.

A request for an appropriation of \$2,223,835,000 for the 1919 program was presented by Mr. Hurley and Mr. Schwab to the House Appropriations Committee on May 8.

Of this total \$1,386,100,000 was for construction of ships and \$652,000,000 for the purchasing and requisitioning of plants and material in connection with the building program.

Third Liberty Loan Oversubscribed

Approximately 17,000,000 Buyers

WHEN the Third Liberty Loan, raised to finance America's war needs, closed on May 4, 1918, the subscriptions were well over \$4,000,000,000, a billion in excess of the amount called for. The total was announced on May 17 as \$4,170,019,650. Secretary McAdoo stated that he would allot bonds in full on all subscriptions.

The loan was regarded as the most successful ever floated by any nation, not so much because of the volume of sales, but because of the wide distribution of the loan. Approximately 17,000,000 individuals subscribed, that is, about one person in every six in the United States. The number of buyers in the Third Loan exceeded those in the Second by 7,000,000 and those in the First by 12,500,000.

The campaign throughout the country was conducted with all the thoroughness of a great political struggle, with the difference that there were no contending parties and all forces were marshaled to make the loan a success. Nor was the campaign merely a display of efficient organization and vigorous propaganda. It had many features of dramatic and picturesque interest, not only in the large cities, but in almost every smaller centre of the nation. A noonday rally of 50,000 men and women in Wall Street, New York, on the closing day, was typical. An eyewitness described it thus:

The Police Department Band appeared and the band of the 15th Coast Artillery from Fort Hamilton. Taking advantage of the occasion, James Montgomery Flagg now appeared in his studio van on the southern fringe of the Broad Street crowd. A girl with him played something on the

cornet. It was a good deal like a show on the Midway at a Western county fair. But this was no faker—one of the most famous artists in America, throwing in a signed sketch of whoever bought Liberty bonds. Those near him began pushing and crowding to take advantage of the offer.

And now, suddenly, a tremendous racket up the street toward Broadway. Who comes?

Cheer on cheer, now. It is the "Anzacs." Twelve long, rangy fellows, officers all, six or seven of them with the little brass "A" on the shoulder, which signifies service at Gallipoli and in Flanders. They are members of the contingent of 500 which arrived here yesterday on its way to the battlefields of France. They run lightly up the Sub-Treasury steps and take their stand in a group beside the soldier band.

And now they all come—all the actors in the drama of the day. Governor Whitman, bareheaded, solemn-faced; Rabbi Stephen Wise, with his rugged face and his shock of blue-black hair; Mme. Schumann-Heink, panting a little with excitement; Auguste Bouilliz, baritone of the Royal Opera of Brussels, who later is to thrill them all with his singing of the "Marseillaise"; Cecil Arden, in a shining helmet and draped in the Union Jack, come to sing "God Save the King," while the sunburned Australian officers stand like statues at salute; Oscar Straus, and then—

"Yee-ee-ee-eee."

Oh, how they cheered! For the "Blue Devils" of France had poured out of the door of the Sub-Treasury and, with the fitful sun shining once more and gleaming on their bayonets, were running down the steps in two lines, past the "Anzacs," past the soldier band, to draw up in ranks at the bottom.

Lieutenant de Moal speaks. What does he say? Who knows? But he is widely cheered, just the same, as he gives way to Governor Whitman.

"There are gatherings like this, though not so large, all over our land today," cries the Governor. "In every town and

city we Americans are gathered together at this moment to demonstrate that we are behind our army, behind our navy, behind our President."

The cheers that acclaimed his mention of the President drowned his voice for several moments.

"Here are the Australians," he cries, pointing to the "Anzac" officers. "They have brought us a message, but we are going to give them a message, too."

As the Governor stepped back to cheers that rocked the street, Lieutenant de Moal barked a sharp order, and the "Blue Devils" shouldered their guns with fixed bayonets, the six trumpeters ta-ra-ta-raed, and the soldiers of France moved off up the sidewalk lane to the side door of the Stock Exchange, where all business was suspended during the fifteen minutes of their visit on the floor.

Four of the "Anzacs" meanwhile were taken from their ranks on the steps of the building up to the pedestal of the statue of Washington, which was used as speaker's platform, and Captain Frank McCallam made a brief address.

"We haven't many men left," he said simply. "And it is up to you people to help us out to the best of your ability."

More cheers, and then Cecil Arden sang "God Save the King." The American regular fired a blank volley over the heads of the crowd, and the kids scrambled for the empty shells.

Following Wise and Straus, Bouilliz, the Belgian baritone, sang the "Marseillaise," and then, after the soldier band had played "Where Do We Go from Here, Boys?" Mme. Schumann-Heink advanced and sang the national anthem, following it up with an appeal that was the climax to the play.

Less exciting but more impressive was the parade on April 26, when thousands of mothers who had sent their sons to the front marched in a column of 35,000 men and women in the Liberty Day parade in New York City. This day had been proclaimed as such by President Wilson for "the people of the United States to assemble in their respective communities and liberally pledge anew their financial support to sustain the nation's cause, and to hold patriotic demonstrations in every city, town, and hamlet throughout the land."

The challenge of the mothers was inscribed on one of the banners they car-

ried: "We give our sons—they give their lives—what do you give?"

Remarkable as was the appearance of these mothers with the little service flags over their shoulders, many of them so old that they marched with difficulty, the spectators who flanked the line of march along Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to Fifty-ninth Street found it even more thrilling to note that so very many of them, whether they were mothers or young wives, or just young girls proud of the brothers that had gone forth to service—so very many of them carried service flags with three and four and five and even six stars, and occasionally a glint of the sun would even carry the eye to a gold star, which meant, whenever it appeared, a veil of mourning for a wooden cross somewhere in France.

Among the minor but ingenious forms of publicity was the Liberty Loan ball which was rolled from Buffalo to New York, a distance of 470 miles, and which ended its journey of three weeks on May 4 at the City Hall. The ball was a large steel shell covered with canvas.

Every community that reached or exceeded its quota to the loan was entitled to raise a flag of honor specially designed for the purpose. At least 32,000 communities gained the honor and raised the flag.

To strengthen the financial basis of the nation's war industries and use monetary resources to the best advantage the War Finance Corporation bill was passed by Congress and approved by President Wilson on April 5, 1918. The two main purposes of the act are to provide credits for industries and enterprises necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war and to supervise new issues of capital. The act creates the War Finance Corporation, consisting of the Secretary and four additional persons, with \$500,000,000 capital stock, all subscribed by the United States. Banks and trust companies financing war industries or enterprises may receive advances from the corporation.

Former War Loans of the United States

A Historical Retrospect

The United States Government asked for \$2,000,000,000 on the First Liberty Loan in the Spring of 1917, and \$3,034,000,000 was subscribed by over 4,000,000 subscribers. For the Second Loan, near the end of 1917, \$3,000,000,000 was sought, and \$4,617,532,300 was subscribed by 9,420,000 subscribers.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York in a recent brochure reviewed the history of the various war loans of the United States, beginning with the Revolutionary loans, as follows:

WHEN the patriots at Lexington "fired the shot heard 'round the world," the thirteen Colonies found themselves suddenly in the midst of war, but with practically no funds in their Treasuries. The Continental Congress was without power to raise money by taxation, and had to depend upon credit bills and requisitions drawn against the several Colonies. France was the first foreign country to come to the aid of struggling America, the King of France himself advancing us our first loan. All told, France's loan was \$6,352,500; Holland loaned us \$1,304,000; and Spain assisted us with \$174,017. Our loan from France was repaid between 1791 and 1795 to the Revolutionary Government of France; the Holland loan during the same period in five annual installments, and the Spanish loan in 1792-3.

Our first domestic war loan of £6,000 was made in 1775, and the loan was taken at par. A year and a half later found Congress laboring under unusual difficulties. Boston and New York were held by the enemy, the patriot forces were retreating, and the people were as little inclined to submit to domestic taxation as they had formerly been to "taxation without representation." To raise funds even a lottery was attempted. In October, 1776, Congress authorized a second loan for \$5,000,000. It was not a pronounced success, only \$3,787,000 being raised in twelve months. In 1778 fourteen issues of paper money were authorized as the only way to meet the expenses of the army. By the end of the year 1779 Congress had issued \$200,000,000 in paper money, while a like amount had been issued by the several States. In 1781, as a result of this financing and of the

general situation, Continental bills of credit had fallen 99 per cent.

Then came Robert Morris, that genius of finance, who found ways to raise the money which assured the triumph of the American cause. By straining his personal credit, which was higher than that of the Government, he borrowed upon his own individual security on every hand. On one occasion he borrowed from the commander of the French fleet, securing the latter with his personal obligation. If Morris and other patriotic citizens had not rendered such assistance to the Government, some of the most important campaigns of the Revolutionary War would have been impossible. Following came the Bank of Pennsylvania, which issued its notes—in effect, loans—to provide rations and equipment for Washington's army at Valley Forge. These notes were secured by bills of exchange drawn against our envoys abroad, but it was never seriously intended that they should be presented for payment. The bank was a tremendous success in securing the money necessary to carry out its patriotic purposes, and was practically the first bank of issue in this country.

With the actual establishment of the United States and the adoption of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton came forward with a funding scheme by which the various debts owed to foreign countries, to private creditors, and to the several States were combined. In 1791, on a specie basis, our total debt was \$75,000,000. The paper dollar was practically valueless and the people were forced to give the Government adequate powers to raise money and to impose taxes. Between that date and 1812

thirteen tariff bills were passed to raise money to meet public expenditures and pay off the national debt.

THE WAR OF 1812.

For some time previous to the actual outbreak of the War of 1812 hostilities had been predicted. In a measure, this enabled Congress to prepare for it. And although the war did not begin until June of 1812, as early as March of that year a loan of \$11,000,000, bearing 6 per cent. at par, to be paid off within 12 years from the beginning of 1813, was authorized. Of this, however, only \$2,150,000 was issued, and all was redeemed by 1817. The next year a loan of \$16,000,000 was authorized and subscribed. This was followed, in August, by a loan of \$7,500,000 which sold at 88¼ per cent.

At the end of the war the total loans negotiated by the Government aggregated \$88,000,000. The nation's public debt, as a result of this war, was increased to \$127,334,933 in 1816. By 1835, either by redemptions or maturity, it was all paid.

MEXICAN WAR LOANS

The Mexican War net debt incurred by the United States was approximately \$49,000,000 and was financed by loans in the form of Treasury notes and Government stock. The Treasury notes, under the act of 1846, totaled \$7,687,800 and the stock \$4,999,149. The latter paid 6 per cent. interest. By act of 1847 Treasury notes to the amount of \$26,122,100 were issued, bearing interest in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, reimbursable one and two years after date, and convertible into United States stock at 6 per cent. They were redeemable after Dec. 31, 1867. Economic developments following this war led to a period of extraordinary industrial prosperity which lasted for several years. A change in the fiscal policy of the Government, with overexpansion of industry, however, resulted in a panic in 1857 and a Treasury deficit in 1858. The debt contracted in consequence of the Mexican War was redeemed in full by 1874.

The situation had not improved to any great extent when Lincoln took office

on March 4, 1861, and by mid-November of that year a panic was in full swing. The outbreak of the civil war found the Treasury empty and the financial machinery of the Government seriously disorganized. Public credit was low, the public mind was disturbed, and raising money was difficult. In 1862 the Legal Tender act was passed, authorizing an issue of \$150,000,000 of legal-tender notes, and an issue of bonds in the amount of \$500,000,000 was authorized.

This proved to be a most popular loan. The bonds were subject to redemption after five years and were payable in twenty years. They bore interest at 6 per cent., payable semi-annually, and were issued in denominations of \$50, \$100, \$500, and \$1,000. Through one agent, Jay Cooke, a genius at distribution, who employed 2,850 sub-agents and advertised extensively, this loan was placed directly with the people at par in currency. Altogether the aggregate of this loan was \$514,771,600. Later in that year Congress authorized a second issue of Treasury notes in the amount of \$150,000,000 at par, with interest at 6 per cent.; in January, 1863, a third issue of \$100,000,000 was authorized, which was increased in March to \$150,000,000, at 5 per cent. interest. These issues were referred to as the "one and two year issues of 1863."

DEFICIT IN 1862

In December, 1862, Congress had to face a deficit of \$277,000,000 and unpaid requisitions amounting to \$47,000,000. By the close of 1863 nearly \$400,000,000 had been raised by bond sales. A further loan act, passed March 3, 1864, provided for an issue of \$200,000,000 of 5 per cent. bonds known as "ten-fortys," but of this total only \$73,337,000 was disposed of. Subsequently, on June 30, 1864, a great public loan of \$200,000,000 was authorized. This was an issue of Treasury notes, payable at any time not exceeding three years, and bearing interest at 73-10 per cent. Notes amounting to \$828,800,000 were sold. The aggregate of Government loans during the civil war footed up a total of \$2,600,700,000; and on Sept. 1, 1865, the public debt closely

approached \$3,000,000,000, less than one-half of which was funded.

Civil war loans, with one exception, which sold at 89 3-10, were all placed at par in currency, subject to commissions ranging from an eighth to one per cent. to distributing bankers. The average interest nominally paid by the Government on its bonds during the war was slightly under 6 per cent. Owing to payment being made in currency, however, the rate was, in reality, much higher. With the conclusion of the war, the reduction of the public debt was undertaken, and it has continued with but two interruptions to date.

Heavy tax receipts for several years after the close of the war potentially enabled the Government to reduce its debt. Indeed, from 1866 to 1891, each year's ordinary receipts exceeded disbursements, and enabled the Government to lighten its financial burdens. In 1866 the decrease in the net debt was \$120,395,408; in 1867, \$127,884,952; in 1868, \$27,297,798; in 1869, \$48,081,540; in 1870, \$101,601,917; in 1871, \$84,175,888; in 1872, \$97,213,538, and in 1873, \$44,318,470.

Through refunding operations—in addition to bonds and short-time obligations redeemed with surplus revenues—the Government paid off, up to 1879, \$535,000,000 bonds bearing interest at from 5 to 6 per cent. In this year the credit of the Government was on a 4 per cent. basis, and a year later on a 3¼ per cent. basis, against a maximum basis of 15½ per cent. in 1864.

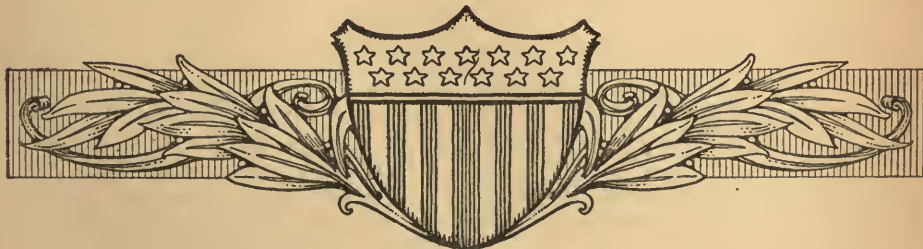
Between 1881 and 1887 the Govern-

ment paid off, either with surplus revenues or by conversion, \$618,000,000 of interest-bearing debt. In 1891 all bonds then redeemable were retired, and on July 1, 1893, the public debt amounted to less than one-third of the maximum outstanding in 1865. In 1900 the Government converted \$445,900,000 bonds out of an aggregate of \$839,000,000 convertible under the refunding act passed by Congress in that year. And further conversions in 1903, 1905, and 1907 brought the grand total up to \$647,250,150—a result which earned for the Government a net annual saving in interest account of \$16,551,037.

SPANISH WAR LOANS

The United States is a debt-paying nation. Hence, America's credit, despite occasional fluctuations, has steadily risen, and our national debt has sold on a lower income basis than that of any other nation in the world.

Following the sinking of the Maine in Havana Harbor, in 1898, Congress authorized an issue of \$200,000,000 3 per cent. ten-twenty-year bonds. Of this aggregate \$198,792,660 were sold by the Government at par. So popular was this loan, it was oversubscribed seven times. During the year 1898, following the allotment to the public, this issue sold at a premium, the price going to 107¼, and, during the next year, to 110¼. After the war ended, the Government, in accordance with its unvarying custom, began to pay off this debt; but, despite the Secretary of the Treasury's offer to buy these bonds, he succeeded in purchasing only about \$20,000,000 of them.



American Labor Mission in Europe

War Aims of Organized Workers Conveyed to English and French Labor Unions

AN American Labor Mission visited England and France in April, 1918, to present the views of American workingmen regarding the war. The delegation numbered eighteen, headed by James Wilson, President of the Patternmakers' League of North America. In his first address at London, April 28, before the British and Foreign Press Association, Mr. Wilson said:

We recognize as a fundamental truth that there can be no democracy with the triumph of the Imperial German Government. The principle of democracy or the principle of Prussian military autocracy will prevail as a result of the world war. There can be no middle course nor compromise. The contest must be carried on to its finality.

The Central Powers have staked everything on the result of this struggle. Their defeat means the destruction of a machine which has been built with remarkable efficiency and embodies the very life of the German race.

On the other hand, every free man instinctively appreciates that if we are to maintain the standard of civilization as worked out by the free men of the world, and if posterity is to be guaranteed political and industrial freedom, the war must be won by the allied countries. Peace now would be the fulfillment of the Prussian dream, for they have within their grasp the very heart of Continental Europe and resources which would make sure further conquest upon the other nations of the world.

The American labor movement, in whose behalf my colleagues and myself have been authorized to speak, declare most emphatically that they will not agree to a peace conference with the enemies of civilization, irrespective of what cloak they wear, until Prussian militarism has withdrawn within its own boundaries, and then not until the Germans have, through proper representatives, proved to our satisfaction that they recognize the right of peoples and civilized nations to determine for themselves what shall be their standard.

Unless reconstruction shall soon come from the German workers within that country, it is now plain that the opportunity to uproot the agencies of force will

only come when democracy has defeated autocracy in the military field and wins the right to reconstruct the relations between nations and men.

German freedom is ultimately the problem of the German people, but the defeat of Prussian autocracy in the field will bring the opportunity for German liberty at home.

BRITISH SEAMEN'S ATTITUDE

J. Havelock Wilson, President of the British Seamen's Union, conferred with the American Mission at London, April 30, and informed it of the decision of his union to transport no pacifists to any peace conference. He made the following statement:

On Sept. 21, 1917, we formed what we called a Merchant Seamen's League, and declared that if German terrorism on the sea continued we would enforce a boycott against Germany for two years after the war, and that for every new crime from that time on we would add one month to the length of the boycott. The length of the boycott now stands at five years seven months. We have reliable information that this action is making a very profound impression on German manufacturers and shippers.

The British seamen got their first intimation of German treachery when the international transport strike was first proposed by German delegates ostensibly to pledge support. But the British learned later that the German delegates had in their pockets as they talked contracts signed with employers.

After that we watched the German Social Democrats in the Socialists' international. But we never could get the Germans to face the issue. Always they had excuses and evasions. We never had confidence in them. When war came we felt it our duty to take care of the men on our ships who could no longer sail, and also to set a good example.

Here were Germans on our ships who had been in England so long that they had forgotten their language. On Aug. 20, 1914—you see we acted quickly—we bought an estate of thirty-nine acres and built the model internment camp of Great Britain. We asked the Government to give us charge of all interned German sailors, and, let it be known to the credit of Great Britain, that was done. The

Government allowed us all 10s. per week per man for upkeep. The camp became a great success. There were 1,000 German sailors interned in it.

Until May, 1915, all went well. On May 1 the interned men celebrated May Day, their international revolutionary holiday. They had their banners, "Workers of the World, Unite," "World Brotherhood," and so on. We had planned a great fête to be held later and I had secured the consent of several well-known persons to attend and help make it a success. On May 7 the Lusitania was sunk. I called the Germans in camp together and told them the terrible thing that had happened. I told them they were not to blame, but that the celebration could not be held. And they made no protest to me.

Now here were 1,000 Germans not under control of the Kaiser. Some of them had been among us twenty or thirty years. As soon as I had got out of the place they sang and cheered and rejoiced over the Lusitania disaster. They kept this up for four hours. They made me conclude that the camp must be handed over to the military as soon as possible, and this was done. Six months after that came the U-boat campaign, and, what made that worse, the fact that the U-boats always turned their guns on open boats.

I have got hundreds of cases of boys whose arms and legs have been blown off by U-boat guns while trying to get away from sinking ships in open boats. I wrote the Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Union protesting against these crimes. His reply attempted to justify every crime. That showed us that not only was the Kaiser responsible, but that the organized trade union movement of Germany was also responsible.

On June 1, 1917, a Socialist congress was convened at Leeds. It was advertised as the greatest conference ever held. We sent two men there to tell our story. Our men found that small bodies of only a handful of members had been delegated, who got the floor easily for the pacifist cause. Our men could not secure anything like a fair chance.

In this conference MacDonald, Fairchild, and Jowett were elected delegates to Stockholm. We at once resolved that no delegates should leave this country. And none did.

That is the history of the seamen's determination to bottle up such British pacifists as may desire to go abroad spreading their doctrine. Mingled with it is the grim, sad story of 12,000 members of the Seamen's Union who have lost their lives on merchant ships through Germany's criminal conduct on the seas.

And while there is here and there one in England who resembles a leader of

labor who is a pacifist, the determination of the British seamen to go through with the war to the finish is scarcely more than a reflection of the rank-and-file spirit that is to be found throughout the whole of British labor.

NO PARLEYS WITH ENEMY LABOR

The American delegates met the representatives of labor in London and in Paris. In England they found the sentiment almost unanimous in approval of their decision to favor no conferences with German labor representatives until a victory had been achieved. In France, however, they encountered a group that favored contact with the German and Austrian Socialists. On May 6 there was a conference in Paris between the American labor delegates and the members of the Confederation Générale de Travail, the great French revolutionary labor organization. M. Jouhaux, General Secretary of the confederation, made the proposed international conference practically the sole note of his speech. France, he asserted, had no hatred for the German workers themselves, and he pointed out that if the conference took place it could have only one of two results. Either the workers in the enemy countries would refuse to join in the efforts of the workers of the allied countries for the liberation of the world's peoples, in which case the war must continue, or they would accept the allied view of what was right and would act with the allied peoples for the good of humanity.

The American reply was in these definite words:

"We don't hate the German workers any more than you do, but to give them our hand now would be looked upon by them only as a sign of weakness."

After reminding the congress of the hypocritical professions of the German Socialist Party before the war, the delegation declared itself in entire agreement with Samuel Gompers that American labor men would refuse to meet the German delegates under any circumstances so long as Germany was ruled by an Imperialistic Government. This declaration left Albert Thomas, former Cabinet officer and leader of the group, practically

without a word to say. M. Thomas urged the same arguments as Jouhaux, but all the satisfaction the French labor men got was a promise from James Wilson, President of the American delegation, to report the matter to the American workers when he returned home.

Chairman Wilson reaffirmed at a luncheon given at the Foreign Office May 10 that American labor would not discuss the war with representatives of German labor until victory was won, because German labor, which was permitting the war, must do something itself in its own country toward ending the conflict justly before it could debate

with labor representatives of the allied countries on what ought to be.

The luncheon was given by Stephen Pichon, Foreign Minister, on behalf of the French Government. With the exception of Premier Clemenceau, all the members of the Cabinet were present as well as other men notable in French public life. Ambassador Sharp was also in attendance.

The mission visited the fighting front and returned to London May 11 to hold mass meetings at English industrial centres. The members were received by the King and dined by the London Chamber of Commerce May 15.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From April 18, 1918, Up to and Including May 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

The campaign for the Third Liberty Loan of \$3,000,000,000 ended on May 4. The total subscription was \$4,170,019,650, as announced by the Treasury Department on May 17.

On April 20 President Wilson issued a proclamation extending to women enemy aliens the restrictions imposed on men.

The Overman bill, giving the President power to consolidate and co-ordinate executive bureaus and agencies as a war emergency measure, was passed by the Senate on April 28 and by the House on May 14.

The War Trade Board announced on May 3 that a general commercial agreement with Norway had been signed. On May 12 it announced that in order to conserve materials and labor and to add tonnage to the fleet carrying men and munitions to Europe, arrangements had been made to have Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium pass upon the advisability of releasing proposed exports before granting licenses to shippers. On May 14 an agreement was reached between the United States and the allied nations providing that all imports to the United States should be forbidden unless sanctioned by the War Trade Board.

A conference report on the Sedition bill, giving the Government broad new powers to punish disloyal acts and utterances, was adopted by the Senate on May 4, and by the House of Representatives on May 7, and sent to the President for his signature.

As a result of charges of graft, inefficiency, and pro-German tendencies directed against the military aircraft administration by Gutzon Borglum, President Wilson, on May 13, asked Charles Evans Hughes to aid Attorney General Gregory in making a thorough investigation. Mr. Hughes accepted the invitation. The President also wrote a letter to Senator Martin denouncing the Chamberlain resolution for an investigation of the conduct of the war by the Committee on Military Affairs of the Senate, and on the same day the Senate Committee on Audit and Expenses, to which the resolution had been referred, ordered a favorable report on it, modifying it so as to provide for a limited inquiry.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamship Lake Moor was reported sunk on April 11.

Forty-four Americans were killed when the Old Dominion liner Tyler was sunk off the French coast on May 2.

The British liner Oronsa was sunk on April 28. All on board except three members of the crew were saved. The British sloop Cowslip was torpedoed on April 25. Five officers and one man were missing.

The British Admiralty announced on April 24 the cessation of the weekly return of shipping losses and the substitution of a monthly report.

In a statement made in the Chamber of Deputies on May 11, Georges Leygues, the French Minister of Marine, declared that the total of allied tonnage sunk by Ger-

BARON STEPHAN BURIAN



Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister in succession to Czernin

LEADERS IN THE IRISH CONTROVERSY



John Dillon, M. P.,
Leader of the Nationalist Party
(Press Illustrating Service)



Sir Edward Carson, M. P.,
Leader of the Ulster Unionists
(Central News)



Joseph Devlin,
Nationalist M. P. for West Belfast
(Press Illustrating Service)



Sir Horace Plunkett,
Chairman of the Irish Convention
(Bain News Service)

man submarines in five months was 1,648,-622, less than half the amount alleged by Germany to have been destroyed. He announced that the number of submarines sunk by the Allies was greater than Germany's output.

Twelve German submarines were officially reported captured or sunk in British waters by American or British destroyers during the month of April, and two others were known to have been destroyed.

Ten passengers were killed when the French steamship *Atlantique* was torpedoed in the Mediterranean early in May. The ship managed to reach port.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

April 18—French advance on both banks of the Avre River between Thanne and Mailly-Raineval; Germans deliver terrific assaults upon the British front from Givenchy to the neighborhood of St. Venant.

April 19—Italian troops reach France; British beat off assaults on Mont Kemmel and recover ground west of Robecq; bombardment of Paris resumed.

April 20—Germans hurl force against American and French troops at Seicheprey and get a grip on the town, but are driven out; Belgians give ground temporarily near the Passchendaele Canal, but regain it; British re-establish their positions in Givenchy-Festubert region.

April 21—British drive Germans from some of their advanced positions near Robecq; Americans retake Seicheprey outposts.

April 23—British gain ground east of Robecq and in the neighborhood of Meteren.

April 24—Germans take Villers-Bretonneux, but are repulsed at other places south of the Somme; Franco-American positions at Hangard shelled.

April 25—British recover Villers-Bretonneux; French and British lose ground in the Lys salient before terrific German assaults from Wyttschaete to Bailleul, aiming at Mont Kemmel; Germans take Hangard.

April 26—Germans take Mont Kemmel and the villages of Kemmel and Dranoutre and push on to St. Eloi; French recover part of Hangard.

April 27—British and French troops recover some of the ground lost in the Bailleul-Wyttschaete sector; Germans repulsed at Voormezele after hard fight.

April 28—Germans take Voormezele, but are driven out by counterattack; Loere changes hands five times.

April 29—Germans make heavy attacks upon the entire Franco-British front from Zillebeke Lake to Meteren; British hold their line intact; French yield some ground around Scherpenberg and Mont Rouge, but later regain it; Belgians repulse attacks north of Ypres; Americans take over a sector of the French line at the tip of the Somme salient.

April 30—French recover ground on the slope

of Scherpenberg and advance their line astride the Dranoutre road; positions of the allied forces push forward between La Clytte and Kemmel.

May 1—Americans repulse attacks in the Villers-Bretonneux region; Béthune region bombarded.

May 3—French and British improve their positions along the Somme River southward to below the Avre; French take Hill 82, near Castel, and the wood near by.

May 4—Germans repulsed at Locon; French make progress near Loere, and British advance near Meteren; Americans in the Lorraine sector raid German positions south of Halloville and penetrate to third line; French shell disables last of German guns that have been bombarding Paris.

May 5—Franco-British forces, in operation between Loere and Dranoutre, advance their positions on a 1,000-yard front to an average depth of 500 yards; Germans foiled in attempt to occupy former American trenches in the Bois Brûlé.

May 6—Germans launch heavy gas attacks against American troops on the Picardy front.

May 8—Germans gain a foothold at several points midway between La Clytte and Voormezele, but are repulsed at other points along the line; Austrians advance 500 yards near Sailly and 300 yards west of Morlancourt.

May 9—British re-establish their lines and drive Germans out of British trenches between La Clytte and Voormezele; Germans occupy British advanced positions at Albert on a front of about 150 yards.

May 10—British restore their line at Albert; German artillery fire active in the Vimy and Robecq sectors of the British front, and south of Dickebusch.

May 11—Berlin reports heavy losses inflicted on American troops southwest of Apremont; Germans gain small portion of territory southwest of Mailly-Raineval, but are driven out by French; French gain ground in Mareuil Wood.

May 12—French troops north of Kemmel capture Hill 44 and an adjoining farm; Germans bombard Albert, Loos, and Ypres sectors, and lines southeast of Amiens, but are repulsed by the French near Orvillers-Sorel.

May 13—Americans blow up enemy ammunition dump and start fires in Cantigny, with explosions; Germans resume firing north of Kemmel.

May 14—Hill 44, north of Kemmel, changes hands several times; French advance in Hangard region; British carry out successful raid near Robecq.

May 15—Germans repulsed by the British southwest of Morlancourt and by the French north of Kemmel.

- May 16—Heavy gunfire in the Lys and Avre areas.
 May 17—Official announcement that American troops have taken their place in the British war zone in Northern France; German gunfire increases in the Lys and Hallles region.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

- May 3—Heavy fighting reported along the entire front between the Adriatic and the Giudicaria Valley.
 May 5—Increase in artillery fire, notably in the Lagarina and Astico Valleys.
 May 11—Italians penetrate advanced Austrian positions on Monte Carno.
 May 12—Italians wipe out a Coll dell' Orso garrison.
 May 14—Austrian attempts to renew attacks on Monte Carno and to approach Italian lines at Dosso Casina and in the Balcino and Ornico Valleys fail.
 May 16—Italians enter Austrian lines at two points on Monte Asolone; British make successful raid at Canove.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR.

- April 21—Armenians retake Van.
 April 27—British in Mesopotamia advance north of Bagdad and Kifra.
 April 28—British cavalry forces a passage of the Aqsu at a point southwest of Tuzhurmatl.
 April 29—British take Tuzhurmatl.
 April 30—British advance as far as the Tawk River, and occupy Mezreh.
 May 1—Es-Salt taken by the British.
 May 7—British enter Kerkuk.
 May 12—Arabs of Hedjaz raid Jaddi Jerdun station and a post on the Hedjaz Railway, taking many prisoners and destroying tracks and bridges.

AERIAL RECORD.

- Trent, Trieste, and Pola were raided by Italian scouts on May 10.
 Carlshutte, Germany, was bombed by the British May 3. Saarbrücken was bombed on May 16, and five German machines were brought down.
 British aviators raided the aviation grounds at Campo Maggiore on May 4 and brought down fourteen Austrian planes.
 German airmen attacked Dutch fishing vessels in the North Sea May 5.
 Ostend, Westende, and Zeebrugge were attacked by British seaplanes on May 6.
 Many notable air battles occurred on the western front in connection with the fighting in Picardy and Flanders. In one day, May 15, fifty-five German airplanes were brought down by British and French aviators, and on May 16 forty-six German machines were brought down by the British.

NAVAL RECORD.

- Early in the morning of April 23 British naval forces, in co-operation with French destroyers, carried out a raid against Zee-

brugge and Ostend, with the object of bottling up German submarine bases. Five obsolete British cruisers, which had been filled with concrete, were run aground, blown up, and abandoned by their crews, and two old submarines were loaded with explosives for the destruction of the Zeebrugge mole. A German destroyer was sunk and other ships were shelled. Twenty yards of the Zeebrugge mole were blown up, and the harbor was blocked completely. On May 10 the obsolete cruiser *Vindictive* was sunk at the entrance to Ostend Harbor, practically completing the work.

An Austrian dreadnought of the *Viribus Unitis* type was torpedoed by Italian naval forces in Pola Harbor on the morning of May 14.

RUSSIA.

On April 20, Japan ordered reinforcements sent to Vladivostok, as the Bolsheviks had directed the removal of munitions westward. On the same day diplomatic representatives of the allied powers were formally informed by the Siberian Provincial Duma of the formation—by representatives of the Zemstvos and other public organizations—of the Government of Autonomous Siberia.

The Bolshevik Foreign Minister, George Tchitcherin, on April 26, addressed representatives in Moscow of the United States, England, and France, requesting the speedy recall of their Consuls from Vladivostok and the investigation of their alleged participation in negotiations said to have been conducted between their Peking embassies and the Siberian autonomous Government. He also asked them to explain their attitude toward the Soviet Government and the alleged attempts of their representatives to interfere with the internal life of Russia. Japan was asked to explain the participation of Japanese officials in the counter-revolutionary movement. An official report of the demand for the removal of John K. Caldwell, the American Consul at Vladivostok, was received by the American State Department on May 6, from Ambassador Francis. The State Department announced that Mr. Caldwell had done nothing wrong and that he would not be removed. On the same day a report was received that the Russian authorities at Irkutsk had arrested the Japanese Vice Consul and the President of the Japanese Association on the charge of being military spies.

At a meeting of several thousand peasants of the Ukraine, held on April 29, a resolution was passed calling for the overthrow of the Government, the closing of the Central Rada, the cancellation of the Constituent Assembly convoked for May 12, and the abandonment of land socialization. General Skoropauski was pro-

claimed Hetman and was recognized by Germany.

The German advance into the Ukraine continued, military rule was established in Kiev, and several members of the Government, including the Minister of War, were removed on the ground that the Government had proved too weak to maintain law and order. Vice Chancellor von Payer, speaking before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag on May 4, attempted to justify Germany's use of the iron hand by declaring that grain had been withheld and that prominent Ukrainians, members of the Committee of Safety, had been caught planning the assassination of German officers.

Rostov-on-the-Don was occupied by Germans on May 9, but was recaptured by the Russians the next day.

M. Tchitcherin, on May 12, sent a wireless message to Ambassador Joffe, at Berlin, instructing him to try to obtain from Berlin cessation of every kind of hostility, and declared that captures of Russian territory violated the terms of the treaty of peace. He also gave assurances that the Black Sea Fleet would not attack the port of Novorossysk, which the Germans threatened to capture. In an evasive reply the Commander in Chief of the German troops in the East said he could only agree to the cessation of naval operations against the Black Sea Fleet, provided that all ships returned to Sebastopol and were retained there, thus leaving the port of Novorossysk free for navigation.

A Swedish report of May 14 told of a German ultimatum to the Bolshevik Government demanding the occupation of Moscow and other Russian cities, the abolishment of armaments, and the effecting of certain financial measures which would practically make Russia a German colony.

Professor H. C. Emery, the American who was seized when the Germans landed in the Aland Islands, was freed from prison, but was still detained in Germany, according to a report received on May 5.

The British Foreign Minister, A. J. Balfour, announced in Commons on May 5 that Great Britain was ready to grant temporary recognition to the Estonian National Council.

Transcaucasia proclaimed its independence on April 26, and a conservative Government was formed, headed by M. Chkembeli.

Ciscaucasia proclaimed itself an independent State on May 14.

The Caucasus proposed peace negotiations with Turkey May 10.

Russian Bolshevik troops crossed the Caspian Sea in gunboats and recaptured Baku from the Mussulmans May 17.

Emperor William issued a proclamation, May 14, recognizing the independence of

Lithuania, allied with the German Empire, and saying that it was assumed that Lithuania would participate in the war burdens of Germany.

FINLAND.

Hostilities between the Finnish White Guards and the Germans and the Red Guards continued. Germany protested to the Bolshevik Foreign Minister on April 23 against the landing of allied troops at Murmansk, declaring that such landing was a violation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Germany also denied that Germans had participated in the raid of the Finnish White Guards upon Kem.

The White Guards, on April 26, demanded the surrender of a fort on the Finnish coast ceded to Russia by the Finnish Bolshevik Government, constituting part of the Kronstadt defenses. The Kronstadt Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates refused to comply with the demand, and organized resistance.

Viborg was taken by the White Guards on April 30. On May 3, the Germans in the southwest defeated the Red Guards after a five days' battle near Lakhti and Tevastus. The Finnish flag was raised on the fortress of Sveaborg on May 13. On May 15 the White Guards entered Helsingfors, and on May 17 they seized Boris-Gleb on the Norwegian border from the Russian troops, thus gaining access to the Arctic Ocean.

RUMANIA.

A peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed May 6, and supplementary legal, economic, and political treaties were later concluded.

The Rumanian Parliament was dissolved on May 10 by royal decree and new elections were ordered.

POLAND.

The Lausanne Gazette announced on May 12 that Poland was handed over to Germany economically, politically, and militarily, according to a secret treaty arranged at Brest-Litovsk between a Russian delegation, headed by Trotzky, and German representatives. At a conference between the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, Germany agreed to the solution of the Polish question desired by Austria, in return for certain concessions from Austria.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Guatemalan Assembly, on April 22, declared the country to be in the same position as the United States in the war, and the following day the Guatemalan Minister at Washington announced that the declaration was meant as a declaration of war against Germany and her allies. In response to a request from Uruguay for a definition of the relations between the two countries, Germany replied, accord-

ing to an announcement made public May 16, that she did not consider that a state of war existed.

Nicaragua declared war on Germany and her allies on May 7.

Royal assent to the British man-power bill, providing for conscription in Ireland, was given on April 18. An Order in Council was issued on May 1 postponing the Conscription act.

Lord Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Henry E. Duke, Chief Secretary, resigned on April 24. Edward Shortt was appointed Chief Secretary and Viscount French succeeded Lord Wimborne as Lord Lieutenant.

James Ian MacPherson announced in the House of Commons on May 9 that a German submarine had recently landed an associate of Sir Roger Casement on the Irish coast, where he was arrested by Government officials, and that he was now in the Tower of London and would be tried by court-martial. A dispatch dated May 15 revealed that two Germans accompanied him, and that all three were imprisoned.

All the Sinn Fein leaders, including De Valera and the Countess Markievicz, were arrested in Belfast, Dublin, and other cities, on May 17, as the result of the discovery of treasonable relations with Germany. Lord Lieutenant French issued a proclamation dealing with the situation, calling on all loyalists to aid in blocking the German plans and asking for volunteers to provide Ireland's share of the army.

Sir Arthur Roberts, financial adviser to the British Air Minister, resigned on April 24 as a result of a disagreement with Lord Rothermere. The next day Lord Rothermere resigned. He was succeeded by Sir William Weir. Baron Rhondda resigned as Food Controller and Lord Northcliffe resigned as Chairman of London headquarters of the British Mission to the United States and Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries.

Representatives of the allied nations met at Versailles on May 1 and May 2.

On May 6 Major Gen. Frederick Barton Maurice, formerly Director General of British Military Operations, addressed a letter to The London Daily Chronicle challenging the statements made in the House of Commons by Premier Lloyd George and Andrew Bonar Law with regard to the military situation and demanding a Parliamentary investigation. On May 7 ex-Premier Asquith moved for an inquiry in Commons. After a speech by Lloyd

George in Commons in his own defense, May 9, the House, by a vote of 293 to 106, upheld him and the Government and rejected Mr. Asquith's motion.

The Austrian Premier was empowered by Emperor Charles, on May 4, to adjourn Parliament and to inaugurate measures to render impossible the resumption of its activities.

A growing resentment against the domination of Austria-Hungary by Germany was manifested by Austria's Slavic peoples. A dispatch from Switzerland dated May 8 told of serious disturbances in the fleet, caused by seamen of Slavic and Italian stock, which resulted in several changes in the high command. A new Hungarian Cabinet, headed by Dr. Wekerle, was formed on May 10. On May 13 Vienna papers published a declaration by the Czech members of the Austrian House of Lords in which an independent State was demanded.

As a result of a conference between Emperor William and Emperor Charles at German Headquarters on May 10, Austria-Hungary concluded a new convention with Germany.

M. Duval, manager of the Bonnet Rouge, and his associates, Leymarie and Marion, directors of the paper; Goldsky and Landau, journalists, and two minor men named Joucla and Vercasson, were placed on trial in Paris on charges of treason and espionage, on April 29. On May 15, Duval was sentenced to death for treason, and the six other defendants were sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from two to ten years.

The British Government replied to the note of the Netherlands Government concerning the taking over of Dutch ships on May 1, and asserted the full legality of the seizure.

A London dispatch, dated April 24, announced that Germany had sent an ultimatum to Holland demanding the right of transit for civilian supplies and sand and gravel. Holland yielded to these demands on April 28, with the stipulation that the sand and gravel should not be used for war purposes. On May 5, Foreign Minister Loudon announced in the Dutch Chamber that Germany had promised to transport no troops or military supplies and to limit the amount of sand and gravel.

Persia informed Holland, on May 3, that it regarded as null and void all treaties imposed upon Persia in recent years, and especially the Russo-British treaty of 1907 regarding the spheres of influence.



German Losses On All Fronts

One Estimate Reaches 5,600,000

KARL BLEIBTREU, the German military statistician, writing in *Das Neue Europa* of April 22, gives the German losses from Aug. 2, 1914, to Jan. 31, 1918, as 4,456,961 men. His figures deal exclusively with those killed in action or taken prisoner. They are official from Aug. 2, 1914, till July 31, 1917, and are then estimated to Jan. 31, 1918. His figures and comment read:

WESTERN FRONT

1914

August	172,500	November	93,000
September	214,500	December	50,200
October	139,600		

Total.....669,800

1915

Jan. and Feb..	66,000	August	105,400
March	(?) 61	Sept. and Oct..	119,450
April	42,500	November	57,500
May	112,500	December	57,750
June and July..	152,300		

Total.....713,461

1916

January	18,100	July	86,650
February	17,800	August	148,000
March	51,300	September	119,800
April	72,650	October	125,000
May	64,000	November	87,100
June	54,850	December	56,000

Total.....901,250

1917

January	48,000	April	59,000
February	39,000	May, June and	
March	39,600	July	134,850

Total, (7 months).....320,450

These figures give, on the western front, from Aug. 2, 1914, to July 31, 1917, an aggregate of 2,604,961 casualties.

EASTERN FRONT

1914.....	163,900	1916.....	359,800
1915.....	669,600	1917.....	261,250

This gives a total from Aug. 2, 1914, to July 31, 1917, of 1,484,550, and for the two fronts combined of 4,089,511.

From Aug. 1, 1917, to Jan. 31, 1918, Herr Bleibtreu estimates the total losses on both fronts at 367,450, making in all 4,456,961 men.

In adding those who died from illness or wounds, the losses resulting from the colonial and maritime fighting, as well as

in the noncombatant and auxiliary services, not comprised in the preceding enumeration, the grand total considerably exceeds 5,000,000.

Estimates of German losses from Jan. 31, 1918, to May 20, 1918, range from 400,000 to 600,000. If the above figures are correct, the total German loss in the forty-six months of the war exceeds 5,600,000. The *London Telegraph*, in analyzing these figures, said:

With regard to the figures given by Herr Bleibtreu, it may be remarked that they are enormously in excess over those compiled in well-informed quarters from the official casualty lists published by the German Government, and issued periodically. Down to July 31, 1918, these lists had contained a grand total of 4,624,256 names, but did not include naval or Colonial troop losses. Of the above figure the following are the permanent losses:

Killed and died of wounds....	1,056,975
Died of sickness.....	75,988
Prisoners	335,269
Missing	267,237

Total1,735,469

These statistics are merely the names published down to July 31, 1917, and are not to be taken as the actual total casualties, as the lists are always at least several weeks behindhand. But even allowing for this fact, Bleibtreu's estimate for the killed in action and prisoners alone is considerably more than double those officially acknowledged by Berlin, and nearly equal to the total casualties admitted in the official lists from all causes. Of this remarkable discrepancy there can be only two possible explanations. Either the German Government has throughout the war systematically falsified its casualty lists—and there is good reason to believe that this is the case—or else Bleibtreu has been put up by the German Staff to publish a set of statistics intended deliberately to mislead the Allies.

Great Britain's Finances

Heavy War Taxes Levied

THE new British budget for 1918-19 was introduced in the House of Commons April 23. It included some sweeping changes in taxes and gave important data of expenses. The estimate for 1918 in round numbers is \$15,000,000,000; the estimated revenue is \$4,200,000,000, leaving a balance to be covered by loans of \$10,800,000,000. The actual expenditures in 1917-18 were \$13,481,105,000; the revenue was \$3,536,175,000; the deficit met by loans was \$9,944,930,000.

Under the new budget the tax on incomes is increased from \$1.25 in \$5 to \$1.50 in \$5. Under the new rate the increased tax begins at an income of \$2,500 a year. On an income that is wholly earned—such as a salary—the tax is as follows:

Income.	Tax.
Income.	Tax
\$2,000 a year.....	\$157
2,500 a year.....	225
3,000 a year.....	375
4,000 a year.....	600
5,000 a year.....	750
10,000 a year.....	2,250

Where the income is wholly unearned the tax is as follows:

TAXES ON UNEARNED INCOME	
Income.	Tax.
\$2,000 a year.....	\$210
2,500 a year.....	300
3,000 a year.....	455
5,000 a year.....	947
10,000 a year.....	2,635

The super tax in the new law begins at an income of \$13,750, and the total taxes paid on the following incomes, including income tax and super tax, are as follows:

TOTAL INCOME AND SUPER TAX	
Income.	Tax.
\$15,000 a year.....	\$4,802
20,000 a year.....	6,812
25,000 a year.....	8,937
30,000 a year.....	11,157
40,000 a year.....	15,937
50,000 a year.....	20,937
100,000 a year.....	47,187
500,000 a year.....	255,187

The tax on \$500,000 incomes is a little

over 50 per cent. In the case of a taxpayer whose total income does not exceed \$4,000 an allowance of \$125 is granted in respect of his wife and an allowance of a like amount in respect of any dependent relatives whom he maintains; also an allowance of \$125 in respect of children under 16 years of age.

TAXES ON COMMODITIES

Checks require a stamp of 4 cents, also promissory notes. The excess-profit rate remains at 80 per cent. The tax on spirits is raised to \$7.50 a gallon; on beer to \$12.50 a barrel; on tobacco to \$2.04 a pound, the effect of which will increase the price 4 cents an ounce, while the cheapest cigarette, now 6 cents for ten, will be 7 cents for ten. The tax on matches is increased so that they will be sold at 2 cents a box instead of 1½ cents. An additional duty of \$3 a hundredweight is levied on sugar, so that sugar heretofore selling at 11½ cents a pound will now have to be sold at 14 cents a pound.

A tax of 16⅔ per cent. is levied on the sale of luxuries, including jewelry, and of articles above a certain price when they become articles of luxury; also on hotel and restaurant bills. This tax will be collected by means of stamps. The new postage rate is raised to 3 cents an ounce; on book packages exceeding one ounce an extra charge of 1 cent will be levied. Letters to the United States will cost 3 cents instead of 2 cents. Postcards in England will be 2 cents instead of 1 cent, and the parcel rate, under seven pounds, 18 cents, and between seven and eleven pounds, 25 cents.

LUXURIES HEAVILY TAXED

The tax on luxuries is a new tax in England, and is following the method adopted in France Dec. 31, 1917. The tax on luxuries in France is levied at the rate of 10 per cent. on the retail selling price of the scheduled articles.

All payments of less than 20 cents are exempted. The schedule consists of two lists, one comprising articles taxed irrespective of price at 10 per cent., and the other, articles taxed when the retail price exceeds certain specified amounts, as follows:

Taxed Irrespective of Price.—Photographic appliances, gold or platinum jewelry, billiard tables, silk hosiery and underwear, artistic bronze and iron work, horses and ponies for pleasure purposes, curiosities and antiques, sporting guns, books, servants' liveries, gold watches, perfumery, soaps and dentifrices, paintings and sculpture, pianos, (other than cottage pianos,) tapestry, truffles, pleasure boats, and yachts.

Taxed Above Specified Prices, (approximately shown in U. S. money.)—Pet dogs, \$8; other pets, \$2; smokers' requisites, \$2; bicycles, \$50; silver jewelry, \$2; picture frames, \$2; walking sticks, \$2; chinaware table service, \$40; single pieces, 39c to \$3; men's headwear, \$4; women's hats, \$8; women's footwear, \$8; men's footwear, \$10; chocolates, 75c per pound; corsets, \$10; men's suits, \$35; women's costumes or mantles, \$50; scissors, \$2; lace and embroidery machine made, 35c per yard; handmade, \$1.83 per yard; artificial flowers, \$2; furs, \$20; gloves, \$1.58; furniture, \$300 per suite; mirrors, \$4; motor cycles, \$400; watches, \$10; handkerchiefs, \$3.66 per dozen; umbrellas, \$5; feathers, \$5; clocks, \$20; photographs, \$8 per dozen; cottage pianos, \$240; curtains, \$20; carpets, \$3.62 per yard; pajamas and dressing gowns, \$16; horse carriages, \$200; bird cages, \$2.

Payments for goods bought before Jan. 1, 1918, are exempt from the tax.

AMERICA'S ASSISTANCE

In presenting the budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the expenditures in the past year exceeded the estimate by \$2,030,000,000. He referred to America's assistance as follows:

The extent of the assistance of the United States and our advances to the Allies last year amounted to \$2,525,000,000. In addition to this the United States have advanced to all the Allies no less a sum during the year than \$4,750,000,000. Of this sum approximately \$2,500,000,000 was advanced to us and \$2,250,000,000 to the Allies.

The House will see, therefore, that, whereas this year we advanced to the Allies approximately the same amount as last year, \$2,525,000,000 as against \$2,700,000,000, the United States advanced in addition \$2,250,000,000; that is to say, the total advances by us and by the Govern-

ment of the United States are \$4,775,000,000, as against \$2,700,000,000 by us alone last year.

The House would notice that our advances to the Allies are approximately the same amount as the advances made to us by the Government of the United States. This is satisfactory. It means that it is only necessary for us to lean on the United States to the extent that the other Allies lean upon us, or that, in other words, after nearly four years of war we are self-supporting.

But it is almost absurd that we should be borrowing with one hand while we are lending with the other. The result is that our accounts are inflated apparently, and in fact to that extent our credit is weakened. I have therefore been in communication with Mr. McAdoo, the Financial Minister of America, and Mr. Crossley, the head of the United States Financial Mission, and I suggested as regards advances to the Allies a course which, if adopted, will have the effect of lessening to a considerable extent our burden, while in no way increasing the total obligations of the United States.

THE TOTAL BRITISH DEBT

In referring to the total debt the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following statement:

The national debt, on the estimates which I have submitted to the House, will at the end of the present year, (March 31, 1919,) amount to \$39,900,000,000. Previously, in counting our liabilities, I have deducted altogether advances to Allies and Dominions. I do not propose to adopt that course today. We cannot ignore what is happening in Russia; though, even yet, I do not admit—I do not believe—that we should regard the debt of Russia as a bad debt, because, sooner or later, in spite of what is happening now, there will be an ordered Government in that country.

By the end of this year the total amount due by the Allies to us will be \$8,110,000,000, and I should hope that we should be able to deduct Dominion and obligation debts, making a total of \$5,920,000,000. The amount of our national debt at the end of last year was \$29,250,000,000. The amount of our liability on the basis I have stated is \$34,280,000,000, and, taking 5 per cent. on this amount as the rate of interest, the total comes to \$1,900,000,000. This, added to the normal expenditure, makes a total amount of \$3,400,000,000.

Now, how is that to be met? Taking the Inland Revenue taxation alone, it amounts to \$2,700,000,000. The Inland Revenue officials have assured me that they have made a very careful and a very conservative estimate. Taking this estimate, there

remains a deficit on the full year of \$550,000,000.

To make good this \$550,000,000 I shall impose new taxation which, on the full year, will bring in \$570,000,000. The Inland Revenue, in their estimate of result of existing taxation, take no account whatever of the excess profits duty, but that duty, as I have pointed out, is expected to yield \$1,500,000,000.

Assuming—an assumption that may last for half an hour [laughter]—that the income tax remains at 5s, that should reach \$375,000,000. Of course, that must be supplemented. It depends upon the state of trade and credit, but I think I am quite safe in saying that this amount, which they have left out of their reckoning, is more than sufficient to counterbalance any error made with regard to existing taxation.

GERMANY'S WAR DEBT

He followed this with a statement contrasting the financial condition of Great Britain with that of Germany, as follows:

Up to June, 1916, according to the statement of the German Financial Minister, the monthly German expenditure was \$500,000,000; it is now admitted to be \$937,500,000, which means a daily expenditure of \$31,250,000, which is almost the same as ours. But it does not include

such matters as separation allowances. As to the war debt, the German votes of credit up to July amounted to \$31,000,000,000. Up to 1916 they imposed no new taxation at all, and in that year they proposed a war increment levy. Assuming that their estimates were realized, the total amount of taxation levied by the German Government was \$1,825,000,000, as against our own amount.

This amount is not enough to pay the interest of the war debt which Germany has accumulated up to the end of the year. The German balance sheet, reckoned on the same basis as ours, will, with interest, sinking fund, pensions, and pre-war expenditures, be a year hence \$3,600,000,000; and with additional permanent imperial revenue of \$600,000,000 they will make their total additional revenue \$925,000,000 per annum, and this amount, added to the pre-war revenue, makes a total of \$1,675,000,000, showing a deficit at the end of the year of \$1,925,000,000.

If that were our position I should say that bankruptcy was not far from the British Nation.

The German taxes have been almost exclusively indirect, imposed on commodities paid for by the mass of the people and not upon the wealthier classes, who control the Government and on whom the Government is afraid to put extra taxation.

Trade After the War

Important Report by a Commission of British Experts and Economists

GR^{EAT} BRITAIN'S policy with reference to future trade is outlined in the final report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War, of which Lord Balfour of Burleigh was Chairman, and which included in its membership Arthur Balfour, (ex-Master Cutler of Sheffield,) also the heads of the various Boards of Trade, the textile trades, with representatives of the shipping and shipbuilding industries, finance, engineering, metal trades, coal, electrical, iron and steel associations, national transport workers, and distinguished economists.

Shipping policy after the war is not dealt with in the report, but, in view of the world shortage of tonnage, the com-

mittee express the opinion that, while it may be desirable to impose for a limited period some restriction on the use of British ports by enemy vessels, any policy which might tend to check the use of English ports by foreign shipping generally would be inexpedient. They, however, urge that, in accordance with the Paris Conference resolutions, the exaction of reparation in kind from enemy countries should, in the interests of the reconstruction of industry and the mercantile marine, be carried out as fully as may be practicable.

In a general survey of the position of British industry and overseas trade in 1913, prior to the war, the committee found that the United Kingdom had taken only a limited share in the more

modern branches of industrial production, and that certain branches had come to be entirely, or very largely, under German control, and in numerous branches foreign manufacturers had secured a "strong, or even predominant, position." They found that British merchants and manufacturers had also been encountering successful competition in overseas trade. They believe that the knowledge gained during the war will be a valuable asset in the development of British industry.

As to the measures which should be adopted during the transitional period, the committee reaffirm the main recommendations of their interim report, namely:

Transition Period

(a) The prohibition of the importation of goods from enemy origin should be continued, subject to license in exceptional cases, for at least twelve months after the conclusion of the war, and subsequently for such further period as may be deemed expedient.

(b) The Paris resolutions relating to the supply of the Allies for the restoration of their industries can be carried into effect if a policy of joint control of certain important commodities can be agreed upon between the British Empire and the Allies. Any measures should aim at securing to the British Empire and the allied countries priority for their requirements, and should be applied only to materials which are mainly derived from those countries and will be required by them. This policy should be applied as regards the United Kingdom by legislation empowering the Government to prohibit the export, except under license, of such articles as may be deemed expedient, and, as regards the British Empire and the allied countries, the Government should, without delay, enter into negotiations with the various Governments concerned, with a view to the adoption of suitable joint measures in the case of selected commodities of importance.

The Government should consider, in consultation with the Allies, the expediency of establishing after the war a joint organization on the lines of Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement for dealing with the orders of the allied Governments for reconstruction purposes, and with such private orders as they may find it expedient to centralize.

It is pointed out that the prolongation of the war and the entry into it of the United States have increased the im-

portance of a considered policy directed toward assuring to the British Empire and the Allies adequate supplies of essential raw materials during the period immediately following the conclusion of peace, and that the extent to which the Paris resolutions which bear upon this vital question can be carried into effect depends upon the co-operation of the Governments concerned.

PROBLEM OF RAW MATERIALS

The committee reports that it will be necessary to continue for a considerable period after the war some portion of the control of home and foreign trade in order to secure adequate supplies of food-stuffs and raw material. It does not regard it as practical to attempt to make the empire self-supporting in respect of numerous raw materials. It notes that the Board of Trade already has set up a committee to investigate the question of the supply of cotton and it recommends special inquiries as regards each commodity. "The object to be kept in view should be that the empire may be capable in an emergency of being independent in respect of the supply of every essential commodity of any single foreign country."

The committee advises against the exclusion of foreign (other than present enemy) capital from sharing in the development of the empire's resources, but recommends:

(a) Complete disclosure, as far as is practicable, of the extent of foreign holdings in any particular case.

(b) That mineral and other properties are not secured by foreign concerns in order to prevent the development of those properties, and to check competition in supply; and

(c) That in the case of commodities of great imperial importance, the local Government concerned should have some measure of control over the working of the properties.

These principles, if accepted, should be brought to the notice of the Governments of other parts of the empire, with a view to the adoption of a uniform policy.

ALIENS IN BUSINESS

The committee expresses the opinion that it would not be desirable to impose special restrictions against the participation of aliens in commercial and in-

dustrial occupations. It recommends, however, that such occupations as pilot and patent agent should be confined to British-born subjects, and suggests that foreign commercial travelers operating in the United Kingdom should be registered and hold licenses, that the registration of title to property should be compulsory, and that such registration should involve a declaration of the nationality of the owner.

The committee deems it unwise to restrain the establishment or the continuance of agencies or branches of foreign banks or insurance companies in the United Kingdom, but foreign insurance companies should be required to make a deposit proportionate to the business done. Foreign banks should be required to pay the income tax.

The committee considers it necessary to impose special restrictions on the subjects of enemy countries, and that this can best be done by means of stringent permit and police regulations, but it does not believe that attempts should be made to prevent enemy subjects from establishing agencies or holding interests in commercial or industrial undertakings.

A plan for the maintenance and development of industries essential to national safety, called "Key Industries," is proposed, as follows:

Synthetic dyes, spelter, tungsten, magnetos, optical and chemical glass, hosiery needles, thorium nitrate, limit and screw gauges, and certain drugs.

SPECIAL INDUSTRIES BOARD

The committee recommends the creation of a permanent special industries board, charged with the duty of watching the course of industrial development and recommending plans for the promotion and assistance of the industries enumerated above. With reference to industries generally the committee thinks that the individualist methods hitherto adopted should be supplemented by co-operation and co-ordination of effort in respect of

1. The securing of supplies of materials.
2. Production, in which we include standardization and scientific and industrial research; and
3. Marketing.

The report recommends the formation

of combinations of manufacturers, strong, well organized associations and combinations, to secure supplies of materials, especially the control of mineral deposits in foreign countries. In order to facilitate increased production it recommends:

That an authority should be set up which should have the right, after inquiry, to grant compulsory powers for the acquisition of land for industrial purposes and the diversion or abolition of roads or footpaths.

That there should be a judicial body with compulsory powers to deal with the question of wayleaves required for the development of mineral royalties and the economical working of collieries and mines.

The committee believes in the formation of organizations for marketing the manufactured products of the country and deems it inexpedient for the Government to enter into any policy aiming at positive control of combinations (trusts) in the United Kingdom. It recommends that combinations be legalized, so as to be enforceable between members. It welcomes the establishment of the British Trade Corporation to co-ordinate and supplement existing financial facilities for trading purposes. As a general rule the members think it would be undesirable that the State should attempt to provide capital for industrial purposes, but as the re-establishment of industry on a peace basis will be profoundly affected by taxation, currency, and foreign exchanges, they recommend that these matters be taken up by the Treasury, in consultation with the banking and commercial interests.

TARIFF REGULATIONS

With reference to tariff the committee recommends a protective tariff only on industries "which can show that, in spite of the adoption of the most efficient technical methods and business organization, they cannot maintain themselves against foreign competition, or that they are hindered from adopting these methods by such competition."

The general fiscal policy as finally adopted by the committee is as follows:

1. The producers of this country are entitled to require from the Government that they should be protected in their

home market against "dumping" and against the introduction of "sweated" goods, by which term we understand goods produced by labor which is not paid at trade union rates of wages, where such rates exist in the country of origin of the goods, or the current rates of that country where there are no trade union rates. We recommend that action be taken in regard to "dumping" on the lines (though not necessarily in the precise form) adopted in Canada.

2. Those industries which we have described as "key" or "pivotal" should be maintained in this country at all hazards and at any expense.

3. As regards other industries, protection by means of customs duties or Government assistance in other forms should be afforded only to carefully selected branches of industry, which must be maintained either for reasons of national safety or on the general ground that it is undesirable that any industry of real importance to our economic strength and well-being should be allowed to be weakened by foreign competition, or brought to any serious extent under alien domination or control.

4. Preferential treatment should be accorded to the British oversea dominions and possessions in respect of any customs duties now or hereafter to be imposed in the United Kingdom, and consideration should be given to other forms of imperial preference.

5. As regards our commercial relations with our present allies and neutrals, the denunciation of existing commercial treaties is unnecessary and inexpedient, but the present opportunity should be taken to endeavor to promote our trade with our allies, and consideration should be given to the possibility of utilizing for purposes of negotiation with them and present neutrals any duties which may be imposed in accordance with the principles laid down above.

LIMITING PROTECTIVE PRINCIPLES

In view of the danger that the admission of the principle of protection, even to a limited extent, may give rise to a widespread demand for similar assistance from other industries, and consequently to an amount of political pressure which it may be very difficult to resist, the committee further recommends:

That a strong and competent board, with an independent status, should be established to examine into all applications from industries for State assistance, to advise his Majesty's Government upon such applications, and, where a case is made out, to frame proposals as to the precise nature and extent of the assistance to be given.

Before recommending tariff protection for any particular industry it should be the duty of the board to consider forms of State assistance other than, or concurrent with, protective duties, such as bounties on production, preferential treatment (subject to an adequate standard of quality and security against price rings) in respect of Government and other public authority contracts, State financial assistance, and also whether the position of the industry could not be improved by internal reorganization.

The board should also have constantly in mind the safeguarding of the interests of consumers and of labor, and should make recommendations as to the conditions which for these purposes should be attached to any form of Government assistance, whether by means of a tariff or otherwise.

The committee reports adversely on the changing of weights, measures, and coinage to the metric system.





BANK OF FINLAND, AT HELSINGFORS, WHERE THE RED GUARDS, ATTEMPTING TO BREAK INTO THE BUILDING, WERE REPULSED BY THE WHITE GUARDS

Finland Under German Control

Events of the Period of Chaos and Foreign Invasion Preceding the Fall of Viborg

CIVIL war, later complicated by the German invasion, has been the central fact in the history of Finland since the declaration of its independence in December, 1917. The internecine strife was precipitated by the coup d'état which the Finnish Socialists effected in January, 1918. It so happened that the representatives of the propertied classes had the majority in the Diet which severed the century-old connection between Finland and Russia. As for the Government which this Diet has set up to rule the independent republic, all its members belong to middle-class parties. Headed by Mr. Svinhufud, a Young-Finn leader, it includes one Svekomman, two Agrarians, three Old-Finns, and six Young-Finns.

The dissatisfaction of the Socialist elements, which are very strong in Finland, with this régime soon grew so intense that they decided to overthrow it by armed force. The Red Guard, that is, detachments of armed workmen organized

by the Finnish Labor Party, seized Helsingfors, dissolved the "bourgeois" Government, and formed a Socialist Cabinet under the leadership of Senator Kullervo Manner. The revolutionists did not, however, succeed in capturing Mr. Svinhufud and his associates. These fled north and established their headquarters at Vasa, (Nikolaystadt,) on the Gulf of Bothnia. Since then the half-starved country has been the arena of bloody clashes between the Red troops and the forces supporting the Vasa Government, which consist largely of middle-class elements and are known as the White Guards.

It is an open secret that Russia rendered substantial assistance to the Finnish revolutionists. Most of the weapons in their possession are from Russian arsenals, and Russian soldiers who lingered on in Finland even after the Bolsheviks had agreed to withdraw the Russian troops stationed there have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Finnish Red Guards. It is reported that

on several occasions the Finnish Red Guards were reinforced by Red Guards from Petrograd. Moreover, in its organization the Finnish Socialist Workmen's Republic is a copy of the Russian Soviet Republic. The Red Finns have the same hierarchy of Soviets, and they affect the administrative terminology of the Bolsheviks.

RED FINLAND

The Finnish Socialists should not, however, be treated as identical with the Russian Bolsheviks. The difference between them is probably due to a difference of civilization, for culturally the dissimilarity between a Russian and a Finn is as great as it is linguistically and ethnically. It is noteworthy that unlike the Bolsheviks they regard their own rule as a transitional, provisional régime. Speaking on Feb. 14, 1918, at the first meeting of the Finnish Central Soviet, Kullervo Manner, President of the Commissariat of the People of Finland, said among other things:

One of the foremost aims of the great revolution of Finland's workers is to build the proud edifice of a political democracy on the ruins of the fallen power of the Junkers. * * * As soon as the enemy of the people has been defeated throughout the country shall the people of Finland be given an opportunity through referendum to accept a new Constitution. The People's Commissariat intends shortly to put before the Central Soviet a proposal for a fundamental law through which will be laid the ground for a real representation by the people and a firm foundation for the future of the working class.

Although the Finnish Socialists are united with Russia by co-operation and common aspirations, they do not desire to join the Russian Federation. Finnish socialism identifies itself with the cause of Finnish nationalism. It was the Socialists that were the staunchest advocates of Finland's secession from Russia, and it was they that, by calling a general strike, forced the Diet to adopt immediately the Independence bill in November, 1917.

The notion of Finland's complete sovereignty forms the basis of the peace concluded early in March, 1918, between the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Re-

public and the Finnish Socialist Workmen's Republic, "in order to strengthen the friendship and fraternity between the above-mentioned free republics." According to this pact, published on March 10, Russia hands over to the Independent Finnish Socialist Republic all its possessions in Finland, including real estate, telegraphs, railways, fortresses, lighthouses, and also Finnish ships which

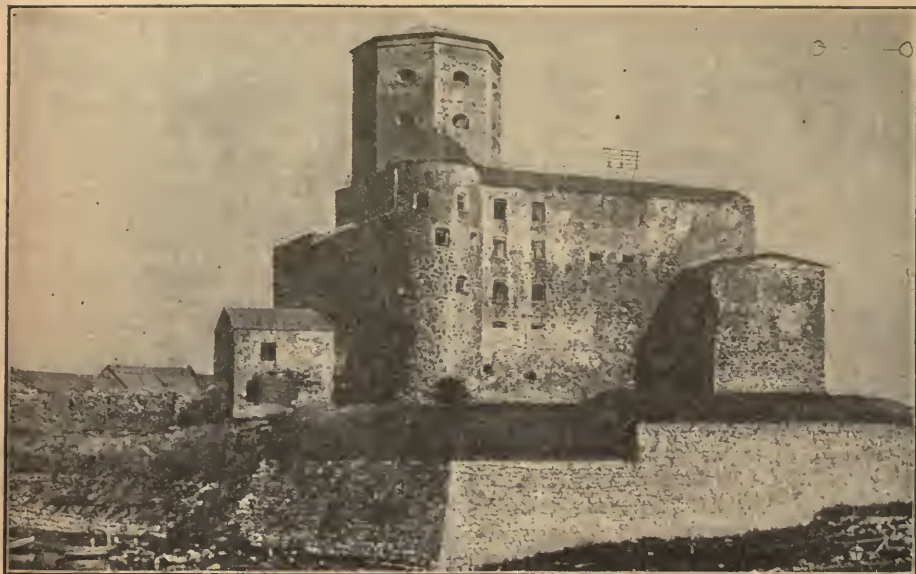


SKETCH MAP SHOWING FINLAND'S RELATION TO SWEDEN, NORWAY, AND RUSSIA

had been requisitioned by the Russian Government before or during the war. Article IX. provides for "free and unimpeded access for the merchant ships of the Russian and Finnish Socialist Republics to all seas, lakes and rivers, harbors, anchoring places, and channels" within their territories. The next article establishes uninterrupted communication, without trans-shipment, between the Russian and Finnish railways. Article XIII. contains the provision that "Finnish citizens in Russia as well as Russian citizens in Finland shall enjoy the same rights as the citizens of the respective countries."

GERMAN HAND IN FINLAND

If "Red" Finland has had the support of the Russian Bolsheviks, "White" Finland has found a most enterprising ally in Germany. The Vasa Government has



THE OLD CASTLE OF VIBORG, FINLAND, WHICH THE WHITE GUARDS
USED AS A FORT

been working in direct and now open contact with Berlin. It is overwhelmingly pro-German. The relation between the two Governments early assumed the character of vassalage on the part of the Finns. This is evidenced by the peace agreement which official Finland concluded with Germany on March 7. Its full text will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Since the beginning of the war the Germans have been conducting in Finland an active campaign of espionage and propaganda through a host of agents and sympathizers. The propaganda found a favorable soil among the propertied classes, and especially among the landed gentry of Swedish extraction. On the other hand, the persecutions which the Czar's bureaucracy inflicted upon the nation, and against which neither the French nor the British press uttered any adequate protest, drove some of the patriotic Finns into the arms of Russia's enemies. A number of Finnish youths escaped to Germany and entered the ranks of the German Army. The University of Helsingfors played a prominent part in this movement. In

1915 an entire battalion made up exclusively of Finns fought under the German colors, while no Finns served in the Russian Army, exemption from military service being one of the ancient Finnish privileges respected by the Imperial Russian Government.

After the March revolution, and especially after the fall of Riga, the efforts of the German agents, with whom Finland now fairly swarmed, were directed toward fomenting Finnish separatism. In fact, the Swedish press asserted that from the very beginning of the war the Germans had spent large sums of money in trying to fan the Finns' smoldering discontent with Russia. At the same time Germany endeavored to enlist the sympathies of the White Guards, (*skudshär*), which the middle classes were hastily organizing, ostensibly for the purpose of assisting the militia and protecting the population from robbers. Berlin was so successful in its task that as early as October, 1917, the head of the Russian Bureau of Counterespionage in Finland spoke of the *skudshär* as "the vanguard of the German Army." The Finns who served in Wilhelm's army and were thor-

oughly indoctrinated with German military science and German ideals were returned to their native country, and it was they that took upon themselves to officer the White Guards. Some of the weapons and munitions used by the latter were secured from Sweden, but most of them came from Germany and were probably a part of the Russian booty. The above-mentioned Russian official declared, in an interview published in a Petrograd daily in October, 1917, that German submarines appeared regularly off the Finnish coast and delivered arms and ammunition to Finnish vessels.

ATROCITIES ON BOTH SIDES

The White Guards, commanded by General Mannerheim, fought the revolutionists with varying success but without achieving a decisive victory. Several towns in the south were the scene of prolonged battles in which many lives were lost, notably Tammerfors, the important industrial centre, where fierce fighting raged throughout the second half of March. The factory districts in the north were also the scene of stubborn fighting. A number of women were seen in the ranks of the Red Guards.

The two warring factions created a reign of "Red" and "White" terror in the country. Both committed frightful atrocities. On April 17, Oskari Tokoi, the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in the Socialist Cabinet, protested to all the powers against the manner in which General Mannerheim treated his Red Guard prisoners. He pointed out that, while the Red Guards regarded the captured White Guards as prisoners of war, the Government troops, having taken a number of prisoners, shot all the officers and every fifteenth man of the rank and file. On the other hand, the corpses of many White Guards were found unspeakably mutilated.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Socialist rebellion, the official Government conceived the idea of appealing for foreign military aid against the revolutionists. On Jan. 30 such an appeal was reported to have been sent to Sweden. The cause of White Finland had many sympathizers in that country. The

Finnish White Guards had a recruiting office in Stockholm, and a number of Swedish volunteers fought in their ranks. A considerable portion (12 per cent.) of the Finnish population are Swedes, mostly members of the higher classes. In addition, the two countries have common historical memories, for Finland was a Swedish province for six centuries, from the time of Erik VIII., King of Sweden, till the Russian annexation in 1809.

The Swedish Government did not, however, elect to intervene. It is not certain whether Stockholm refused its assistance because Finland refused to cede the Aland Islands to the Swedes as a compensation for their services, or because, as Mr. Branting asserts, Sweden was to intervene "as the creature and ally of Germany." The only step the Swedes took was to send a military expedition to the Aland Islands, in response to several appeals from their population, which is mostly Swedish. This measure was decided upon by the Swedish Parliament on Feb. 16 and was effected two or three days later.

The Aland Archipelago, consisting of about ninety inhabited islets and situated between Abo on the Finnish coast and Stockholm, belongs to Finland. Its strategic importance for Sweden is aptly characterized by an old phrase which describes it as "a revolver aimed at the heart of Sweden." The mission of Sweden's troops was to clear the islands, by moral suasion if possible, from the bands of Russian soldiers and Finnish White and Red Guards which for some time had been terrorizing the population. The Bolshevik garrison offered stubborn resistance to the landing of the Swedish forces.

THE GERMAN INVASION

At noon on March 2 a German detachment occupied the Aland Islands. The next day the German Minister at Stockholm informed the Swedish Government that Germany intended to use these islands as a halting place for the German military expedition into Finland, undertaken at the request of the Finnish Government for the purpose of suppressing



VIEW OF ULEABORG, WHERE THE WHITE GUARDS FOUGHT A SANGUINARY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE BOLSHEVIST RED GUARDS

the revolution. He gave assurances that Germany sought no territorial gains in effecting the occupation and would not hinder the humanitarian work of the Swedish Supervision Corps in the islands. On March 22 the Main Committee of the Reichstag rejected, by 12 votes against 10, the motion of the Independent Social Democrats to evacuate the Åland Islands and cease interfering with the internal affairs of Finland.

Mr. Branting, the Swedish political leader, denounced the talk that Finland, deserted by Sweden, turned to Germany in despair, as "gross hypocrisy." He is convinced that a secret agreement existed between Finland and Germany long before the outbreak of the civil war, and that Finland wants to be a dependency under Germany rather than a member of a Scandinavian federation of States. Some members of the Diplomatic Corps in Washington were also reported to believe that the civil war was merely a specious pretext for inviting Germany to restore order in the country, and that the negotiations which brought about the German intervention had been going on secretly for months.

March passed in preparations for the expedition. On the morning of April 3 the Russian icebreaker Volinets, which

had been captured by the White Guards, piloted a German naval squadron, consisting of thirty-six ships, into the Finnish waters of Hangö, which is the extreme southwestern point of the Finnish coast, within a few hours of Helsingfors. During the afternoon the Germans landed on the peninsula of Hangö a force which, according to an official German statement, comprised 40,000 men under General Sasnitz, 300 guns, and 2,000 machine guns. The next day the Berlin War Office issued the following statement: "Eastern Theatre—In agreement with the Finnish Government, German troops have landed on the Finnish mainland." Later more German detachments were landed at Åbo.

According to one report, the Germans, upon their landing, opened negotiations with the Finnish Socialists, but their overtures were apparently rejected. The Russian Government immediately protested to Germany against the landing in Finland. The German Government replied by demanding that the Russian war vessels in Finnish territorial waters should either leave for Russian ports or disarm, according to Article 5 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, on or before midday, April 12. The Bolsheviks ordered the commander of the Baltic fleet to



VIEW OF FINNISH LAKE REGION NEAR FAVASTELLIUS

carry out this demand. Four Russian submarines were fired upon and sunk by the Germans at Hangö during the landing and several other Russian warships were blown up by their own crews for fear of being captured by the Germans.

On April 13 the Finnish Official News Bureau gave out a statement to the effect that all German troops landed in Finland had been dispatched at the request of the Finnish Government. On April 17 the Germans landed 40,000 men at Helsingfors. Their naval squadron stationed in the harbor of the Finnish capital consisted of twelve vessels.

FALL OF VIBORG

The Red Guards offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders, but it soon became apparent that their cause was lost. Upon the landing of the Germans, the Socialist Government escaped from Helsingfors and established itself at Viborg, seventy-five miles northwest of Petrograd. On April 13 the German troops, aided by naval detachments, entered Helsingfors, "after a vigorous encounter with armed bands," as the German official announcements read. According to a Reuter dispatch, a three days' battle preceded the capture of the Finnish capital. It was taken by storm after fierce fighting in the streets. About the same time the City of Abo was taken by the White Guards. The Germans then proceeded to move on Viborg. On April 23 the Finnish Socialist Govern-

ment protested to the allied representatives, including the American Ambassador to Russia, against the German interference. It declared that the Finnish Socialists would continue for the cause of freedom, with "a profound hatred and contempt for the executioners of nations and of the labor movement."

Viborg fell into the hands of the White Guards on April 30, after nearly all its defenders, 6,000 in all, were slaughtered. Among the prisoners taken was Kullerwo Manner, the President of the Socialist Government. On May 4 Berlin was able to announce complete victory in Finland. The official report follows:

Finland has been cleared of the enemy. German troops, in co-operation with Finnish battalions, attacked the enemy between Lakhti and Tevastus in an encircling movement, and in a five days' battle, in spite of a bitter defense and desperate attempts to break through, we have overwhelmingly defeated him. The Finnish forces cut off his retreat in a northerly direction. The enemy is closed in on every side, and, after the heaviest losses, is laying down his arms. We took 20,000 prisoners. Thousands of vehicles and horses were captured.

A dispatch dated May 8 reported, however, that the country was far from pacified, and that the Red Guards continued to offer resistance at many points.

Speaking before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, on May 8, Friedrich von Payer, the German Imperial Vice Chancellor, defended Germany's intervention in Finland. The fundamental

aim of this step was "to create in North Finland a final condition of peace, both military and political." He stated that the entire staff of the 43d Russian Army Corps was recently captured in Finland. He denied that Germany intended further to interfere in the inner affairs of Finland, and added that Germany had concluded economic and political treaties with Finland whereby both parties would profit.

UNDER GERMAN DOMINATION

While these military operations were being carried on, Finland was becoming a German province. Late in March an American and an English officer, visiting General Mannerheim at Vasa upon orders from their legations, were threatened by Finnish White Guard officers with personal violence and turned out of the dining room of the chief hotel. This incident was described as characteristic of the feeling existing among the majority of Finns. On April 1 Vasabladet, the chief Vasa newspaper, wrote: "No military or other similar persons from any of the countries at war with Germany ought to be allowed to stay within the borders of our country so long as we, with the help of God and Germany, are fighting our hard fight for liberty, order, and justice against the barbarous ally of the western powers." It appears from a case reported on April 26 that the viséing of foreign passports by Finnish officials depends now upon the consent of the Berlin authorities.

Finland was proclaimed a republic in December, 1917. It has always been one of the most democratic countries in Europe. It is asserted, nevertheless, that the experiences through which the former grand duchy has passed in the last six months have converted many classes of

the population to monarchism. A Stockholm dispatch dated May 8 declared that a monarchy would probably be proclaimed in Finland, and that Duke Adolph Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, uncle of the Crown Princess of Germany, would be appointed King.

GREATER FINLAND

In the middle of April it became known that the Finnish statesmen had an ambitious plan for the territorial aggrandizement and political expansion of their country at the expense of Russia, and possibly also of Norway. A Stockholm paper published a statement that Germany had agreed to the establishment of a Greater Finland, to include the territory of the Petrograd-Murman railway to the arctic. The newspaper added that the Finnish railway system was to be enlarged with a view to establishing direct connection from North Cape to Budapest and Constantinople. Thus Finland would become the cornerstone of a "Mitteleuropa" stretching from the arctic coast to Asia Minor and beyond. A well-known Finnish painter stated in an interview that the Finnish troops, co-operating with the Germans, would take Petrograd as well as the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, which is ethnically Finnish. An announcement was made on May 8, before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, that no Germans were participating or would participate in the advance of Finnish troops on Petrograd.

A movement has been set afoot among Karelians, presumably by Finns, in favor of the Finnish annexation of Russian Karelia, on the basis of the principle of self-determination. Karelia includes parts of the Governments of Petrograd, Olonetz, and Archangel; its aboriginal population belongs to the Finnish race.



Peace Treaty Between Finland and Germany

Full Text of the Document

THE Imperial Government of Berlin announced on March 7, 1918, that a treaty of peace between Germany and Finland had been signed. Two days later the full text was transmitted from Berlin to London through the wireless stations of the German Government. This treaty with Germany was made by the element in the Republic of Finland represented in a military way by the White Guards, who were pro-German and co-operated with the German army sent immediately afterward to make war in Finland against the Red Guards, who represented the Bolshevik element of the Finnish population. During April an armed conflict between the Reds and the Germans raged around Helsingfors, where the Bolshevik forces fought to annul this treaty, though with steadily diminishing prospects of success.

The full text of the treaty follows:

The Royal German Government and the Finnish Government, inspired by the wish, after the declaration of the independence of Finland and its recognition through Germany, to bring about a condition of peace and friendship between both countries on a lasting basis, have resolved to conclude a peace, and for this purpose they have appointed the following plenipotentiaries: For the Royal German Government, the Chancellor of the German Empire, Dr. Count von Hertling; for the Finnish Government, Dr. Phil Edvard Immanuel Hjelt, State Adviser, Vice-Councilor of the University of Helsingfors, and Rafael Waldemar Erich, LL. D., Professor of State Law and of the Law of Nations at the University of Helsingfors, who, after the mutual setting forth in good order and form of their plenipotentiary powers, have come to an agreement on the following provisions:

CHAPTER I.—*Friendship Between Germany and Finland and the Assuring of the Independence of Finland*

Article 1. The contracting parties declare that between Germany and Finland no state of war exists and that they are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with each other. Germany will do what she can to bring about the recognition of the independence of Finland by all the powers. On the other hand, Finland will not cede any part of her possessions to any for-

eign power nor constitute a charge on her sovereign territory to any such power before first having come to an understanding with Germany on the matter.

Article 2. Diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the confirmation of the peace treaty. The freest possible admission of Consuls on both sides is to be provided for by arrangements in special treaties.

Article 3. Each of the contracting parties will replace the damage which has been caused in its own territory by the war, or which the States or populations have brought about by actions contrary to international law, or which has been caused by the consular officials of the other party either to life, liberty, health, or property.

CHAPTER II.—*War Indemnities*

Article 4. The contracting parties renounce mutually the making good of war costs; that is to say, State expenses for the carrying on of the war as well as the payment of war indemnities; that is to say, of those prejudices which have arisen for them and their subjects in the war zones by reason of the military measures connected with all the requisitions undertaken in enemy country.

CHAPTER III.—*The Re-entry Into Force of State Treaties*

Article 5. The treaties which lapsed as a consequence of the war between Germany and Russia shall be replaced as soon as possible by new treaties for relations between the contracting parties, and they shall be made to correspond to the new outlook and conditions which have now arisen. Especially the contracting parties shall at once enter into negotiations in order to draw up a treaty for the settlement of trade and shipping relations between the two countries, to be signed at the same time as the peace treaty.

Article 6. Treaties in which, apart from Germany and Russia, also a third power takes part, and in which Finland appears together with Russia or in the place of the latter, come into force between the contracting parties on the ratification of peace treaty or, in case the entry takes place later, at that moment. In connection with collective treaties of political contents, in which other belligerent powers are also involved, the two parties reserve their attitude until after the conclusion of a general peace.

CHAPTER IV.—*Re-establishment of Private Rights*

Article 7. All stipulations existing in the territory of either of the contracting parties, according to which, in view of the state of war, subjects of the other party are subjected to any special regulation whatever in the observation of their private rights, cease to be of force on the confirmation of this treaty. Subjects of either of the contracting parties are such legal persons and societies as have their domicile in the respective territories. Furthermore, subjects of either of the parties, legal persons and societies which do not have their domicile in the territory, must be regarded as on the same level in so far as in the territory of the other party they were submitted to the stipulations applying to such subjects.

Article 8. With regard to the civil debt conditions which have been influenced by war laws, the following has been agreed:

1. The debt conditions will be re-established in so far as the stipulations in Articles 8 to 12 do not decide otherwise.

2. The stipulation in Paragraph 1 does not prejudice the question as to what extent the conditions created by the war (especially the impossibility of settlement of debt owing to the obstacles in traffic or commercial prohibitions in the territory of either of the contracting parties) shall be taken into account in the determination of claims of subjects of either party in accordance with the laws applying thereto in the respective territories. In this connection subjects of the other party who have been prevented by the measures of that party, are not to be dealt with more unfavorably than the subjects of their own State, who have been prevented by the measures of that State.

A person who by the war has been prevented from carrying out in good time a payment shall not be obliged to make good the damage which has occurred owing thereto.

3. Demands of money, whose payment could be refused during the war on the strength of war laws, need not be paid until after the expiration of three months after the confirmation of the peace treaty. In so far as nothing else has been stipulated in the supplementary treaty, an interest of 5 per cent. per annum must be paid on such debts from the original date on which they were due, for the duration of the war and the further three months, regardless of moratoriums. Up to the day on which they were originally due, the interests agreed upon, if any, must be paid. In the case of bills or checks submission for payment as well as protests against nonpayment must take place within the fourth month after the confirmation of this treaty.

4. For the settlement of outstanding af-

fairs and other civil obligations, officially recognized unions for the protection of debtors and for the examination of claims of lay and legal persons belonging to the union, as well as their plenipotentiaries, are to be mutually recognized and permitted.

Article 9. Each contracting party will immediately after the confirmation of the peace treaty resume payment of its obligations, especially the public debt duties to subjects of the other party. The obligations which became due before the confirmation of the treaty will be paid within three months after the confirmation.

Article 10. Copyrights, trade protective rights, concessions and privileges, as well as similar claims on public legal foundations, which have been influenced by war laws, shall be re-established, in so far as nothing else has been stipulated in Article 12.

Each contracting party will grant subjects of the other party who on account of the war have neglected the legal period in which to undertake an action necessary for the establishment or maintenance of a trade protective right, without prejudice to the justly obtained rights of third parties, a period of at least one year in which to recover the action. Trade protective rights of subjects of one party which were in force on the outbreak of war, shall not expire in the territory of the other party, owing to their non-application, till after the termination of four years from the confirmation of this treaty. If in the territory of one of the contracting parties a trade protective right, which in accordance with the war laws could not be applied for, is applied for by an agent who during the war has taken protective measures in the territory of the other party in accordance with the rules, such right, if claimed within six months after the confirmation of the treaty, shall, with the reservation of the rights of third parties, have priority over all applications submitted in the meantime, and cannot be made ineffective by facts which have arisen in the meantime.

Article 11. Periods for the superannuation of rights shall, in the territory of each of the contracting parties, toward subjects of the other party, expire at the earliest one year after the confirmation of the peace treaty in so far as they had not expired at the time of the outbreak of war. The same applies to periods for the submission of dividend-warrants or warrants for shares in profit, as well as to bills which have become redeemable or have become otherwise payable.

Article 12. The activities of authorities who on the strength of war laws have become occupied with the supervision, custody, administration, or liquidation of property or with the receiving of payments, are without prejudice to the stipula-

tions of Article 13, to be wound up in accordance with the following principles:

1. Properties under supervision, in custody or under administration, are to be set free immediately on the demand of the parties entitled to them. Until the moment of transfer to the entitled party care must be taken for the safeguarding of his interests.

2. The provisions of Paragraph 1 shall not modify the properly acquired right of a third party. Payments and other obligations of a debtor which, as mentioned at the beginning of the article, have been received or caused to be received at the places mentioned, shall, in the territories of the contracting parties, have the same effect as if the creditor himself had received them.

Civil dispositions which have been made at the places mentioned at the instigation of the parties or by them will have full effect and are to be maintained by the parties.

3. Regarding the operations of the places mentioned at the beginning of this article, especially those for receipts and payments, details shall at once be given to the authorized parties immediately upon demand. Claims which have been lodged to be dealt with at these places can only be dealt with in accordance with the stipulations of Article 14.

Article 13. Land or rights in land or in mines as well as rights in the use or exploitation of lands, or undertakings, or claims for participation in an undertaking, especially those represented by shares, which have been forcibly alienated from the persons entitled to them by reason of war laws, shall be transferred to the former owner within a period of one year after the confirmation of the peace treaty, and there shall be returned to him any profits which have accrued on such property during the alienation or deprivation, and this shall be done free from all rights of third parties which may have arisen in the meantime.

CHAPTER VI.—*Indemnity for Civil Damages*

Article 14. Subjects of one of the contracting parties resident in the territory of the other contracting party who, by reason of war laws, have suffered damage either by the temporary or lasting privation of concessions, privileges, and similar claims, or by the supervision, trusteeship, administration or alienation of property, are to be appropriately indemnified so far as the damage by the war cannot be replaced by the actual re-establishment of their former conditions. This also applies to shareholders who, on account of their character as foreign enemies, are excluded from certain rights.

Article 15. Each of the contracting parties will indemnify the civilian subjects of the other party for damages which have been caused to them in its territory

during the war by the State officials or the population there through breaches of international law and acts of violence against life, health, or property.

Article 16. Each of the contracting parties will at once pay to the subjects of the other party their just claims so far as this has not already been done.

Article 17. For the fixing of the damages, according to Articles 14 and 15, there shall meet in Berlin a commission immediately after the confirmation of this treaty which shall consist of one-third of each of the contracting parties and one-third of neutrals. The President of the Swiss Bundesrat shall be asked to nominate the neutral members, from whom the Chairman shall be chosen. The commission shall fix the principles, on which it is to work, and it shall decide as to what procedure it shall follow. Its decisions shall be carried out by sub-commissions, which shall consist of one representative from each of the contracting parties and a neutral umpire. The amounts fixed by the sub-commissions are to be paid within one month of the decision being made.

CHAPTER VII.—*The Exchange of Prisoners of War and Interned Civilians*

Article 18. Finnish prisoners of war in Germany and German prisoners of war in Finland shall, as soon as practicable, be exchanged within the times fixed by a German-Finnish Commission, and subject to the payment of the costs entailed in such exchange in so far as those prisoners do not wish to stay in the country where they happen to be, with its consent, or to go to another country. The commission will also have to settle the further details of such exchange and to supervise their execution.

Article 19. The deported or interned civilians on both sides will be sent home as soon as practicable free of charge so far as, subject to the consent of the country on whose territory they are staying, they do not wish to remain there or wish to go to another country. The settlement of the details and the supervision of their execution shall be carried out by the commission mentioned in Article 18. The Finnish Government will endeavor to obtain from the Russian Government the release of those Germans who were captured in Finnish territory and who at the present time are outside Finnish or Russian territory.

Article 20. Subjects of one party who at the outbreak of war had their domicile or commercial establishments in the territory of the other party and who did not remain in that territory may return there as soon as the other party is not in a state of war. Their return can only be refused on the ground of the endangering of the internal or foreign safety of the

State. It would suffice that a pass be made out by the authorities of the home Government in which it is to be stated that the bearer is one of those persons as stipulated in Item 1. No visé is to be necessary on these passes.

Article 21. Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to respect and to tend the several burial places of subjects of the other party who fell in the war as well as those who died during internment or deportation and the persons intrusted by each party with care and proper decoration of the burial places may attend to these duties in accord with the authorities of each country. Questions connected with the care of such burial places are reserved for further agreements.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Amnesty.*

Article 22. Each of the contracting parties concedes amnesty from penalties to the subjects of the other party who are prisoners of war for all criminal acts committed by them and further to all civilian interned or deported subjects of the other party for all punishable acts committed by them during their internment or deportation period, and lastly to all subjects of the other party for crimes against all exceptional laws made to the disadvantage of enemy foreigners. The amnesty will not apply to actions committed after the confirmation of the peace treaty.

Article 23. Each party concedes complete amnesty to all its own subjects in view of the work which they have done in the territory of the other party as prisoners of war, interned civilians, or deported civilians.

Article 24. The contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to make further agreements according to which each party may grant an amnesty of penalties decreed on account of actions committed to its disadvantage.

CHAPTER IX.—*The Treatment of Mercantile Vessels and Cargoes Which Have Fallen Into the Hands of the Enemy.*

Article 25. Mercantile ships of one contracting party which lay in the ports of the other contracting party on the outbreak of the war, as well as their cargoes, are to be given back to their owners, or in so far as this is not possible they are to be paid for in money. For the use of such embargoed vessels during the war the usual daily freight is to be paid.

Article 26. German mercantile ships and their cargoes which are in the power of Finland, except in cases foreseen in Article 25 at the signing of this treaty or which may arrive there later, are to be given back if on the outbreak of war they were in an enemy port or were interned in neutral waters by enemy forces.

Article 27. The mercantile vessels of either of the contracting parties captured as prizes in the zone of power of the other party shall be regarded as definitely confiscated if they have been legally condemned as prizes, and if they do not come under the provisions of Articles 25 and 26. Otherwise they are to be given back, or, in so far as they are no longer available, they are to be paid for. The provisions of Paragraph 1 are to apply also to ships' cargoes taken as prizes belonging to subjects of the contracting parties, but goods belonging to subjects of one of the contracting parties on board ships flying enemy flags which have fallen into the hands of the other contracting party are in all cases to be handed over to their rightful owners, or, so far as this is not possible, they are to be paid for.

Article 28. The carrying out of the provisions contained in Articles 25 to 27, especially the fixing of the damages to be paid, shall be decided by a mixed commission, which shall consist of one representative from each of the contracting parties with a neutral umpire, and shall sit in Stettin within three months after the date of confirmation of the peace treaty. The President of the Swiss Bundesrat shall be requested to nominate the umpire.

Article 29. The contracting parties will do all in their power to facilitate the free return of the mercantile ships and their cargoes to their homes as set forth in Articles 25 to 27. The contracting parties will also give their support to each other in the re-establishment of the mutual commercial intercourse, after the assuring of safe shipping routes, which had been disturbed by the war.

CHAPTER X.—*Adjustment of the Aland Question.*

Article 30. The contracting parties are agreed that the Forts put upon the Aland Islands are to be removed as soon as possible, and that the lasting non-fortified character of these Islands and also their treatment in a military and technical sense for purposes of shipping, shall be settled by agreement between Germany, Finland, Russia and Sweden; and to these agreements, at the wish of Germany, the other States lying in the Baltic Sea shall be invited to assent.

CHAPTER XI.—*Final Provisions.*

Article 31. The Peace Treaty shall be confirmed. The confirmatory documents shall be exchanged as soon as practicable in Berlin.

Article 32. The Peace Treaty, so far as is not otherwise stipulated, shall come into force with its confirmation. For the making of supplementary additions to the Treaty the representatives of the contracting parties shall meet in Berlin within four months of its confirmation.

German Aggression in Russia

Record of Events Placing Finland and the Ukraine More Fully Under Teutonic Control

DURING the month ended May 15, 1918, the German advance in the territory of the former Russian Empire continued uninterruptedly. While minor military operations were conducted in the Province of Kursk, in Russia proper, the main body of the invading army occupied the Crimea and penetrated into the Donetz coal basin. On April 24 the German troops, under General Kosch, reached the City of Simferopol, in the Crimea. A week later they occupied Sebastopol, the great military and commercial seaport, famous in Russian history. A portion of the Russian Black Sea fleet fell into the hands of the Germans. On May 3 the invaders seized Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov. On May 9 they took Rostov, at the mouth of the River Don, but two days later the city was again in Russian hands. The Germans are apparently intent on occupying the seacoast from Bessarabia, on the west, to the Caucasus, on the east.

The Bolshevik régime gave signs of undergoing a process of reorganization. It sought to enlist the services of officials who had served under the Provisional Government and of Generals of the old army. A new War Department was formed. Trotzky, the Minister of War and Marine, advocated universal conscription of labor. The Central Executive Committee, at his suggestion, decreed compulsory military service. Workmen and peasants from 18 to 40 years old were to be trained for eight consecutive weeks, for a weekly minimum of eight hours. Women were accepted into the army as volunteers.

The Bolshevik authorities made several attempts to suppress rioting and street looting. Early in May the Red Guards fought a pitched battle with the Moscow anarchists, who refused to surrender their munitions, and stamped out their organization. The Soviets passed

resolutions and took measures against the anti-Jewish massacres which occurred in numerous cities. Disorder and mob rule, however, continued to prevail in Russia, while hunger and unemployment were daily increasing.

INDUSTRY CRIPPLED

On April 16 M. Gukovsky, the Commissary for Finance, reported to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on Russia's financial and industrial condition. He said that the semi-yearly expenditure would amount to 4,000,000,000 rubles, while the income expected was only 3,300,000,000 rubles. The railroads had lost 70 per cent. of their freight capacity, and the cost of operation had increased ten times, (120,000 against 11,600 rubles per versta.) The Central Government, he stated, derived no revenue from taxes, as the local Soviets used the sums they collected for their own purposes. To illustrate the industrial conditions the Commissary cited the example of the Sormov locomotive works, whose daily output is two locomotives, instead of eighteen as formerly. M. Gukovsky recommended strict economy in expenditures and urged the necessity of securing the services of financial and industrial experts for the purpose of organizing an efficient State machinery.

Among the recent legislative measures of the Moscow Government must be mentioned the nationalization of foreign trade, which is a part of the general Bolshevik scheme of Socialist reforms. A special board has been created to regulate the prices of all exports and imports.

In the middle of April hostilities were reopened between the newly collected troops of General Korniloff, former Russian Commander in Chief, and the Bolshevik forces. It was reported that the Bolsheviks heavily defeated the anti-Soviet troops, capturing Novoherkask and

wounding the Cossack General. It was also stated that General Dutoff, another anti-Bolshevist leader, was captured by the Soviet troops, and that General Semyonov, the leader of the Cossack movement against the Bolsheviki in Siberia, was killed.

The incident of the Japanese landing at Vladivostok was near closing, when further interest in the Far Eastern situation was aroused in Russia by a number of documents seized on the person of a member of the anti-Soviet "Siberian Government." According to a note addressed on April 26 by M. Chicherin to diplomatic representatives in Moscow, these documents proved that the Consuls of Great Britain, France, and America—and the diplomatic representatives of these powers in Peking—sought to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia by participating in the counter-revolutionary movement for an autonomous Government in Siberia. A similar charge was laid to the Japanese officials. The Russian Government, therefore, demanded the recall of the allied Consular officers at Vladivostok, also asking the Allies to define their attitude toward the Soviet Government. Neither Ambassador Francis nor the French Ambassador, M. Noulens, made any official reply to the Russian charges. M. Noulens had previously drawn upon himself the wrath of the Bolsheviki by declaring that the armed intervention of the Allies in Russia would be an act of friendly assistance. Mr. Francis informally notified the Moscow Government that, in his opinion, the documents failed to involve the American officials. On May 9 Secretary Lansing instructed him to present informally to the Russian Foreign Office a denial of its charge against the American Consul at Vladivostok.

ENEMY PROPAGANDA

In a speech on April 27 Baron Shimpei Goto, the new Japanese Foreign Minister, referred to the malevolent propaganda which is being conducted in Russia with a view to creating an estrangement between Japan and Russia. He expressed the view that "Russia is a power endeavoring to reorganize a machine tem-

porarily out of order," adding: "Japan "must give encouragement, assistance, "and support to the work of reorganization in Russia. We trust the sound "sense of the Russian people will not be "misled by reports calculated to keep the "two neighbors apart."

Shortly after the capture of Sebastopol the Russian Government protested to Germany against the seizure of the Black Sea fleet and the invasion of the Crimea. The Russian note pointed out that these acts were in contravention of the Brest treaty and that they might endanger the peaceful relations between the two countries. The Germans did not seem to be concerned to maintain these relations. They treated the population of the occupied territories with harshness. Starving refugees were not admitted into the regions under their domination. It was reported that in the Government of Minsk able-bodied persons were seized in the streets and sent to Germany in locked cars. Constant food requisitioning was another feature of the German rule in Russia.

RUSSIA'S PROTEST

On April 15 M. Chicherin, Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs, protested to Berlin against the outrages committed by the German troops in Russia. The text of the note follows:

The Central Soviet Institutions receive many complaints with regard to German troops burning Russian villages and using violence against Russian inhabitants. An eyewitness well known to us and absolutely trustworthy states that at Lepel, northwest of Mogileff, German soldiers killed a whole family, not sparing women and children, on the plea that one of the family belonged to a partisan detachment. The local military authorities state that at the village of Novoselki, Mogileff, on April 5, there appeared an officer and soldiers of the 346th Regiment and took oats from the inhabitants by force. The officer was killed by the peasants, and the soldiers fled. After this the village was surrounded by the soldiers, fired on by machine guns, and burned.

The following day the German commander sent a notice to the Russian military authorities at Orsha saying that the inhabitants of Novoselki had been ejected, and the village burned owing to a German officer's being killed.

Observers of Russian life agree that



MAP OF THE UKRAINE AND OTHER REGIONS OF RUSSIA NOW UNDER GERMAN DOMINATION

feelings of resentment and animosity on the part of the Russian population for the German oppressor are steadily growing throughout the country. At the same time good feeling between the Russians and the Allies, especially the Americans, is on the increase. British and French troops are co-operating with Bolshevik forces in defending against Finns and Germans the Murman seacoast and the railway from the interior of Russia to the arctic ports of Alexandrovsk and Archangel, where large supplies of valuable war materials are stored up. The War Council attached to the Murman local Soviet consists of one Russian, one Englishman, and one Frenchman. The landing of the allied troops at Alexandrovsk the Germans regarded as a viola-

tion of the Brest treaty, which provides for peace with Finland, and protested to the Moscow Government against the act.

The constant exchange of protests between Berlin and Moscow is partly caused by the ambiguous wording of the Brest treaty. On April 24 Adolf Joffe, the Bolshevik Ambassador in Berlin, telegraphed to Moscow that the Russian translation of the treaty was considered by the German authorities incorrect, and that the publication of the final draft of the document was postponed until the receipt of an authentic version.

DISMEMBERING RUSSIA

It appears that Germany has been making further attempts to encourage the separatist tendency in Russia, in con-

travention of the Brest treaty. The German Government is reported to have inquired of the local Crimean authorities concerning the nationalization of their flag. The Bolsheviks interpreted this step as indicative of the German desire to separate the Taurida Republic from the Russian Federation.

According to a communication issued by the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, the National Assembly of Bessarabia voted, on April 9, the union of the province to Rumania by 86 against 3. Thereupon, the Rumanian Premier, amid enthusiastic acclamation, proclaimed the union to be "definitive and indissoluble," and a delegation was sent to Jassy to present the homage of the people of Bessarabia to the King. Rumania seems to have acted at the suggestion of Germany. It is known that the latter proposed to Rumania to annex a part of Bessarabia and thus compensate herself for Rumanian territory taken by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. It is also known that (on March 22 ?) Russia signed a treaty with Rumania regarding Bessarabia. The province was to be evacuated by the Rumanian troops, which had occupied it at the request of the population, and the guarding of Bessarabia was to pass into the hands of local militia, while all evacuated places were to be immediately occupied by Russian troops. Russia undertook to leave Rumania the surplus of Bessarabian grain remaining after the local population and Russian troops had been provided for. The Ukrainian Government refused to recognize the step taken by Bessarabia.

According to the terms of the Brest treaty the Baltic Provinces Esthonia and Livonia were to remain under Russian sovereignty, but three weeks later Germany began intriguing for a union of these countries with the Kingdom of Russia. The falsity of the assertion that the people of Esthonia favored a Baltic monarchy was exposed by the following protest of the Esthonian Provisional Government, published April 22:

Regarding the communication from Berlin that the joint Landtag of Esthonia, Livonia, Riga, and Oesel has decided upon the separation of Baltic provinces from Russia and the creation of a Baltic mon-

archy in personal union with Prussia, I declare, as representative of the Esthonian Republic, that this resolution does not constitute an expression of opinion of the Esthonian people, but only that of a German nobility minority and its adherents.

On May 5 the British Government informally recognized the Esthonian Provisional Government and, in the words of Mr. Balfour's communication, reaffirmed "their readiness to grant provisional recognition to the Esthonian National Council as a de facto independent body until the peace conference, when the future status of Esthonia ought to be settled as far as possible in accordance with the wishes of the population."

On April 26 Transcaucasia declared its independence under a conservative Government, headed by M. Chkhenskeli.

Count von Mirbach, the Royal German Ambassador to Russia, accompanied by a Turkish representative, arrived in Moscow on April 23. He was welcomed by the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee as "a representative of a power with which a peace treaty has been concluded at Brest-Litovsk, as a result of which peace, so needed by the people, was established between the two States." Pravda, the official Bolshevik daily, greeted the Royal German Ambassador as "the plenipotentiary of an armed band which with limitless audacity oppresses and robs wherever it is able to thrust in with a bloody imperialistic bayonet."

ULTIMATUM ON PRISONERS

Germany has shown eagerness to obtain the release and the use of the able-bodied German prisoners who are now in Russia. It is believed that there are at present upward of 1,000,000 German prisoners of war in European Russia and Siberia. It was reported on April 27 that a special German commission had arrived in Moscow to take charge of the exchange of prisoners with Russia, and that exchanges of invalids had already begun. The number of Russians in German hands is estimated at 3,000,000. An earlier official German communication explained the delay in repatriating Russians by the lack of transportation facilities.

ties. On April 29 the State Department at Washington gave out the following statement:

The Department of State has learned that there will shortly leave for Russia a German commission, consisting of 115 members, which will take up the question of the exchange of Russian and German prisoners. It is reported that it is the purpose of the commission merely to present to the Russian authorities an ultimatum from Germany requiring, first, the immediate release of all German prisoners who are in good health; second, that those who are ill will remain in Russia under the care of neutral physicians, and, third, that the Germans on their side will release only those Russian prisoners in Germany who are invalids or who are incapacitated. In the event of a refusal on the part of Russia, Germany will order that Petrograd be taken.

Upon the heels of this ultimatum came another one, served on the Council of the People's Commissaries by the German Ambassador, Count von Mirbach. According to a dispatch, the new ultimatum, too, dated May 10, had a bearing on the prisoner question, but in addition demanded complete cessation of arming troops and the disbandment of units already formed. This demand produced an unusual stir in Russia. The Commissaries held an extraordinary session at which the situation created by the ultimatum was discussed. The Bolsheviks showed no intention of complying with the German ultimatum.

On May 12 Foreign Minister Chicherin instructed the Russian Ambassador, M. Joffe, at Berlin to "try to obtain from Berlin cessation of every kind of hostility." The Germans had announced their intention to capture Novorossiysk, on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea, under the pretext that the Russian warships, which had escaped seizure at Sebastopol and which are stationed at Novorossiysk, constituted a danger for the German vessels. The instruction added that the German invasion of Russian territory was causing much unrest in the country.

COUP IN THE UKRAINE

On April 18 the State Department at Washington announced that, according to an authentic report, the Teutons intended to dissolve the Ukrainian Rada and set

up a Government of their own. On April 24 a Ukrainian financier prominent in aiding the Germans was arrested in the name of "the Committee of Ukrainian Safety." The German Vice Chancellor, Friedrich von Payer, in his speech before the Main Committee of the Reichstag, said that this secret organization aimed at driving the Germans out of the country and was even planning the assassination of all German officers. It included a number of prominent Ukrainians, several Ministers of State among them, and held its meetings at the house of the Minister of War. An investigation was demanded by the German Ambassador, but the Rada took no action.

Two days later General von Eichhorn, Commander of the German Army in the Ukraine, proclaimed "a state of enhanced protection," making all offenders of order subject to the jurisdiction of German court-martial. He had previously issued a field-sowing decree, necessitated, as the Germans explained, by the fact that the Rada had taken no measures concerning the field sowing, without which the country could not meet its treaty obligations relative to the delivery of grain to Germany. On April 28, while the Rada was in session, German troops entered the hall and arrested a number of its members, the Minister of War among them. The next day a number of landowners and rich peasants who were holding a convention in Kiev declared its sessions permanent, voted the dissolution of the Rada as well as the cancellation of the order convoking the Constituent Assembly on May 12, and proclaimed General Skoropadsky Hetman (Supreme Military Chief) of the Ukraine.

The Rada ceased to exist. It had but scant support in the country. A creature of the Teutons, it was supported by their armed forces. It proved unable to secure the delivery of the promised food-stuffs to the Central Powers. Owing to the resistance of the population only 3,000,000 poods (pood, 36 pounds) were delivered to the Teutons, instead of 30,000,000 poods, which the Rada undertook to supply. The Germans then withdrew their support. According to va-

rious reports, the German agents took an active part in the overthrowing of the Rada

Speaking of the fall of the Rada, the German Vice Chancellor said that "stubborn adherence to communistic theories that have gained no sympathy among the peasant population, which is attached to the soil, seems to have been principally responsible for bringing about its end." One of the first acts of the new Government was the restoration of private ownership of land. The new régime has many features of an autocratic rule. The following information regarding the extent of the Hetman's powers is furnished by the German Service of Propaganda:

The Government power in its entire capacity belongs to the Hetman for all the territory of the State. The Hetman ratifies the laws, he appoints the President of the Council of Ministers, he is chief director of the relations of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian State, he is Generalissimo of the army and of the navy, he declares war, proclaims martial law and exceptional laws. In the administration of justice he has the right of pardon and commutation of sentence.

It has been pointed out that, while the reconstructed Ukrainian Government is emphatically and avowedly pro-German, some of its leading spirits are Russian patriots and advocates of a union with Russia. Grand Duke Dmitry Pavlovich is said to have taken an active part in the coup d'état. A dispatch, dated May 10, announced the beginning of peace negotiations between Russia and the Ukraine.

GERMAN PENETRATION

United States Minister Morris at Stockholm cabled to the State Department on May 14:

Swedish press reports from Moscow state that Count von Mirbach recently transmitted to the Commissariat of the People a note formulated as an ultimatum and demanding the immediate effecting of certain financial measures which would practically make Russia a German colony. The chief points of the note were the immediate solution of the question regarding the exchange of prisoners, the com-

plete abolishment of armaments, and the dissolution of units formed recently; also the occupation of Moscow and some other large Russian cities.

On the same date it was reported from Moscow that the Germans had captured Rostov-on-Don, thus gaining control of the Caucasus, the grain districts in the Donnetz Basin, and the coal, iron, and oil fields. Northern Russia was thus cut off from the Caucasus, excepting for a single railroad running through Tsaritsin, in the southern part of the Government of Saratov, which the Germans were threatening.

The dispatch continued as follows:

The Governmental power in its entire Government, with which it had made peace, is regarded by North Russia as a step toward its occupation. Within a few weeks the future of Petrograd and Moscow probably will be determined, as it is considered that the Soviet Government either must submit to German domination or retreat eastward and prepare for a defense against the invaders. Effective resistance will be difficult without outside assistance, because of the lack of technical experts and supplies. The bitter feeling against Germany is intensified by the ruthless seizures in Ukraine, and a growing disposition to accept allied aid if the Entente Allies will recognize the Bolshevik Government is evident.

RUSSIA'S LOSSES

The Commissariat of Commerce on April 10 gave the following summary of what Russia lost by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:

Inhabitants	56,000,000
(About one-third total European Russia.)	
Territory	300,000 square miles
(About one-sixth total European area.)	
Railways	13,000 miles
(About one-third total mileage.)	
Coal	89 per cent.
Iron	73 "
Machinery	1,073 factories.
Textiles	918 "
Paper	615 "
Chemicals	244 "
Tobacco	133 "
Spirits	1,685 distilleries.
Beer	574 breweries.
Sugar	268 refineries.

The lost territories used to yield an annual revenue of nearly \$425,000,000 and boasted 1,800 savings banks.

More Bolshevik Legislation

By Abraham Yarmolinsky

SPEAKING on Dec. 5, 1917, before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on the subject of the right of constituents to recall their representatives, Nikolai Lenine, the head of the proletarian Government of Russia, made the following remark: "The State is an institution for coercion. Formerly it was a handful of money-bags that outraged the whole nation. We, on the contrary, wish to transform the State into an institution of coercion which must do the will of the people. We desire to organize violence in the name of the interests of the toilers." The April issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* contained a general outline of the manner in which the makers of the social revolution applied this principle of Statehood to the solution of various problems of home government. The present article will deal more in detail with some of the acts of the Bolshevik legislators. There is no better way of gaining an insight into the views and intentions of the present rulers of Russia than to study the abundant output of their legislative machinery.

CONTROLLING PRODUCTION

Lenine's Government has worked out an elaborate scheme of State control over national production and distribution as a preliminary step toward the complete socialization of the country's industry and commerce. The semi-legislative, semi-executive organs created for that purpose form an intricate hierarchy of affiliated elective bodies and corporations of a large and ill-defined jurisdiction.

In the first place, there have been instituted so-called Soviets of Workmen's Control, (decree of Nov. 27, 1917.) These are made up of representatives of trade unions, factory committees, and productive co-operatives, and aim at regulating the economic life of industrial plants using hired labor, the control in each enterprise being effected through

the elective bodies of the workmen, together with the representatives of the salaried employees. The executive organs of the Soviets of Workmen's Control have the right to fix the minimum output of a given firm, to determine the cost of the articles produced, to inspect the books and accounts, and, in general, to supervise the production and the various business transactions. Commercial secrecy, like diplomatic secrecy, is abolished. The owners and controlling agencies are responsible to the State for the safety of the property and for the strictest order and discipline within the precincts of the establishments. The local Soviets are subordinated to provincial Soviets of Workmen's Control, which issue local regulations, take up the complaints of the owners against the controlling agencies, and settle the conflicts between the latter.

The Central All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's Control issues general instructions and co-ordinates the activities of this controlling system with the efforts of the other administrative organs regulating the economic life of the country.

The members of this central institution of control, together with representatives from each Commissariat (Ministry of State) and also expert advisers, form the Supreme Soviet (Council) of National Economy, instituted by the decree of Dec. 18, 1917. This body directs and unifies the work of regulating the national economy and the State finances. It is empowered to confiscate, requisition, sequester, and syndicate various establishments in the field of production, distribution, and State finances. The Supreme Council is divided into several sections, each of which deals with a separate economic phase. Among other tasks devolving upon these sections is the drafting of the law projects for the respective Commissariats. Bills affecting national economy in its entirety are brought before the Council of the People's Commissaries

through the Supreme Council of National Economy.

ECONOMIC REGULATION

On Jan. 5, 1918, the Institute of Local Soviets of National Economy was created, "for the purpose of organizing and regulating the economic life of each industrial section in accordance with the national and local interests." Affiliated with the local Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, they are subject to the authority of the Supreme Council of National Economy. They are made up of representatives from trade unions, factory committees, workmen's co-operatives, land committees, and the technical personnel of industrial and commercial establishments. The inner organization of these bodies is elaborate. There are sections, divisions, (of organization, supply and distribution, labor, and statistics,) and business offices.

Here are some of the functions of these Soviets. They must:

1. Manage the private enterprises confiscated by the State and given over to the workmen, such as, for instance, a number of factories in the Ural mining district.
2. Determine the amount of fuel, raw materials, machinery, means of transportation, labor, &c., needed by the given industrial section, and the amount available in it.
3. Provide for the economic needs of the section.
4. Distribute the orders for goods among the individual enterprises and work out the basis for the distribution of labor, raw material, machinery, &c.
5. Regulate transportation in the section.
6. See to it that all the productive forces should be fully utilized both in industry and agriculture.
7. Improve the sanitary conditions of labor.

LAND COMMITTEES

The activity of the Soviets of National Economy is restricted to the field of industry. Their counterpart in agriculture are the so-called land committees.

The decree relating to agrarian socialization, voted by the Bolsheviks at 2 A. M., Nov. 8, 1917, recommends the use of a certain *nakaz*, (mandate,) based on 242 resolutions passed by village communities, as a guide in putting the land reform into practice. Article 8 of this

nakaz, which is a paraphrase of the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionists, reads thus: "All the land, upon "confiscation, forms a national agrarian "fund. The distribution of the land "among the toilers is taken care of by "local and central self-governing bodies. " * * * The land is periodically redis- "tributed, with the growth of population "and the rise of the productivity of agri- "cultural labor."

For the purpose of putting this program into operation and regulating the economic life of the village generally there have been instituted land committees, (decree of Nov. 16,) one for each volost, (rural district including several villages.) They are to be elected by the population of the district and exist as separate institutions, or function as an organ of the volost zemstvo, wherever this is found. The duties of a land committee are many and complex. It takes inventory of all the land in the district and allots to each village its share of plow land, meadows, and pastures, seeing to it that the land should be equitably distributed among the individual toilers and correctly tilled. It grants lease of lands and waters, not subject to distribution, receives the rent and turns it over to the national fund. It regulates the supply and demand of agricultural labor, takes charge of the forests, fixes prices of timber, receives and fills orders for fuel from the State, and takes the necessary measures to preserve the large, scientifically conducted agricultural establishments.

The delegates of a number of volost land committees, together with representatives of the local zemstvo and the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates, form a county committee. The latter, in its turn, sends a delegate to the Provincial Land Committee. The Main Land Committee, which heads the whole system, is an independent institution on a par with the central State organizations. It is a large group of people, consisting of the Commissariat of Agriculture, together with representatives from the following bodies: The Commissariats of Finance, Justice, and Internal Affairs, the provincial Land

Committees, the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, the All-Russian Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and the political parties.

NO MORE LANDLORDS

The Bolsheviks have been careful to extend the abolition of private land ownership to city real estate. By a special decree they abrogated the property rights in city land and in those of the city buildings whose value, together with that of the ground they occupy, exceeds a certain minimum, fixed in each municipality by the local authorities, or which are regularly let for rent, although their value does not exceed the minimum. The land and the buildings are declared public property. The dispossessed owners retain the right to use the apartment they occupy in their former property, provided the apartment is worth no more than 800 rubles of rent per annum. In case the value of the apartment exceeds this maximum the former owner pays the difference to the local Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. All the rent which formerly went to the landlord is now paid to that institution or to the Municipal Council. Not more than one-third of the sum thus collected is to be used to meet the various needs of the community; 10 per cent. of it goes to the national housing fund; the rest forms the local housing fund for erecting new buildings, laying out streets, and making other improvements.

COMPULSORY INSURANCE

Municipal socialization of land values, while manifestly intended to benefit the poorer classes, directly affects all the elements of the city population. Other measures enacted by the Bolsheviks are restricted to the proletariat, and properly belong to the field of specific labor legislation. Thus, a law has been passed limiting the working day in both industrial and commercial establishments to eight hours, and further regulating the work of women and children. Furthermore, a minimum wage of the hired workers has been fixed in each section of the country. But by far the most radical and characteristic innovations

launched by the Bolshevik Government in this line of legislation are those relating to compulsory insurance of workmen.

On Dec. 29 there was created the Institute of Insurance Soviets, with an executive organ in the form of a Chamber of Insurance. It is the intention of the Government to introduce compulsory insurance for laborers against sickness, unemployment, invalidism, and accidents. The regulations published so far relate only to the first two forms of insurance. The respective decrees rule that throughout the territory of the Russian Republic all hired workers, without distinction of sex, age, religion, nationality, race, and allegiance, are to be insured against sickness and unemployment, irrespective of the character and duration of their work. Salaried employees and members of liberal professions are not subject to this regulation.

At the moment the workman is hired by the employer he automatically becomes a member of two fraternities. In the event of his illness, one furnishes him free medical aid and a weekly allowance equal to his wages; the other assures him the equivalent of his wages if he loses his employment and becomes an unemployed workman. The latter term the law defines as "any able-bodied person depending for subsistence chiefly upon the wages of his (or her) labor, who is unable to find work at the normal rate of remuneration fixed by the proper trade union, and who is registered in a local labor exchange or trade union." The workmen contribute no dues to the fraternities. The income of the latter consists mainly of the payments made by the employers. The owner of an establishment using hired labor must contribute each week to the health insurance fraternity 10 per cent. of the sum he pays out as wages, and at least 3 per cent. of the same sum to the unemployment insurance fraternity. The administrative machinery of this novel form of insurance is worked out with much detail.

It is natural to ask how the various institutions described above are working, if they are functioning at all. It is

clear that the smooth working of a great number of cumbersome and wholly novel administrative agencies in a body politic torn by an unprecedented social upheaval amid the horrors of a twofold war would be little short of a miracle. Moreover, it appears that the Bolsheviks have already grown disappointed in some of their political dogmas, notably in the unrestrained and ubiquitous appli-

cation of the elective principle. Nevertheless, the query, in its entirety, can hardly be adequately answered at present. The time is not far off, however, when it will be possible to say whether the measures decreed in the name of the dictatorial will of the Russian proletariat have taken root or—and this alternative is more probable—whether they have remained merely codified day-dreams.

Lithuania's Efforts Toward Autonomy

By A. M. Martus

IN the press of the United States on May 4, 1918, there appeared a notice that President Wilson had given audience to the Lithuanian delegation, recognizing the Lithuanians as a distinctively separate race having rights of self-determination.

At the time of the upheavals in Russia, during the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Lithuanians, irrespective of political affiliations, held a convention in their capital, Vilna, over 2,000 delegates participating, where they unanimously asserted their right of self-government; also expressing a strong desire to form one political body with their half-brothers, the Letts.

Again in October, 1917, a convention was held in Vilna with about 250 delegates from those parts of Lithuania occupied by German forces, to press their claim of independence for Lithuania. In January, 1918, representative Lithuanians assembled in the same city proclaimed independent Lithuania. Another convention of Lithuanian-representatives from Russia and from Lithuanian communities in the United States, England, and Argentina, held in the same month in Stockholm, Sweden, approved the act of their countrymen under German domination. On March 13 and 14 American Lithuanians held a convention in New York City, giving their unanimous approval to the proclaiming of an Independent Lithuanian Republic; here a unanimous resolution was passed protesting against any Polish aspirations or

claims to Lithuania, and demanding the inclusion of the Lithuanian part of East Prussia, with the old Lithuanian city of Karaliauchus (Königsberg,) in the Lithuanian Republic.

Lithuanians claim those parts of the neighboring provinces where their language is spoken and where the inhabitants consider themselves Lithuanians. They claim the eastern part of East Prussia—about 13,500 square miles, with 700,000 or 800,000 inhabitants—and parts of the provinces of Minsk and Vitebsk; thus the Lithuanian-Lettish Republic would stretch over 131,000 square miles and have a population of over 11,500,000, inhabiting five centres—Karaliauchus, (Königsberg,) Klaipeda, (Memel,) Libau, Windau, and Riga.

The country is very rich for agriculture, though it contains much undeveloped land, with many rivers, lakes, and large forests. Along the River Niemana in Druskeniki, Government of Goodns, and in Birchtany, Government of Vilna, there are salt springs of high healing qualities, but on account of a corrupt Russian Government they remain undeveloped and unexploited. The seabeach around Palanga, a little distance above Germany's border on the Baltic, could be turned into another Atlantic City, according to the opinion of experts, but the place remains neglected. Lithuania's soil is very rich in aluminium and in material for manufacturing glass. During my last visit to Lithuania, in 1914, the discovery of radium was reported in

BRITISH LEADERS ON LAND AND SEA



Gen. F. B. Maurice,
Formerly Director of Operations at
the British War Office, now
holding a high position abroad
(Press Illustrating Service)



Maj. Gen. S. C. Mewburn,
Canadian Minister of Militia and
Defense
(Press Illustrating Service)



Vice Admiral Roger Keyes,
Who directed the British attack on
Zeebrugge
(Central News)



Brig. Gen. Sandeman Carey,
Who stopped the gap in the British
line before Amiens
(© Underwood)



A new type of tank made for the French Army
(© Underwood)



First American tank just completed at Boston
(Paul Thompson)

the vicinity of the mineral springs at Birchtany, but the war came on very soon and nothing further was heard of it.

In March, 1918, Lithuanians demanded that Germany recognize their Provisional Government. The Teyvne of New York, official organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America, received the following from its correspondent in Russia, relayed from Yokohama, March 26:

In Lithuania there has been formed a Provisional Government consisting of the following: A. Smetona, Premier; P. Dovydailis, Minister of Education; J. Shaulys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Smilgevichus, Minister of Finances; M. Birzhishka, Minister of Justice; J. Vileishis, Minister of Public Works; D. Malinauskas, Minister of Public Safety. Dr. J. Shlupas, well known among American Lithuanians, has been appointed Envoy Plenipotentiary to the United States; J. Aukstuolis, President of the Lithuanian Committee in Stockholm, is made Ambassador to the Scandinavian countries; M. Ychas, member of the last Russian Duma, Ambassador to England and France; J. Gabrys, manager of the Lithuanian Information Bureau in Switzerland, Ambassador to the Central Powers. A national army is being organized. Lithuania's absolute neutrality was proclaimed. Drafted a political and economic treaty with Sweden.

Lithuanians fought in the Russian Army against the Germans, and now

large numbers of them are joining the military and naval forces of the United States to fight the common foe; some are already in the English Army. Lithuania has suffered not for her own faults, but because she was situated between two belligerents. In the Government of Suvalki the German and Russian Armies chased each other nine times backward and forward; one may imagine how much is left there. Nothing but excavations, trenches, heaps of ruins, crumbling chimneys indicate where previously were large and prosperous villages. The world is yet to hear more about German requisitions, German devastations, and German rapine in Lithuania. Not only forests were denuded, but even fruit trees on the farms were cut down and shipped to Germany. The remaining inhabitants are forced to raise crops for the invaders, and for their various products they must accept, under penalty, specially printed money for local use—money that Germans themselves would not accept.

Notwithstanding reports to the contrary, the Lithuanians were with the Allies all the time, and will stand by them to the end. They have faith that the Allies, when the proper time comes, will recognize their just claims.

Germany to Impose "War Burdens" on Lithuania

Emperor William on May 12, 1918, issued the following proclamation regarding Lithuania:

We, Wilhelm, by God's grace German Emperor, King of Prussia, &c., hereby make known that, whereas the Lithuanian Landsrat, as the recognized representative of the Lithuanian people, on Dec. 12 announced the restoration of Lithuania as an Independent State allied to the German Empire by an eternal, steadfast alliance, and by conventions chiefly regarding military matters, traffic, customs, and coinage, and solicited the help of the German Empire; and,

Whereas, further, Previous political connections in Lithuania are dissolved, we command our Imperial Chancellor to declare Lithuania on the basis of the aforementioned declarations of the Lithuanian Landsrat, in the name of the German Empire, as a free and independent State, and we are prepared to accord the Lithuanian State the solicited help and assistance in its restoration.

We assume that the conventions to be concluded will take the interests of the German Empire into account equally with those of Lithuania, and that Lithuania will participate in the war burdens of Germany, which secured her liberation.

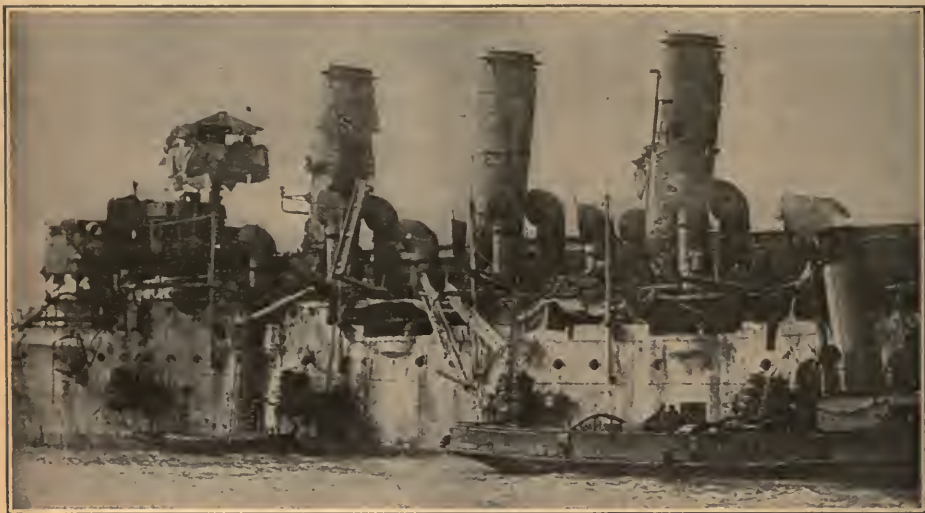
The Lithuanian National Council, with headquarters at Washington, replied to the foregoing proclamation on May 14 as follows:

The assumption that Lithuania "will participate in the war burdens of Germany" means a contribution of three things: Money, munitions, and men. The first we have not, as Germany has already impoverished us; the second, we have no means of supplying, because we lack the first. Therefore, Germany can have reference only to men. Men from a self-declared democracy to fight in the ranks of autocracy? Unthinkable. Lithuania would not consent. Are her citizens to be dragooned into the ranks of the Kaiser? This would be an abridgment

of the sovereignty which Germany has already recognized, for Chancellor von Hertling's reply stated, "We hereby recognize Lithuania as free and independent."

Germany knows that ultimate defeat is unavoidable, but she would compensate losses in the west with gains in the east, among which Lithuania is gambled on as

an asset. No recognition of Lithuanian independence can be sincere when coupled with the von Hertling terms, but if this sop will add to Prussian man power it may postpone somewhat the inevitable day of reckoning and give her more time to Germanize in the east with a view of confederating the new republics under Junker rule.



THE BRITISH CRUISER VINDICTIVE AS IT LOOKED AFTER THE FIGHT AT ZEEBRUGGE; LATER IT WAS SUNK IN THE HARBOR AT OSTEND TO BLOCK THE CHANNEL

The Raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend

British Naval Exploit That Damaged Two German
U-Boat Bases on the North Sea Coast

THE little Belgian port of Zeebrugge fell into German hands in the Autumn of 1914, and, with the neighboring port of Ostend, became a thorn in the side of the Entente by reason of its increasing use as a base for enemy destroyers, submarines, and aircraft. The Germans, having seized the shipbuilding plants at Antwerp, began building submarines and small war craft, which could be sent by way of Bruges down the canals that connect the latter city with Zeebrugge and Ostend. Especially useful to them was the maritime canal whose mouth at Zeebrugge was protected by a crescent-shaped mole, thirty feet high, inclosing the harbor.

On the night of April 22-23, 1918, a British naval expedition under Vice Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, commanding at Dover, aided by French destroyers, undertook to wreck the stone mole at Zeebrugge and to block the entrances to the canals both at Zeebrugge and at Ostend by sinking the hulks of old ships in the channels. The episode, marked as it was by heroic fighting, proved to be one of the most thrilling and picturesque in the naval operations of the war. To Americans it recalled Hobson's exploit with the Merrimac at Santiago, while to Englishmen it brought back memories of Sir Francis Drake and his fireships in the Harbor of Cadiz.

Though the fighting at Zeebrugge last-

ed only an hour, the British lost 588 men, officially reported as follows: Officers—Killed, 16; died of wounds, 3; missing, 2; wounded, 29. Men—Killed, 144; died of wounds, 25; missing, 14; wounded, 355.

Six obsolete British cruisers took part in the attack. They were the Brilliant, Iphigenia, Sirius, Intrepid, Thetis, and Vindictive. The first five of these were filled with concrete and were to be sunk in the entrances of the two ports. The Vindictive, working with the two Mersey ferryboats Daffodil and Iris, carried storming and demolition parties to the Zeebrugge mole. The object was to attack the enemy forces and guns on the mole, along with the destroyer and submarine depots and the large seaplane base upon it, and thus to divert the enemy's attention from the work of the block ships. As the attack on the mole accomplished this, the main object of the operation was successful.

The attacking forces were composed of bluejackets and Royal Marines picked from the Grand Fleet and from naval and marine depots. Sir Eric Geddes stated in Parliament the next morning that light forces belonging to the Dover command and Harwich forces under Admiral Tyrwhitte covered the operation from the south. A large force of monitors, together with many motor launches and small, fast craft took part. One of the essentials of success was the creation of a heavy veil of artificial fog or smoke. The officer who developed this phase of the attack was killed in action. The general plan was to attack the guns and works on the Zeebrugge mole with storming parties, while the concrete-laden cruisers were being sunk in the channel. Two old and valueless submarines filled with explosives were to be blown up against the viaduct connecting the mole with the shore.

STORY OF THE FIGHTING

A detailed narrative of the affair was issued by the British Admiralty on the 25th, the essential passages of which are as follows:

The night was overcast and there was a drifting haze. Down the coast a great searchlight swung its beam to and fro in the small wind and short sea. From the

Vindictive's bridge, as she headed in toward the mole, with the faithful ferryboats at her heels, there was scarcely a glimmer of light to be seen shoreward. Ahead, as she drove through the water, rolled the smoke screen, her cloak of invisibility, wrapped about her by small craft. This was the device of Wing Commander Brock, without which, acknowledges the Admiral in command, the operation could not have been conducted.

A northeast wind moved the volume of it shoreward ahead of the ships. Beyond it was the distant town, its defenders unsuspecting. It was not until the Vindictive, with bluejackets and marines standing ready for landing, was close upon the mole that the wind lulled and came away again from the southeast, sweeping back the smoke screen and laying her bare to eyes that looked seaward.

There was a moment immediately afterward when it seemed to those on the ships as if the dim, coast-hidden harbor exploded into light. A star shell soared aloft, then a score of star shells. The wavering beams of the searchlights swung around and settled into a glare. A wild fire of gun flashes leaped against the sky, strings of luminous green beads shot aloft, hung and sank. The darkness of the night was supplemented by a nightmare daylight of battle-fired guns and machine guns along the mole. The batteries ashore awoke to life.

Landing on the Mole

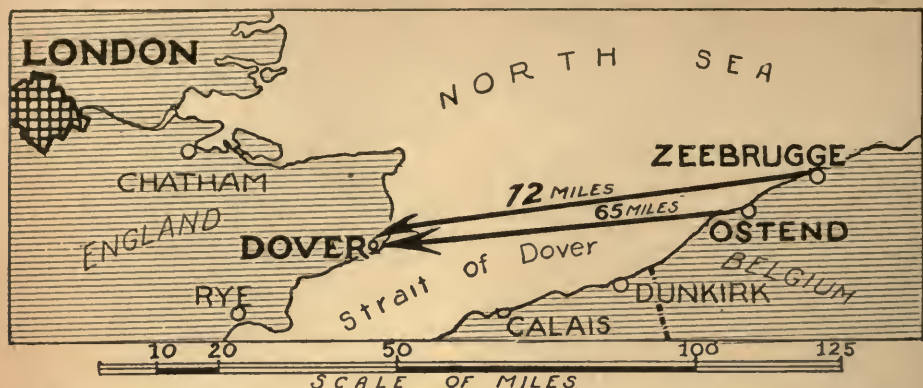
It was in a gale of shelling that the Vindictive laid her nose against the thirty-foot high concrete side of the mole, let go her anchor and signaled to the Daffodil to shove her stern in.

The Iris went ahead and endeavored to get alongside likewise. The fire was intense, while the ships plunged and rolled beside the mole in the seas, the Vindictive with her greater draught jarring against the foundations of the mole with every lunge. They were swept diagonally by machine-gun fire from both ends of the mole and by the heavy batteries on shore.

Commander (now Captain) Carpenter coned the Vindictive from the open bridge until her stern was laid in, when he took up his position in the flame thrower hut on the port side. It is marvelous that any occupant should have survived a minute in this hut, so riddled and shattered is it.

The officers of the Iris, which was in trouble ahead of the Vindictive, describe Captain Carpenter as handling her like a picket boat. The Vindictive was fitted along her port side with a high false deck, from which ran eighteen brows or gangways by which the storming and demolition parties were to land.

The men gathered in readiness on the



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF ZEEBRUGGE AND OSTEND TO THE ENGLISH COAST

main lower decks, while Colonel Elliott, who was to lead the marines, waited on the false deck just abaft the bridge. Captain Halahan, who commanded the blue-jackets, was amidships. The gangways were lowered, and they scraped and rebounded upon the high parapet of the mole as the *Vindictive* rolled in the sea-way.

The word for the assault had not yet been given when both leaders were killed, Colonel Elliott by a shell and Captain Halahan by machine-gun fire which swept the decks. The same shell that killed Colonel Elliott also did fearful execution in the forward Stokes mortar battery. The men were magnificent; every officer bears the same testimony.

The mere landing on the mole was a perilous business. It involved a passage across the crashing and splintering gangways, a drop over the parapet into the field of fire of the German machine guns which swept its length, and a further drop of some sixteen feet to the surface of the mole itself. Many were killed and more wounded as they crowded up the gangways, but nothing hindered the orderly and speedy landing by every gangway.

Lieutenant H. T. C. Walker had his arm shot away by shell on the upper deck, and lay in darkness while the storming parties trod him under. He was recognized and dragged aside by the commander. He raised his remaining arm in greetings. "Good luck to you," he called as the rest of the stormers hastened by. "Good luck."

The lower deck was a shambles as the commander made the rounds of the ship, yet those wounded and dying raised themselves to cheer as he made his tour. * * *

Heroic Work on the Iris

The *Iris* had troubles of her own. Her first attempts to make fast to the mole ahead of the *Vindictive* failed, as her

grapnels were not large enough to span the parapet. Two officers, Lieut. Commander Bradford and Lieutenant Hawkins, climbed ashore and sat astride the parapet trying to make the grapnels fast till each was killed and fell down between the ship and the wall. Commander Valentine Gibbs had both legs shot away and died next morning. Lieutenant Spencer, though wounded, took command and refused to be relieved.

The *Iris* was obliged at last to change her position and fall in astern of the *Vindictive*, and suffered very heavily from fire. A single big shell plunged through the upper deck and burst below at a point where fifty-six marines were waiting for the order to go to the gangways. Forty-nine were killed. The remaining seven were wounded. Another shell in the wardroom, which was serving as a sick bay, killed four officers and twenty-six men. Her total casualties were eight officers and sixty-nine men killed and three officers and 103 men wounded.

Storming and demolition parties upon the mole met with no resistance from the Germans other than intense and unrelenting fire. One after another buildings burst into flame or split and crumbled as dynamite went off. A bombing party working up toward the mole extension in search of the enemy destroyed several machine-gun emplacements, but not a single prisoner rewarded them. It appears that upon the approach of the ships and with the opening of fire the enemy simply retired and contented themselves with bringing machine guns to the short end of the mole.

BLOCKING THE CANAL

Describing operations of the three block ships, the official narrative says:

The *Thetis* came first, steaming into a tornado of shells from great batteries ashore. All her crew, save a remnant



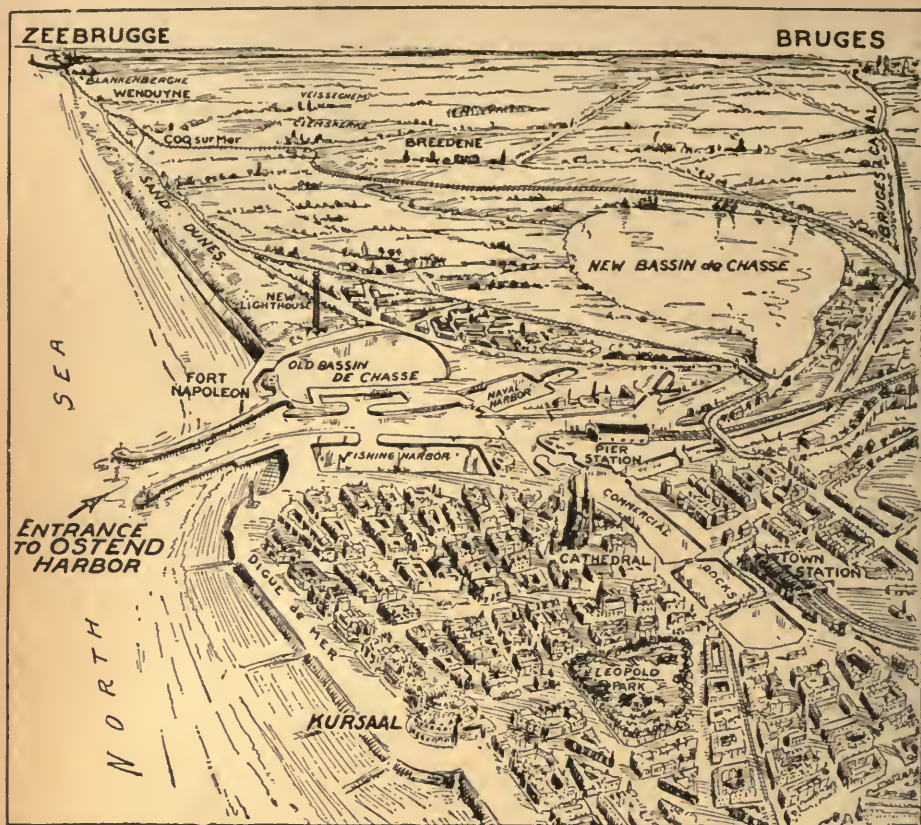
PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE FIGHT AT THE ZEEBRUGGE MOLE, THE BLOCKING OF THE BRUGES CANAL, AND THE LOCATION OF SUNKEN SHIPS

who remained to steam her in and sink her, already had been taken off her by a ubiquitous motor launch, but the remnant spared hands enough to keep her four guns going. It was hers to show the road to the Intrepid and the Iphigenia, which followed. She cleared a string of armed barges which defends the channel from the tip of the mole, but had the ill-fortune to foul one of her propellers upon a net defense which flanks it on the shore side.

The propeller gathered in the net, and it rendered her practically unmanageable. Shore batteries found her and pounded

her unremittingly. She bumped into the bank, edged off, and found herself in the channel again still some hundreds of yards from the mouth of the canal in practically a sinking condition. As she lay she signaled invaluable directions to others, and her commander, R. S. Sneyd, also accordingly blew charges and sank her. Motor launches under Lieutenant H. Littleton raced alongside and took off her crew. Her losses were five killed and five wounded.

The Intrepid, smoking like a volcano and with all her guns blazing, followed. Her motor launch had failed to get along-



PERSPECTIVE MAP OF OSTEND HARBOR, WITH ZEEBRUGGE IN THE DISTANCE

side outside the harbor, and she had men enough for anything. Straight into the canal she steered, her smoke blowing back from her into the Iphigenia's eyes, so that the latter was blinded, and, going a little wild, rammed a dredger, with her barge moored beside it, which lay at the western arm of the canal. She was not clear, though, and entered the canal pushing the barge before her. It was then that a shell hit the steam connections of her whistle, and the escape of steam which followed drove off some of the smoke and let her see what she was doing.

Main Object Attained

Lieutenant Stuart Bonham Carter, commanding the Intrepid, placed the nose of his ship neatly on the mud of the western bank, ordered his crew away, and blew up his ship by switches in the chart room. Four dull bumps were all that could be heard, and immediately afterward there arrived on deck the engineer, who had been in the engine room during the explosion, and reported that all was as it should be.

Lieutenant E. W. Bullyard Leake, commanding the Iphigenia, beached her according to arrangement on the eastern side, blew her up, saw her drop nicely across the canal, and left her with her engines still going, to hold her in position till she should have bedded well down on the bottom. According to the latest reports from air observation, two old ships, with their holds full of concrete, are lying across the canal in a V position, and it is probable that the work they set out to do has been accomplished and that the canal is effectively blocked. A motor launch, under Lieutenant P. T. Deane, had followed them in to bring away the crews and waited further up the canal toward the mouth against the western bank.

Lieutenant Bonham Carter, having sent away his boats, was reduced to a Carley float, an apparatus like an exaggerated lifebuoy with the floor of a grating. Upon contact with the water it ignited a calcium flare and he was adrift in the uncanny illumination with a German machine gun a few hundred yards away giving him its undivided attention. What

saved him was possibly the fact that the defunct Intrepid still was emitting huge clouds of smoke which it had been worth nobody's while to turn. He managed to catch a rope, as the motor launch started, and was towed for awhile till he was observed and taken on board.

THE VINDICTIVE'S STORY

Commander Alfred F. B. Carpenter, who commanded the Vindictive and who was made Captain for his successful work, gave an Associated Press correspondent an interesting description of the episode. During the attack he was at the end of the bridge in a small steel box or cabin which had been specially constructed to house a flame thrower. The Captain, with his arm in a sling, standing on the shell-battered deck of the Vindictive, said:

Exactly according to plan we ran alongside the mole, approached it on the port side, where we were equipped with specially built buffers of wood two feet wide. As there was nothing for us to tie up to, we merely dropped anchor there, while the Daffodil kept us against the mole with her nose against the opposite side of our ship. In the fairly heavy sea two of our three gangways were smashed, but the third held, and 500 men swarmed up this on to the mole. This gangway was two feet wide and thirty feet long. The men who went up it included 300 marines and 150 storming seamen from the Vindictive, and fifty or so from the Daffodil. They swarmed up the steel gangway, carrying hand grenades and Lewis guns. No Germans succeeded in approaching the gangway, but a hard hand-to-hand fight took place about 200 yards up the mole toward the shore.

The Vindictive's bow was pointed toward the shore, so the bridge got the full effect of enemy fire from the shore batteries. One shell exploded against the pilot house, killing nearly all its ten occupants. Another burst in the fighting top, killing a Lieutenant and eight men, who were doing excellent work with two pompoms and four machine guns.

The battery of eleven-inch guns at the end of the mole was only 300 yards away, and it kept trying to reach us. The shore batteries also were diligent. Only a few German shells hit our hull, because it was well protected by the wall of the mole, but the upper structure, mast, stacks, and ventilators showed above the wall and were riddled. A considerable proportion of our casualties were caused by splinters from these upper works.

Meanwhile the Daffodil continued to push us against the wall as if no battle

was on, and if she had failed to do this none of the members of the landing party would have been able to return to the ship.

Twenty-five minutes after the Vindictive had reached the wall the first block ship passed in and headed for the canal. Two others followed in leisurely fashion while we kept up the fight on the mole. One of the block ships stranded outside of the canal, but the two others got two or three hundred yards inside, where they were successfully sunk across the entrance.

Fifteen minutes after the Vindictive arrived alongside the mole our submarine exploded under the viaduct connecting the mole with the mainland. The Germans had sent a considerable force to this viaduct as soon as the submarine arrived, and these men were gathered on the viaduct, attacking our submersible with machine guns. When the explosion occurred the viaduct and Germans were blown up together. The crew of the submarine, consisting of six men, escaped on board a dinghy to a motor launch.

Early in the fighting a German shell knocked out our howitzer, which had been getting in some good shots on a big German seaplane station on the mole half a mile away. This is the largest seaplane station in Belgium. Unfortunately, our other guns could not be brought to bear effectively upon it. The shell which disabled the howitzer killed all the members of the gun crew. Many men were also killed by a German shell which hit the mole close to our ship and scattered fragments of steel and stone among the marines assembling on the deck around the gangway.

Half an hour after the block ships went in, we received the signal to withdraw. The Vindictive's siren was blown, and the men returned from all parts of the mole and thronged down the gangway. We put off after having lain alongside just about an hour. The Germans made no effort to interfere with our getaway other than to continue their heavy firing.

RESCUE FROM BLOCK SHIPS

One of the most thrilling incidents was the rescue by two American-built motor launches of nearly 200 members of the crews of two block ships sunk at the entrance to the Bruges Canal. The feat was accomplished under a heavy fire and the actual transfer was made in less than five minutes. One launch delivered ninety-nine men to the destroyer.

The dead and wounded could not all be brought away, but the loss of personnel in this way was declared to be remarkably small.

Stoker Bendall of the submarine which blew up the Zeebrugge mole said:

It was silent and heavy business. We were going full tilt when we hit the viaduct. It was a good jolt, and we ran right into the middle of the viaduct and stuck there, as we intended to do. I don't think anybody said anything except, "Well, we are here all right."

We lowered a skiff and stood by while the commander touched off the fuse and then tumbled into the skiff and pushed off. By bad luck the propeller fouled the exhaust pipe and left us with only two oars and two minutes to get away. The enemy lights were on us, and the machine guns were firing from the shore.

Before we made 200 yards the submarine went up, and there was a tremendous flash and roar, and lots of concrete from the mole fell around us. Luckily, we were not struck.

Photographs taken from an airplane a few days later showed that the effort to block the canal entrance had been successful. The *Intrepid* and *Iphigenia* had reached the precise positions in which they were intended to be sunk, while the exploded submarine had blown a gap of sixty to a hundred feet in the shore end of the mole. The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in commenting on the affair, said: "It would be foolish to deny that the British fleet scored a great success through a fantastically audacious stroke in penetrating into one of the most important strongholds over which the German flag floats."

ATTACKS AT OSTEND

At Ostend the operations on the same night were unsuccessful, largely owing to a shift of wind. Small craft with smoke apparatus ran in according to program, set up a screen, and lit two large flares to mark the entrance to the harbor for the two concrete-laden cruisers that were to be sunk in the channel. Before the cruisers could arrive, however, the wind shifted and blew away the smoke screen, after which the German gunfire quickly destroyed the flares. The cruisers tried to proceed by guesswork under heavy fire, but their efforts were in vain. One of the block ships was sunk, but not in a position to obstruct the channel.

A second attempt to close the Ostend

harbor was made on the night of May 9-10, when the battered old *Vindictive*, which had borne the brunt of the shell-fire at the Zeebrugge mole, was sunk in the channel with her inside full of concrete. A member of the expedition gave this account:

As the *Vindictive* neared Ostend it became apparent that the Germans had got wind of our presence, for suddenly there was a regular pyrotechnic display of star shells. The effect was brilliant, but quite undesirable from our point of view. Immediately guns of all sizes opened fire on us, and there was a terrific din.

The *Vindictive* and one or two other vessels received hits, and a few casualties were caused by this gunfire. The firing was heavily returned by our ships. Most of the crew of the *Vindictive* were taken off when the ship was at a little distance from the Ostend piers, only a few officers and men being left to navigate her between the piers and sink her there. A motor launch which was assisting in picking up the crew was hit several times by shellfire, and was in a sinking condition when it came alongside the Admiral's vessel, the destroyer *Warwick*, to which they were transferred. The motor launch had extensive damage in the fore part, and by order of the Admiral was sunk, as it was apparent that it could not get back to Dover. There was a heavy explosion when the *Vindictive* sank between the piers.

The casualties in the second Ostend raid were forty-seven, of whom eighteen were killed or missing, the rest wounded.

The British Admiralty, in its official report of the second Ostend action, issued May 14, stated that the *Vindictive* was "lying at an angle of about 40 degrees to the pier, and seemed to be hard fast." Commander Godsall, who was on deck during the critical moments, was missing and was believed to have been killed; Lieutenant Crutchley blew up the auxiliary charges in the forward 6-inch magazine from the conning tower. Lieut. Commander William A. Bury, who blew up the main charges by a switch installed aft, was severely wounded. The Admiralty reported that the sunken ship would make the harbor impracticable for any but small craft and difficult for dredging operations.

German U-Boat Claims

Address by Admiral von Capelle

German Naval Secretary

ADMIRAL VON CAPELLE, the German Secretary of the Navy, delivered an address before the Reichstag, April 17, 1918, in which he asserted that the submarine warfare of Germany was a success. In the course of his speech he said:

"The main question is, What do the western powers need for the carrying on of the war and the supply of their homelands, and what amount of tonnage is still at their disposal for that purpose? All statistical calculations regarding tonnage are today almost superfluous, as the visible successes of the U-boat war speak clearly enough. The robbery of Dutch tonnage, by which the Anglo-Saxons have incurred odium of the worst kind for decades to come, is the best proof of how far the shipping shortage has already been felt by our opponents. In addition to the sinkings there must be added a great amount of wear and tear of ships and an enormous increase of marine accidents, which Sir J. Ellerman, speaking in the Chamber of Shipping recently, calculated at three times the peace losses. Will the position of the western powers improve or deteriorate? That depends upon their military achievements and the replacing of sunken ships by new construction."

Dealing briefly with Sir Eric Geddes's recent speech on the occasion of the debate on the naval estimates, Admiral von Capelle declared:

"The assertion of the First Lord of the Admiralty that an unwillingness to put to sea prevailed among the German U-boat crews is a base calumny."

LOSSES AND CONSTRUCTION

As regards the assertions of British statesmen concerning the extraordinarily great losses of U-boats, Admiral von Capelle said:

"The statements in the foreign press are very greatly exaggerated. Now, as

before, our new construction surpasses our losses. The number of U-boats, both from the point of view of quality and quantity, is constantly rising. We can also continue absolutely to reckon on our military achievements hitherto attained. Whether Lloyd George can continue the naval war with prospects of success depends, not upon his will but upon the position of the U-boats as against shipbuilding. According to Lloyd's Register, something over 22,000,000 gross register tons were built in the last ten years before the war in the whole world—that is, inclusive of the construction of ourselves, our allies, and foreign countries. The entire output today can in no case be more, for difficulties of all kinds and the shortage of workmen and material have grown during the war. In the last ten years—that is, in peace time—800,000 gross register tons of the world's shipping was destroyed annually by natural causes. Now in wartime the losses, as already mentioned, are considerably greater. Thus, 1,400,000 gross register tons was the annual net increase for the entire world. That gives, at any rate, a standard for the present position. America's and Japan's new construction is to a certain extent destined for the necessities of these countries.

"In the main, therefore, only the figures of British shipbuilding come into question. About the middle of 1917 there was talk of 3,000,000 tons in official quarters in Great Britain. Then Lloyd George dropped to 2,000,000, and now, according to Bonar Law's statement, the output is 1,160,000 tons. As against, therefore, about 100,000 tons monthly put into service there are sinkings amounting to 600,000 tons, or six times as much. In brief, if the figures given are regarded as too favorable and new construction at the rate of 150,000 tons monthly—that is, 50 per cent. higher—be assumed, and the sinkings be reduced to 450,000 tons, then the sinkings

are still three times as large as the amount of new construction.

THE COMING MONTHS

"One other thing must especially be taken into consideration for the coming months. Today every ship sunk strikes at the vital nerve of our opponents. Today, when only the absolutely necessary cargoes of foodstuffs and war necessities can still be transported, the sinking of even one small ship has quite a different significance as compared with the beginning of the U-boat war. Moreover, the loss of one ship means a falling out of four to five cargoes. In these circumstances even the greatest pessimist must say that the position of our opponents is deteriorating in a considerably increasing extent and with rapid strides, and that any doubt regarding the final success of the U-boat war is unjustified."

Replying to a question of the reporter, Admiral von Capelle said:

"Our opponents have been busily endeavoring to strengthen their anti-submarine measures by all the means at their disposal, and, naturally, they have attained a certain success. But they have at no time had any decisive influence on the U-boat war, and, according to human reckoning, they will not do so in the future. The American submarine destroyers which have been so much talked about have failed. The convoy system, which, it is true, offers ships a certain measure of protection, has, on the other hand, also the great disadvantage of reducing their transport capabilities. The statements oscillate from 25 to 60 per cent.

"For the rest, our commanders are specially trained for attacks on convoys, and no day goes by when one or more ships are not struck out of convoys. Experienced commanders manage to sink three to four ships in succession belonging to the same convoy."

THE STEEL QUESTION

Admiral von Capelle then dealt with the steel question as regards shipbuilding, which, he said, "is practically the determinative factor for shipbuilding." He continued:

"Great Britain's steel imports in 1916 amounted to 763,000 tons, and in 1917 only amounted to 497,000 tons. That means that already a reduction of 37 per cent. has been effected, a reduction which will presumably be further considerably increased during 1918. Restriction of imports of ore from other countries, such as America, caused by the U-boat war will also have a hampering effect on shipbuilding in Great Britain. It is true that Sir Eric Geddes denied that there was a lack of material, but expert circles in England give the scarcity of steel as the main reason for the small shipbuilding output.

"American help in men and airplanes and American participation in the war are comparatively small. If later on America wants to maintain 500,000 troops in France, shipping to the amount of about 2,000,000 tons would be permanently needed. This shipping would have to be withdrawn from the supply service of the Allies.

"Moreover, according to statements made in the United States and Great Britain, the intervention in the present campaign of such a big army no longer comes into consideration. After America's entry into the war material help for the Entente has not only not increased, but has even decreased considerably. President Wilson's gigantic armament program has brought about such economic difficulties that America, the export country, must now begin to ration instead of, as it was hoped, increasingly to help the Entente. To sum up, it can be stated that the economic difficulties of our enemies have been increased by America's entry into the war."

"ENGLAND'S DANGER POINT"

Later in the debate Admiral von Capelle said: "The salient point of the discussion is the economic internal and political results of the U-boat war during the coming months. The danger point for England has already been reached, and the situation of the western powers grows worse from day to day."

Admiral von Capelle then briefly dealt with that calculation of the world tonnage made by a Deputy which received

some attention in the Summer of last year. "This calculation," he said, "shows a difference of 9,000,000 tons from the calculation of the Admiralty Staff. In my opinion, the calculation of the Admiralty Staff is correct. Whence otherwise comes the Entente's lack of tonnage, which, in view of the facts, cannot be argued away? The Admiralty Staff in its calculation adapted itself to the fluctuating situation of the world shipping. At first each of the enemy States looked after itself. Later, under Great Britain's leadership, common control of tonnage was established."

Admiral von Capelle quoted the calculation of the American Shipping Department, according to which the world tonnage in the Autumn of 1917 amounted to 32,000,000, of which 21,000,000 were given as transoceanic. He insisted, however, that so much attention must not be paid to all these calculations, but exhorted the people rather to dwell on the joyful fact that the danger point for the western powers had been reached.

At the close of the sitting Admiral von Capelle stated that all orders for the construction of U-boats had been given independently by the Naval Department and that the Naval Administration had never been instructed to give orders for more U-boats by the Chancellor or the Supreme Army Command. Every possible means, he said, for the development of U-boat warfare had been done by the Naval Department.

Admiral von Capelle in a supple-

mental statement before the Reichstag, May 11, in discussing the naval estimates, said:

The reports for April are favorable. Naturally, losses occur, but the main thing is that the increase in submarines exceeds the losses. Our naval offensive is stronger today than at the beginning of unrestricted submarine warfare. That gives us an assured prospect of final success.

The submarine war is developing more and more into a struggle between U-boat action and new construction of ships. Thus far the monthly figures of destruction have continued to be several times as large as those of new construction. Even the British Ministry and the entire British press admit that.

The latest appeal to British shipyard workers appears to be especially significant. For the present the appeal does not appear to have had great success. According to the latest statements British shipbuilding fell from 192,000 tons in March to 112,000 in April; or, reckoned in ships, from 32 to 22. That means a decline of 80,000 tons, or about 40 per cent. [The British Admiralty stated that the April new tonnage was reduced on account of the vast amount of repairing to merchantmen.—Editor.]

America thus far has built little, and has fallen far below expectations. Even if an increase is to be reckoned with in the future, it will be used up completely by America herself.

In addition to the sinkings by U-boats, there is a large decline in cargo space owing to marine losses and to ships becoming unserviceable. One of the best-known big British ship owners declared at a meeting of shipping men that the losses of the British merchant fleet through marine accidents, owing to conditions created by the war, were three times as large as in peace.

The Admiral's Statements Attacked

The British authorities asserted that Admiral von Capelle's figures were misleading and untrue. The losses published in the White Paper include marine risk and all losses by enemy action. They include all losses, and not merely the losses of food ships, as suggested in the German wireless message dated April 16. Even in the figures of the world's output of shipbuilding von Capelle seems to have been misled. He states that "something over 2,000,000 gross tons were built annually in the last ten years,

including allied and enemy countries." The actual figures are 2,530,351 gross tons. He further states that the entire output today can in no case be more, owing to difficulties in regard to labor and material. The actual world's output, as shown in the Parliamentary White Paper, excluding enemy countries, amounted to 2,703,000 gross tons, and the output is rapidly rising. Von Capelle tried to raise confusion with regard to the figures 3,000,000 and 2,000,000 tons and the actual output for 1917.

The Admiralty says no forecast was ever given that 3,000,000 tons, or even 2,000,000 tons, would be completed in that year. Three million tons is the ultimate rate of production, which, as the First Lord stated in the House of Commons, is well within the present and prospective capacity of United Kingdom shipyards and marine engineering works. The exaggerated figures of losses are still relied on by the enemy. The average loss per month of British ships during 1917, including marine risk, was 333,000 gross tons, whereas Secretary von Capelle in his statement bases his argument on an average loss from submarine attacks alone of 600,000 tons per month. The figures for the quarter ended March 31, 1918, showed British losses to be 687,576 tons, and for the month of March 216,003 tons, the lowest during any month, with one exception, since January, 1917. With regard to steel, the First Lord has already assured the House of Commons that arrangements have been made for the supply of steel to give the output aimed at, and at the present time the shipyards are in every case fully supplied with the material.

The American production of new tonnage reached its stride in May, and the estimate of over 4,000,000 tons per annum was regarded as conservative. It was estimated that the total British and American new tonnage in the year ending May, 1919, would exceed 6,000,000, as against total U-boat sinkings, based on the record of the first quarter of 1918, of 4,500,000.

The Month's Submarine Record

The British Admiralty, in April, 1918, discontinued its weekly report of merchant ships destroyed by submarines or mines, and announced that it would publish a monthly report in terms of tonnage. These figures are shown in the table above. The last weekly report was for the period ended April 14, and showed that eleven merchantmen over 1,600 tons, four under 1,600 tons, and one fishing vessel had been sunk.

In regard to the sinkings in April,

OFFICIAL RETURNS OF LOSSES

The following was the official report of losses of British, allied, and neutral merchant tonnage due to enemy action and marine risk:

Period.	Allied		
	British.	and Neutral.	Total.
1917.	Month.	Month.	Month.
January	193,045	216,787	409,832
February	343,486	231,370	574,856
March	375,309	259,376	634,685
Quarter....	911,840	707,533	1,619,373
April	555,056	338,821	893,877
May	374,419	255,917	630,336
June	432,395	280,326	712,721
Quarter....	1,361,870	875,064	2,236,934
July	383,430	192,519	575,949
August	360,296	189,067	549,363
September	209,212	159,949	369,161
Quarter....	952,938	541,535	1,494,473
October	289,973	197,364	487,337
November	196,560	136,883	333,443
December	296,356	155,707	452,063
Quarter....	782,889	489,954	1,272,843
1918.			
January	217,270	136,187	353,457
February	254,303	134,119	388,422
March	216,003	165,628	381,631
Quarter....	687,576	435,934	1,123,510

The Secretary of the Ministry of Shipping stated that the tonnage of steamships of 500 gross tons and over entering and clearing United Kingdom ports from and to ports overseas was as under:

Period.	Gross Tons.	Period.	Gross Tons.
1917.		1918.	
October.....	6,908,189	January.....	6,336,663
November....	6,818,564	February.....	6,326,965
December....	6,663,413	March.....	7,295,620

This statement embraces all United Kingdom seaborne traffic other than coastwise and cross Channel.

French official figures showed that the total losses of allied and neutral ships, including those from accidents at sea during the month, aggregated 381,631 tons.

Norway's losses from the beginning of the war to the end of April, 1918, amounted to 755 vessels, aggregating 1,115,519 tons, and the lives of 1,006 seamen, in addition to about 700 men on fifty-three vessels missing, two-thirds of which were declared to be war losses.

The American steamship Lake Moor,

manned by naval reserves, was sunk by a German submarine in European waters about midnight on April 11, with a loss of five officers and thirty-nine men. Five officers and twelve enlisted men were landed at an English port. Eleven men, including five navy gunners, were lost when the Old Dominion liner Tyler was sunk off the French coast on May 3. The Canadian Pacific Company's steamer Medora also was sunk off the French coast. The Florence H. was wrecked in a French port by an internal explosion on the night of April 17. Out of the crew of fifty-six men, twenty-nine were listed as dead or missing, twelve were sent to hospital badly burned, two were slightly injured, and only thirteen escaped injury. Of the twenty-three men of the naval guard only six were reported as survivors.

Six officers and thirteen men were reported missing as the result of two naval disasters reported on May 1 by the British Admiralty. They formed part of the crews of the sloop Cowslip, which was torpedoed and sunk on April 25, and of Torpedo Boat 90, which foundered.

According to Archibald Hurd, a British authority on naval matters, the area in the North Sea which was proclaimed by the British Government as dangerous to shipping and therefore prohibited after May 15 is the greatest mine field ever laid for the special purpose of foiling submarines. It embraces 121,782 square miles, the base forming a line between Norway and Scotland, and the peak extending northward into the Arctic Circle.

A Secret Chapter of U-Boat History

How Ruthless Policy Was Adopted

The causes that led to Germany's adoption of the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare on Feb. 1, 1917, were revealed a year later by the Handelsblad, an Amsterdam newspaper, whose correspondent had secured secret access to "a number of highly interesting and important documents" long enough to read them and make notes of their contents. The Dutch paper vouched for the accuracy of the following information:

AT the close of the year 1915 the German Admiralty Staff prepared a semi-official memorandum to prove that an unrestricted submarine campaign would compel Great Britain to sue for peace "in six months at the most." The character of the argument conveys the impression that the chiefs of the German Admiralty Staff had already made up their minds to adopt the most drastic measures in regard to submarine warfare, but that they wished to convince the Kaiser, the Imperial Chancellor, and the German diplomatists of the certainty of good results on economic and general, rather than merely military, grounds. To this end the memorandum based its arguments on statistics of food prices, freight, and insurance rates in Great Britain. It pointed out that the effects on the prices of es-

sential commodities, on the balance of trade, and, above all, on the morale of the chief enemy, had been such, even with the restricted submarine campaign of 1915, that, if an unrestricted submarine war were decided upon, England could not possibly hold out for more than a short period.

The memorandum was submitted to the Imperial Chancellor, who passed it on to Dr. Helfferich, the Secretary of State for Finance. He, however, rejected the document on the ground that, in the absence of authentic estimates of stocks, it was impossible to set a time-limit to England's staying power, and also that he was exceedingly doubtful as to what line would be taken by neutrals, especially the United States. Dr. Helfferich maintained that so desperate a remedy should only be employed as a

last resource. The authors of the memorandum then sent a reply, in which they developed their former arguments, and pointed to the gravity of the internal situation in Germany. They emphasized the importance of using the nearest and sharpest weapons of offense if a national collapse was to be avoided. They reinforced their argument by adducing the evidence of ten experts, representing finance, commerce, the mining industry, and agriculture. They were Herr Walde-mar Müller, the President of the Dresdner Bank; Dr. Salomonsohn of the Disconto Gesellschaft; Dr. Paul Reusch of Oberhausen, Royal Prussian Councilor of Commerce; Dr. Springorum of Dortmund, Chancellor of Commerce, member of the Prussian Upper House, (Herren Haus,) General Director of Railways and Tramways at Hoesch, an ironmaster, and a great expert in railways; Herr Max Schinkel of Hamburg, President of the Norddeutsche Bank in Hamburg and of the Disconto Gesellschaft in Berlin; Herr Zuckschwerdt of Magdeburg, Councilor of Commerce, late member of the Prussian Upper House; Herr Wilhelm von Finck of Munich, Privy Councilor, chief of the banking house of Merck, Finck & Co., Munich; Councilor of Economics R. Schmidt of Platzhof, member of the Württemberg Upper Chamber and of the German Agricultural Council; Herr Engelhard of Mannheim, Councilor of Commerce, President of the Chamber of Commerce and member of the Baden Upper Chamber.

These experts were invited to send answers in writing to the three following questions: (1) What would be the effect on England of unrestricted submarine warfare? (2) What would be its effect on Germany's relations with the United States and other neutrals? (3) To what extent does the internal situation in Germany demand the use of this drastic weapon?

The reader will do well to remember that the replies were written in February, 1916—nearly two years ago. All agreed on the first point—the effect on Great Britain. The effect of unrestricted submarine warfare on England would be that she would have to sue for

peace in six months at the most. Herr Müller, who seemed to be in a position to confirm the statistics given in the memorandum, pointed out that the supply of indispensable foodstuffs was, at the time of writing, less than the normal supply in peace time. He held that the submarine war, if relentlessly and vigorously pursued, would accomplish its purpose in less time than calculated in the memorandum—in fact, three months should do it. Dr. Salomonsohn also thought that six months was an excessive estimate, and that less time would suffice.

On the question of the effect on neutrals the experts were divided. Dr. Reusch suggested that the neutrals despised the restricted submarine warfare of 1915, and held that every ship in British waters, whether enemy or neutral, should be torpedoed without warning. According to him, the world only respects those who, in a great crisis, know how to make the most unscrupulous use of their power.

Herr Müller predicted that ruthless submarine war would cause a wholesale flight of neutrals from the war zone. Their newspapers might abuse Germany at first, but they would soon get tired. The danger was from the United States, but that would become less in proportion as Germany operated more decisively and ruthlessly. Dr. Salomonsohn adopted the same attitude. He recognized the possibility of war with the United States, but was loath to throw away so desirable a weapon on that account.

As to the third point, all the experts agreed that the internal situation in Germany demanded that the most drastic methods of submarine warfare should be employed. Herr Zuckschwerdt urged the advisability of the most drastic measures owing to the feeling of the nation. The nation would stand by the Government, but not if it yielded to threats from America. Such weakness would lead to serious consequences. Herr Schmidt admitted the possibility of Germany not being able to hold out, and emphasized the importance of taking drastic steps before disorder and unrest arose in the agricultural districts.

Sea-Raider Wolf and Its Victims

Story of Its Operations

A third chapter of sea-raider history similar to those of the Möwe and Seeadler was revealed when the Spanish steamship Igotz Mendi, navigated by a German prize crew, ran aground on the Danish coast, Feb. 24, 1918, while trying to reach the Kiel Canal with a cargo of prisoners and booty. The next day the German Government announced that the sea-raider Wolf, which had captured the Igotz Mendi and ten other merchant vessels, with 400 prisoners, had successfully returned after fifteen months in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. The story of the Wolf's operations, as gleaned by Danish and English correspondents from the narratives of released prisoners, is told below. Some of the most interesting passages were furnished by Australian medical officers who had been captured on the British steamer Matunga:

THE Wolf, a vessel of about 6,000 gross tonnage, armed with several guns and torpedo tubes, carried a seaplane, known as the Wolfchen, which was frequently used in the operations of the sea raider. On some days the seaplane made as many as three flights. The Wolf, apparently, proceeded from Germany to the Indian Ocean, laying minefields off the Cape, Bombay, and Colombo. Early in February, 1917, she captured the British steamship Turrutella, taking off all the officers and putting on board a prize crew which worked the vessel with her own men. In every case of capture, when the vessel was not sunk at once, this procedure was adopted.

The Wolf transferred a number of mines to the Turrutella, with instructions that they should be laid off Aden. A few days later the Turrutella encountered a British warship, whereupon the prize crew, numbering twenty-seven, sank the Turrutella, and were themselves taken prisoner.

Three weeks later the Wolf overhauled the British steamer Jumna. The Wolf thought that the British vessel was about to ram her, and the port after-gun was fired before it was properly trained, killing five of the raider's crew and wounding about twenty-three others. The Jumna remained with the Wolf for several days, after which her coal and stores were transferred to the raider, and she was sunk with bombs. The next vessels to be captured and sunk were

the British steamships Wordsworth and Dee.

Early in June the Wolf, while at anchor under the lee of an island in the Pacific, sighted the British steamship Wairuna, bound from Auckland, N. Z., to San Francisco with coal, Kauri gum, pelts, and copra. The Wolf sent over the seaplane which, flying low, dropped a canvas bag on the Wairuna's deck, containing the message, "Stop immediately; take orders from German cruiser. Do not use your wireless or I will bomb you." The Wairuna eased down, but did not stop until the seaplane dropped a bomb just ahead of her. By this time the Wolf had weighed anchor and proceeded to head off the Wairuna. A prize crew was put on board with orders to bring the ship under the lee of the island and anchor. All the officers, except the master, were sent on board the Wolf. The following day possibly a thousand tons of cargo were transferred.

CAPTURE OF THE MATUNGA

While the two vessels were anchored, the chief officer and second engineer of the Turrutella let themselves over the side of the Wolf with the intention of swimming ashore. Later, the Wairuna was taken out and sunk by gunfire, the bombs which had been placed on board having failed to accomplish their purpose. The next captures were the American vessels, Winslow, Beluga, and Encore, which were either burned or sunk.

For nearly a week following this the Wolf hove to, sending the seaplane up several times each day for scouting purposes. Apparently she had picked up some information by her wireless apparatus and was on the lookout for a vessel. On the third day the Wolfchen went up three times, and, on returning from its last flight, dropped lights. Early the next morning none of the prisoners was allowed on deck. A gun was fired by the Wolf, and it was afterward found that it was to stop the British steamer Matunga, with general cargo and passengers, including a number of military officers and men.

BETRAYED BY WIRELESS

It was on the morning of Aug. 5, when the Matunga was nearing the coast of the territory formerly known as German New Guinea, that she fell in with the Wolf, which was mistaken for an ordinary tramp steamer, as the two vessels ran parallel to each other for about two miles. Then the Wolf suddenly revealed her true character by running up the German flag, dropping a portion of her forward bulwarks, exposing the muzzles of her guns, and firing a shot across the bows of the Matunga. At the same time the Wolf sent a seaplane to circle over the Matunga at a low altitude for the obvious purpose of ascertaining whether the latter was armed. Apparently satisfied with the seaplane's report, the German Captain sent a prize crew, armed with bayonets and pistols, to take possession of the British ship. Before their arrival, however, all the Matunga's code books, log books, and other papers were thrown overboard. During the time the prize crew, all of whom spoke English well, were overhauling the Matunga, it was learned that the Germans had been lying in wait for her for five days, as they had somehow learned that she was carrying 500 tons of coal, which they needed badly, and that the German wireless operator had been following her course from the time of her departure from Sydney toward the end of July.

The two ships, now both under German command, proceeded together to a

very secluded natural harbor on the north coast of Dutch New Guinea, the entrance to which was watched by two German guard boats, while a wireless plant was set up on a neighboring hill and the Wolf's seaplane patrolled the sea around for about 100 miles on the lookout for any threatened danger. The two ships remained in the Dutch harbor for nearly a fortnight, during which time the Wolf was careened and her hull scraped of barnacles and weeds in the most thorough and methodical manner, after which the coal was transferred from the Matunga's bunkers. The latter vessel was then taken ten miles out to sea, where everything lying loose was thrown into the hold and the hatches battened down to obviate the possibility of any floating wreckage remaining after she was sunk. Bombs were then placed on board and exploded, and the Matunga went down in five or six minutes without leaving a trace.

Before the Matunga was sunk all her crew and passengers were transferred to the Wolf, which then pursued a zigzag course across the Pacific Ocean and through the China Sea to the vicinity of Singapore, where she sowed her last remaining mines. According to stories told by the crew, they had sown most of their mines off Cape Town, Bombay, Colombo, the Australian coast, and in the Tasman Sea, between Australia and New Zealand. They also boasted that on one occasion, when off the coast of New South Wales, their seaplane made an early morning expedition over Sydney Harbor (the headquarters of the British Navy in the Pacific) and noted the disposition of the shipping in that port. They also claimed that the seaplane was the means of saving the Wolf from capture off the Australian coast on one occasion, when she was successful in sighting a warship in sufficient time to enable the Wolf to make good her escape.

A week or more was spent by the Wolf in the China Sea and off Singapore, whence she worked her way to the Indian Ocean for the supposed purpose of picking up wireless instructions from Berlin and Constantinople.

On Sept. 26, while still dodging about



An American regiment marching through a French village
(*American Official Photograph*)



American troops, with full equipment, on parade in London
(© *Western Newspaper Union*)



A French château shelled by the Germans after they had been driven
from the village by Canadians
(© Western Newspaper Union)

in the Indian Ocean, the Wolf met and captured a Japanese ship, the Hitachi-maru, with thirty passengers, a crew of about 100, and a valuable cargo of silk, copper, rubber, and other goods, for Colombo. During the previous day the Germans had been boasting that they were about to take a big prize, and it afterward transpired that they based their anticipations on the terms of a wireless message which they had intercepted on that day. When first called upon by signal to stop, the Japanese commander took no notice of the order, and held on his way even after a shot had been fired across his ship's bow. Thereupon the Wolf deliberately shelled her, destroying the wireless apparatus, which had been sending out S O S signals, and killing several members of the crew. While the shelling was going on, a rush was made by the Japanese to lower the boats, and a number of both crew and passengers jumped into the sea to escape the gunfire. The Germans afterward admitted to the slaughter of fifteen, but the Matunga people assert that the death roll must have been much heavier. The steamer's funnels were shot away, the poop was riddled with shot, and the decks were like a shambles. All this time the Wolf's seaplane hovered over the Japanese ship ready to drop bombs upon her and sink her in the event of any hostile ship coming in sight.

After transferring the passengers and crew and as much of the cargo as they could conveniently remove from the Hitachi-maru to the Wolf, her decks were cleared of the wreckage their gunfire had caused, and a prize crew was put in charge of her with a view of taking her to Germany. Some weeks later, however, that intention was abandoned for reasons known only to the Germans themselves, and on Nov. 5 the Hitachi-maru was sunk.

IGOTZ MENDI TAKEN

The Wolf then proceeded on her voyage, and on Nov. 10 captured the Spanish steamship Igotz Mendi, with a cargo of 5,500 tons of coal, of which the Wolf was in sore need. The raider returned with this steamer to the island

off which the Hitchi-maru had been sunk, and one evening all the married people, a few neutrals and others, and some sick men were transferred from the Wolf to the Igotz Mendi. The raider took aboard a large quantity of coal, and, after the Spanish vessel had been painted gray, the two vessels parted company. The Wolf reappeared on several occasions and reported that she had captured and sunk the American sailing vessel John H. Kirby and the French sailing vessel Maréchal Davout. On Boxing Day the Wolf attempted to coal from the Igotz Mendi in mid-Atlantic, but, owing to a heavy swell, the vessels bumped badly. It was afterward stated that the Wolf had been so badly damaged that she was making water.

A few days later two large steamships were sighted, and both the Wolf and the Igotz Mendi hastily made preparations to escape. The officers and crew changed their clothes to ordinary seamen's attire, packed up their kitbags, and sent all the prisoners below.

Among the latter was the first officer of the Spanish ship, who saw a German lay a number of bombs between the decks of the Igotz Mendi ready to be exploded if it became necessary to sink that ship with all her prisoners while the Wolf looked after her own safety. These bombs were temporarily left in the charge of the German wireless operator to whom the Spanish officer found an opportunity of communicating a message to the effect that he was wanted immediately on the bridge. The ruse was successful, for the operator promptly obeyed the instruction, and in his temporary absence all the bombs were thrown overboard. The German commander, Lieutenant Rose, was furious. He held an investigation next day and asked each prisoner if he knew anything about the bombs. When the Spanish Chief Officer's turn came he answered:

"Yes; I threw them overboard. I'll tell you why. It was not for me, Captain Rose, but for the women and little children. I am not afraid of you. You can shoot me if you want to, but you can't drown the little children."

Rose confined him to his room, and the next time the Igotz Mendi met the Wolf, Commander Nerger sentenced him to three years in a German military prison.

Coaling having finished, the vessels proceeded north in company. During the first week of January the Wolf sank the Norwegian bark Storkbror, on the ground that the vessel had been British-owned before the war. This was the Wolf's last prize. The last time the two raiders were together was on Feb. 6, when the Wolf was supplied with coal and other requirements from the Igotz Mendi. Thereafter, each pursued her own course to Germany.

RAIDER MEETS DISASTER

About Feb. 7 the Igotz Mendi crossed the Arctic Circle, and, encountering much ice, was forced back. Two attempts were made at the Northern Passage, but as the ship was bumping badly against the ice floes a course was shaped between Iceland and the Faroes for the Norwegian coast. On the night of the 18th a wireless from Berlin announced that the Wolf had arrived safely. At 3:30 P. M. on Feb. 24 the Igotz Mendi ran aground near the Skaw, having mistaken the lighthouse for the lightship in the foggy weather. Three hours later a boat came off from the shore. The Igotz Mendi was boarded at 8 o'clock by the commander

of a Danish gunboat, who discovered the true character of the ship, which the Germans were endeavoring to conceal.

Next day twenty-two persons, including nine women, two children, and two Americans, were landed in lifeboats and were cared for by the British Consul. Many of them had suffered from inadequate nourishment in the last five weeks. There had been an epidemic of beri-beri and scurvy on board the vessel.

The Danish authorities interned the German commander of the Igotz Mendi. The German prize crew refused to leave the ship.

The Berlin authorities on Feb. 25, 1918, issued an official announcement containing these statements:

The auxiliary cruiser Wolf has returned home after fifteen months in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans. The Kaiser has telegraphed his welcome to the commander and conferred the Order Pour le Mérite, together with a number of iron crosses, on the officers and crew. The Wolf was commanded by Frigate Captain Nerger and inflicted the greatest damage on the enemy's shipping by the destruction of cargo space and cargo. She brought home more than four hundred members of crews of sunken ships of various nationalities, especially numerous colored and white British soldiers, besides several guns captured from armed steamers and great quantities of valuable raw materials, including rubber, copper, brass, zinc, cocoa beans, copra, &c., to the value of many million marks.

Career and Fate of the Raider Seeadler

A German Adventure in the Pacific

Fitted out as a motor schooner under command of Count von Luckner, with a crew of sixty-eight men, half of whom spoke Norwegian, the German commerce raider Seeadler (Sea Eagle) slipped out from Bremerhaven in December, 1916, encountered a British cruiser, passed inspection, and later proceeded, with the aid of two four-inch guns that had been hidden under a cargo of lumber, to capture and destroy thirteen merchant vessels in the Atlantic before rounding the Horn into the Pacific and there sinking three American schooners before meeting a picturesque fate in the South Sea Islands. The narrative of the Seeadler's career as here told by CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is believed to be the most complete yet published.

ON Christmas Day, 1916, the British patrol vessel Highland Scot met and hailed a sailing vessel which declared itself without ceremony to be the three-masted Norwegian schooner Irma, bound from Christiania to Sydney

with a cargo of lumber. As nothing was more natural, the vessel was allowed to pass, and soon disappeared on the horizon.

A few days later, in the Atlantic, running before a northerly gale, this neat-

looking, long-distance freighter threw its deck load of planks and beams into the ocean, brought from their hiding places two four-inch guns, six machine guns, two gasoline launches, and a motor powerful enough to propel the vessel without the use of sails on occasion. Then a wireless dispatch sent in cipher from aerals concealed in the rigging announced that the German raider Seeadler was ready for business. On the bow the legend, "Irma, Christiania," and at the masthead the flag of Norway remained to lure the raider's victims to destruction.

The Seeadler had formerly been the American ship *Pass* of Balmaha, 2,800 tons, belonging to the Boston Lumber Company. In August, 1915, while on its way from New York to Archangel, it was captured by a German submarine and sent to Bremen, where it was fitted out as a raider. Under the name of the Seeadler it left Bremerhaven on Dec. 21, 1916, in company with the *Möwe*, ran the British blockade by the ruse indicated above, and began its career of destruction on two oceans. While the *Möwe* waylaid its twenty-two victims along the African coast, the Seeadler turned southwest and preyed on South American trade.

One by one the Seeadler sent to the bottom the British ships *Gladis Royle*, *Lady Island*, British *Yeoman*, *Pinnmore*, *Perse*, *Horngarth*; the French vessels *Dupleix*, *Antonin*, *La Rochefoucauld*, *Charles Gounod*, and the Italian ship *Buenos Aires*. On March 7, 1917, it encountered the French bark *Cambronne* two-thirds of the way between Rio de Janeiro and the African coast and forced it to take on board 277 men from the crews of the eleven vessels previously captured. The *Cambronne* was compelled to carry these to Rio de Janeiro, where it landed them on March 20, thus first revealing the work of the Seeadler to the world. On March 22 the German Government announced the safe completion of the second voyage of the *Möwe*. (See *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for May, 1917, p. 298.)

Having thus ended its operations in the Atlantic, the Seeadler rounded Cape Horn with the intention of scouring the Pa-

cific. In June it sank two American schooners in that ocean, the *A. B. Johnson* and *R. C. Slade*, adding another, the *Manila*, on July 8, and making prisoners of all the crews. Captain Smith of the *Slade* afterward told the story of his experiences. His ship had been attacked on June 17, and he had at first tried to escape by outsailing the raider; but after the ninth shell dropped near his ship he surrendered. He continued:

They took all our men aboard the raider except the cook. Next morning I went back on board with all my men and packed up. We left the ship with our belongings June 18. We were put on board the raider again. Shortly after I saw from the raider that they cut holes in the masts and placed dynamite bombs in each mast, and put fire to both ends of the ship and left her. I saw the masts go over the side and the ship was burning from end to end, and the raider steamed away.

After six months of hard life at sea the raider was in need of repairs and the crew longed for a rest on solid land. Casting about for an island sufficiently isolated for his purpose, the Captain, Count von Luckner, decided upon the French atoll of Mopeha, 265 miles west of Tahiti; he believed the little island to be uninhabited. The Seeadler dropped anchor near its jagged coral reefs July 31, 1917. On Aug. 1 Captain von Luckner took possession of the islet and raised the German flag over what he called the Kaiser's last colony. But the next day, during a picnic which he had organized "to entertain his crew and prisoners," leaving only a few men on board the Seeadler, a heavy swell dropped the ship across an uncharted blade of the reef, breaking the vessel's back. The Germans were prisoners themselves on their own conquered islet!

Von Luckner had been incorrect in believing the island entirely uninhabited. Three Tahitians lived there to make copra (dried cocoanut) and to raise pigs and chickens for the firm of Grand, Miller & Co. of Papeete; this firm was shortly to send a vessel to take away its employes, a fact which the Germans learned with mixed emotions.

They brought ashore everything they could from their wrecked ship, including planks and beams, of which they con-

structed barracks; also provisions, machine guns, and wireless apparatus. The heavy guns were put out of commission—likewise the ship's motor. The wireless plant, a very powerful one, was set up between two cocoanut trees. It was equipped with sending and receiving apparatus, and without difficulty its operator could hear Pago-Pago, Tahiti, and Honolulu.

On Aug. 23 Count von Luckner and five men set out in an armed motor sloop for the Cook Islands, which they reached in seven days. There they succeeded in deceiving the local authorities, but a few days later they and their boat were captured in the Fiji Islands by the local constabulary and handed over to the British authorities. Thus ended the Captain's hope of seizing an American ship and returning to Mopeha for his crew.

On Sept. 5 the French schooner *Lutece* from Papeete arrived at Mopeha to get the three Tahitians and their crops. First Lieutenant Kling took a motor boat and a machine gun and captured the schooner, which had a large cargo of flour, salmon, and beef, with a supply of fresh water. Kling and the rest of the Germans, after dismantling the wireless, left the island that night, abandoning forty-eight prisoners, including the Americans, the crew of the *Lutece*, and four natives. Before going they destroyed what they could not take with them, cut down many trees to get the cocoanuts more easily, and left to the prisoners very scant provisions, and bad at that. The few cocoanuts that remained were largely destroyed by the great number of rats on the island. There was plenty of fish and turtles.

After the flight of the Germans the French flag was hoisted on the island and the twentieth-century Robinson Crusoes organized themselves under Captain Southard of the *Manila* and M. Fain, one of the owners of the *Lutece*. The camp was rebuilt, the supplies rationed out, the catching of fish and turtles arranged, and the question of going in search of help discussed. On Sept. 8 Pedro Miller, one of the owners of the *Lutece*, set sail in an open boat with Captains Southard and Porutu, a mate, Captain Williams,

and three sailors, hoping to reach the Island of Maupiti, eighty-five miles to the east; but after struggling eight days against head winds and a high sea he returned to Mopeha with his exhausted companions. Two days later, Sept. 19, Captain Smith of the *Slade*, with two mates and a sailor, left the island in a leaky whaleboat dubbed the *Deliverer* of Mopeha and shaped their course toward the west; in ten days they covered 1,080 miles and landed at Tutuila, one of the Samoan Islands, where the American authorities informed Tahiti by wireless of the serious plight of the men marooned on Mopeha. The British Governor at Apia—Robert Louis Stevenson's last home—also offered to send a relief ship; but the Governor of the French Establishments of Oceania, declining this offer with thanks, dispatched the French schooner *Tiare-Taporo* from Papeete on Oct. 4.

Two days later the relief expedition sighted Mopeha by means of a column of smoke that rose from the island, for the Robinson Crusoes had organized a permanent signal system to attract the attention of passing vessels. The arrival of the rescuers was greeted with frantic acclamations. By evening the last boatload of refugees was aboard the *Tiare-Taporo*, and on the morning of Oct. 10 the schooner reached Papeete, where the prisoners at last were free.

The fate of the *Lutece* with the main body of the *Seeadler's* crew was indicated, though not fully explained, by a cable dispatch from Valparaiso, Chile, March 5, 1918, stating that the Chilean schooner *Falcon* had arrived there from the Easter Islands with fifty-eight sailors formerly belonging to the crew of the *Seeadler*. The sailors were interned by the Chilean Government. Count Felix von Luckner, commander of the *Seeadler*, who, with five of his men, had been captured by the local constabulary of the Fiji Islands, was interned by the British in a camp near Auckland, New Zealand. In December he and other interned Germans escaped to sea in an open boat and traveled nearly 500 miles, suffering from lack of food and water, but were recaptured after a two weeks' chase.

Treatment of British Prisoners

Shocking Brutalities in German War Prisons Revealed in an Official Report

A REPORT issued by an official British Investigating Committee, known as the Justice Younger Committee, appointed to investigate the treatment of British soldiers by their German captors, made public in April, 1918, presents a shocking record of barbarities. The commission reported as follows:

There is now no doubt in the minds of the committee that as early, at the latest, as the month of August, 1916, the German Command were systematically employing their British as well as other prisoners in forced labor close behind the western firing line, thereby deliberately exposing them to the fire of the guns of their own and allied armies. This fact has never been acknowledged by the German Government. On the contrary, it has always been studiously concealed. But that the Germans are chargeable, even from that early date, with inflicting the physical cruelty and the mental torture inherent in such a practice can no longer be doubted.

Characteristically the excuse put forward was that this treatment, not apparently suggested to be otherwise defensible, was forced upon the German Command as a reprisal for what was asserted to be the fact, namely, that German prisoners in British hands had at some time or other been kept less than thirty kilometers (how much less does not appear) behind the British firing line in France. This statement was quite unfounded.

Furthermore, at the end of April, 1917, an agreement was definitely concluded between the British and German Governments that prisoners of war should not on either side be employed within thirty kilometers of the firing line. Nevertheless, the German Command continued without intermission so to employ their British prisoners, under the inhuman conditions stated in the report. And that certainly until the end of 1917—it may be even until now—although it has never even been suggested by the German authorities, so far as the committee are aware, that the thirty kilometers limit agreed upon has not been scrupulously observed by the British Command in the letter as well as in the spirit.

"Prisoners of Respite"

The German excuse is embodied in different official documents, some of which enter into detailed descriptions of the reprisals alleged to be in contemplation because of it. These descriptions are in substantial accord with treatment which the committee, from the in-

formation in their possession, now know to have been in regular operation for months before either the threat or the so-called excuse for it, and to have continued in regular operation after the solemn promise of April that it should cease. These documents definitely commit the German Command to at least a threatened course of conduct for which the committee would have been slow to fix them with conscious responsibility. Incidentally they corroborate in advance the accuracy, in its incidents, of the information, appalling as it is, which has independently reached the committee from so many sides.

As a typical example, the committee set forth a transcript in German-English of one of these pronouncements, of which extensive use was made. It is a notice, entitled, "Conditions of Respite to German Prisoners." As here given, it was handed to a British non-commissioned officer to read out, and it was read out to his fellow-prisoners at Lille on April 15, 1917:

Upon the German request to withdraw the German prisoners of war to a distance of not less than thirty kilometers from the front line, the British Government has not replied; therefore it has been decided that all prisoners of war who are captured in future will be kept as prisoners of respite. Very short of food, bad lighting, bad lodgings, no beds, and hard work beside the German guns, under heavy shellfire. No pay, no soap for washing or shaving, no towels or boots, &c. The English prisoners of respite are all to write to their relations or persons of influence in England how badly they are treated, and that no alteration in the ill-treatment will occur until the English Government has consented to the German request; it is therefore in the interest of all English prisoners of respite to do their best to enable the German Government to remove all English prisoners of respite to camps in Germany, where they will be properly treated, with good food, good clothing, and you will succeed by writing as mentioned above, and then surely the English Government will consent to Germany's request, for the sake of their own countrymen. You will be supplied with postcard, note paper, and envelope, and all this correspondence in which you will explain your hardships will be sent as express mail to England.

Starved to Death

It seems that the prisoners, from as early as August, 1916, were kept in large numbers

at certain places in the west—Cambrai and Lille are frequently referred to in the evidence—but in smaller numbers they were placed all along the line. Their normal work was making roads, repairing railways, constructing light railways, digging trenches, erecting wire entanglements, making gunpits, loading ammunition, filling munition wagons, carrying trench mortars, and doing general fatigue work, which under the pain of death the noncommissioned officers were compelled to supervise.

This work was not only forbidden by the laws of war, it was also excessively hard. In many cases it lasted from eight to nine hours a day, with long walks to and fro, sometimes of ten kilometers in each direction, and for long periods was carried on within range of the shellfire of the allied armies. One witness was for nine months kept at work within the range of British guns; another for many months; others for shorter periods. Many were killed by these guns; more were wounded; deaths from starvation and overwork were constant. One instance of the allied shellfire may be given. In May, 1917, a British or French shell burst among a number of British and French prisoners working behind the lines in Belgium. Seven were killed; four were wounded.

But there is much more to tell. The men were half starved. Two instances are given in the evidence of men who weighed 180 pounds when captured. One was sent back from the firing line too weak to walk, weighing only 112 pounds; the other escaped to the British lines weighing no more. Another man lost twenty-eight pounds in six weeks. Parcels did not reach these prisoners. In consequence they were famished. Such was their hunger, indeed, that we hear of them picking up for food potato peelings that had been trampled under foot. One instance is given of an Australian private who, starving, had fallen out to pick up a piece of bread left on the roadside by Belgian women for the prisoners. He was shot and killed by the guard for so doing.

Some Merciful Guards

It was considered, so it would seem, to be no less than a stroke of luck for prisoners to chance upon guards who were more merciful. For instance, one of them speaking of food at Cambrai says:

If it had not been for the French civilians giving us food as we went along the roads to and from work we should most certainly have starved. If the sentries saw us make a movement out of the ranks to get food they would immediately make a jab at us with their rifles, but conditions here were not so bad as at Moret, where if a man stepped out of the ranks he was immediately shot. I heard about this from men who had themselves been working at Moret, and had with their own eyes seen comrades of theirs shot for moving from the ranks.

At Ervillers in February, 1917, a prisoner's allowance for the day consisted of a quarter of a loaf of German black bread, (about a quarter of a pound,) with coffee in the morning; then soup at midday, and at 4:30 coffee again, without sugar or milk. On this a man had to carry on heavy work for over nine hours. The ration of the German soldier at the same time and place consisted of a whole loaf of bread per day, good, thick soup, with beans and meat in it, coffee, jam, and sugar; two cigars and three cigarettes. The food conditions at Marquion a little later are thus described:

We used to beg the sentries to allow us to pick stinging nettles and dandelions to eat, we were so hungry; in fact, we were always hungry, and I should say we were semi-starved all the time. While we were here our Sergeants put in for more rations, but the answer they got was that we were prisoners of war now "and had no rights of any kind; that the Germans could work us right up behind their front lines if they liked, and put us on half the rations we were then getting."

Flogged with Dog Whip

The ration was coffee and a slice of bread at 4:45 A. M., soup of barley and horseflesh at 2 P. M., eight pounds of barley and ten pounds of meat between 240 men. And they were compelled to work hard for eight or nine hours a day on this diet. The frequent cruelty of the guards generally is a matter constantly referred to:

The German Sergeant in charge at Ervillers (says one prisoner) was very harsh. Twice I saw him (this prisoner was there for a month only) using a dog whip, and heard of him doing so on another occasion. He used it mostly on men who were slow in getting out to work owing to weakness.

The description by a body of these men on their arrival at a camp in Germany, after being withdrawn from the front, may be taken as another example of this:

We were forced to work; we were given hardly any food, and when we fell down from sheer exhaustion we were kicked until we got up again, and it was not until we absolutely could not get about that we were sent back.

To add to their miseries, the accommodation provided for these prisoners was in many cases pathetically inadequate. The witnesses recur to this again and again. One sleeping place, for instance, for a large party was a barn with no roof. The rain poured in upon the men. They had to sleep in their wet clothes and work in the same clothes. They had no change of any kind. And some of these prisoners, if they survived so long, were kept behind these enemy lines for over a year. Their quarters at Cambrai are thus described by two of the men:

We slept about twelve in a room in our

uniforms, without either greatcoats or blankets. There was no fire, and it was very cold. We lay on loose straw, which was full of vermin, and we consequently became verminous. We could only wash in a bucket of cold water, without either soap or towels.

The Germans did not supply us with any clothing, and as we had to work in all weathers, conditions were very hard. Our clothes used to get drenched through, but still we had to go back to barracks and sleep in them. It was terribly cold also, especially without our fur coats. We asked for clothing, but never got any.

No Parcels or Letters

But, added to all these hardships, it was the total absence of parcels and the fact that letters or communications from their friends rarely reached them that placed these prisoners, for misery, in a class apart. Instances are on record where the very existence of some of them was undisclosed by their captors for many months. In March, 1917, for example, a body of these prisoners who had been captured as long before as August, 1916, and had been kept at work by the Germans behind their lines ever since, were returned to a parent camp in Germany weak and emaciated. On arrival there they found a number of their own names in the lists of missing men that had been sent from our War Office through Switzerland and posted in the camp. * * *

It seems almost incredible, but the committee do not doubt it to be the fact, that as late as November, 1917, there were at Limburg-am-Lahn undelivered between 18,000 and 20,000 parcels for British prisoners on the German western front. In July, 1917, the German delegates at The Hague plainly recognized that no distinction in respect of the receipt of parcels could be properly made between prisoners of war in occupied territories and others. The agreement then concluded contains provisions on that subject. Having regard to the condition of things at Limburg as late as November, 1917, the committee can only regret that the effect of that agreement was certainly at that date not so manifest as it ought to have been. The matter, they add, is of tragic importance to the prisoners concerned. It made and makes just the difference between starvation and existence to the unfortunate sufferers.

Extracts from Evidence

The committee extract from the great mass of evidence now in their possession statements as to the impression produced upon those who actually saw our men upon their escape to the British lines or after their transfer to camps in Germany. These statements, they believe, must convince every impartial mind that it is impossible in terms of exaggeration to describe the sufferings these prisoners had undergone.

In April, 1917, three of them escaped over "No Man's Land." They were received by a British General Staff officer, a Major in the 1st Anzac Corps. This is what he says of them, under date April 18, 1917:

Three men escaped from behind the German lines to us the other day. They had been prisoners three months, and were literally nearly dead with ill-treatment and starvation. One of them could hardly walk, and was just a skeleton. He had gone down from 182 pounds to less than 112 pounds in three months. I fetched him back from the line, and it almost made me cry. All that awful January and February out all day in the wet and cold; no overcoat, and at night no blanket, in a shelter where the clothes froze stiff on him; no change of under-clothing in three months, and he was one mass of vermin, no chance of washing. The bodies of all of them were covered with sores. "Beaten and starved," one of them said, "sooner than go through it again I'd just put my head under the first railway."

The following is the substance of statements by two witnesses from a German camp:

About June, 1917, a party of about twenty English soldiers came in who had been working behind the German lines on the western front. I became friends with one of them. He was so weak that I have several times seen him faint on parade. Another of them told me that he was one of a party of 100 working behind the lines on the western front digging trenches and carrying up supplies. He said they were all very badly treated and starved. They were knocked about by the Germans if they did not march as fast as they wanted them to, although they were all so weak. He was only sent to Germany when he became so weak as to be useless for work. When I left he did not look as if he could lift a shovelful of sand. There was another whom I knew. He had also been working behind the lines. They had to work in clogs and no socks. He said they used to tie rags round their feet. He was employed on road making. I never could have believed the things I was told but for the terrible state the men were in, which caused me to feel that no horror I was told was impossible.

Many were brought into the camp who had returned from working behind the lines; they were in a shocking state, literally skin and bones, hardly able to walk, and quite worn out physically and mentally; their clothes threadbare and in rags, without boots, wearing old rag slippers. They told me that the conditions of work behind the lines, where some of them had been for months, were terrible; they had to work eight hours a day, and generally were made to walk ten kilometers out to their work, and the

only food they were given was one cup of coffee, a slice of bread, and some soup a day—a day's ration.

"Shot at Sight"

From another camp comes the following testimony:

In May of this year a large party of British came into the camp, who had returned from behind the German lines. They were ravenous through being starved, and half savages. I spoke to several of them. * * * Men were shot at sight for a slight cause, such as dropping out to get bread from Belgian civilians. The state in which they returned was the worst sight I have seen in my life. Their clothes were ragged, they were half shaven, verminous, suffering from skin diseases, and were half savage with hunger and bad treatment. After their arrival the commandant in the camp issued an order (which I saw) that no more of these parties should be taken through the main street of the town, but should go by the byways on account of the feeling that had been caused among the population. I am told that the population showed a great deal of sympathy, tears, &c.

About May 1, 1917, about 300 prisoners of all nationalities were brought from behind the western lines. I spoke to those who came into the lazaret. All were starving, and had been kept there until they collapsed from overwork. Fifteen Russians died as soon as they were brought in. One man told me that on a march of eleven kilometers a man fell out ill, the guard gave him so many minutes to fall in again, and told him he would shoot him if he was not up by then; he could not go on, and the guard shot him.

From a third camp:

I knew two of our men who had been working behind the German lines in the west for five months. One was 29 years old, the other 25. The first weighed 180 pounds when captured. He left the firing line too weak to walk, and weighed 110 pounds. He was badly treated and knocked about. When I saw him in camp he was black and blue. The other man had the same treatment. They were both starved, and both were gray-headed with the five months' treatment. These men said our men were dying there every day through hardship and exposure. The food behind the lines was about half the camp rations.

"Worked to the Bone"

From a fourth camp:

In September, 1917, seventy-five non-commissioned officers, who had been behind the lines, were brought into our camp. They were in a bad physical condition, hungry, lousy, and worked out.

One month after, a large body, all privates from behind the lines, captured since May, came in. They were in a terrible condition, famished beyond words. They had been worked to the bone, and were in a filthy condition. They made our camp lousy. The camp doctor said they were the worst cases he had seen, and said they could stay in bed for a week. They were so famished that two died of eating the food we gave them. They had been working on the Hindenburg line, and the railway Cambrai to Lille, and repairing it under fire. They said they were on very small rations and compelled to work. They told us that Frenchwomen who out of compassion gave them any trifling gift of fruit were knocked down by the sentries.

From the same camp:

I spoke to men who had been kept at work behind the German lines on the western front. The majority of these were there about twelve months, and they came into camp about the end of November or the beginning of December, 1917. They told me that they had been employed close up to the lines. They had been employed cutting trees, and had been under our own shellfire. They were half starved and in a terrible condition. On one occasion about 300 came in, about forty of whom had British clothes, the rest being dressed in odds and ends of French and German clothing—in fact, anything they could get hold of. We collected bread for them and cut it up in readiness for their arrival so as to save all possible time, but their hunger was so great they could not help raiding us and fighting for it. It was terrible to see them. I do not think many of them had been wounded, but their condition was so terrible that I cannot describe it.

They were absolutely the worst bunch of men I had ever seen. They were terribly thin and weak, and fell down as soon as they started to eat, as they were in an absolutely exhausted state. Their underclothing was in a dreadful state, and they were covered with vermin, and had been like that for about twelve months. This is the party which I mentioned as coming to the camp about the end of November or the beginning of December, 1917. About a fortnight after their arrival, and after their clothes had been fumigated and they had baths two or three times a week, they picked up wonderfully.

From a fifth camp:

In March, 1917, I saw fifty English prisoners come in to camp who had been working behind the lines near Cambrai digging trenches; they had been there three or four months. All of them were in a shocking condition, absolutely starved, with boils and sores all over

them. We used to share our parcels with these men. During the whole time I was in camp—that is, up to December last—men were drifting in who had been working behind the lines on the western front; they always arrived in the same shocking condition. I remember particularly one, in November, 1917, coming back from Cambrai district. He was very bad and starved; he told me they had been very badly treated; all huddled together in barns, no sanitary arrangements, no blankets, and he said he had seen a native woman shot for giving them food; that they were well within range of guns, and within six kilometers of the lines, shells frequently falling about them, and that he had seen many of his own comrades wounded while working, that they were knocked about by their guards, and, generally, his account of their treatment was appalling. To my knowledge from conversation with them, men were coming in who had been working close up behind the lines right down to the time I left Germany in December, 1917.

From an army Chaplain:

On Feb. 16, 1917, there arrived in Minden Hospital sixteen men who had been working behind the western front, attached to Camp E.K. 5. The thermometer registered 10 degrees, Fahrenheit, below zero. They had walked seven kilometers from the station. Their clothing consisted of tunic, trousers, and thin shirt, boots and socks, and an old hat—no coat and no underclothes. They had been two days and two nights in the cold train with very little to eat. * * * Two of these men died later of consumption in Minden. They had all been captured in November (this was February) and their relatives did not know that they were even alive. These men report, too, that they are brutally treated; human life is not worth so much as horseflesh, because the latter can be eaten. They are worked until they either die or so completely collapse that they are useless. I believe this was the first party that arrived from the western front. I had the names of the men in a notebook, but it was taken from me. They said it was nothing to wake up in the morning and find the man sleeping beside you dead. I got the names of several who had died, and wrote to their people to inform them.

Lives Made Unbearable

The committee close these statements with the following striking extract from the evidence of a young wounded British officer who was placed in a ward in a German hospital in France, filled with prisoners of all nationalities:

The German in charge of the ward was a university professor, and, seeing several of our men, also Russians and Rumanians, come on to the hospital in an emaciated condition, I asked him the cause, and where they came from, when, without giving me details, he told me they came from working camps behind the lines. There, he said, the conditions were frightful, so much so that he himself was ashamed of them—the men were overworked, under shellfire, very much underfed, had not much clothing, and slept in sheds and shelters in the snow under filthy conditions. I ascertained from him and from some of our own men that many died behind the lines; all were thoroughly ill-treated by the Germans, and the lives of those who did not die were made quite unbearable.

I am sure the German who informed me had no personal grounds which made him complain against the system, it was merely on humanitarian grounds that he told me he was shocked; and the independent stories I received from our own soldiers simply bore out the fact that the Germans were ill-treating their prisoners behind the lines at this time. While I was in hospital the German I have mentioned above did his best to get the men from the hospital marked unfit for work behind the lines; and I must in fairness add that as a result very few, if any, went back to work there once they had been sent to hospital, and they seemed to be marked for camps in Germany instead.

The report concludes: "The committee in their survey of the evidence dealt with in this report have failed to find a trace even of lip service either to the obligations so solemnly undertaken by the German Government in time of peace for regulating their conduct in time of war or to these principles from their War Book which that Government professed as their own. Further comment appears to the committee to be superfluous. The facts speak for themselves."

American Prisoners Exploited

A correspondent sent the following from The Hague, April 20, 1918, regarding the German treatment of American prisoners:

FROM irrefutable evidence obtained by your correspondent, it is impossible to close one's eyes to what is going on in the hospitals and prisoners' camps in Germany. It is a mistake to believe that the treatment of prisoners and wounded in Germany has improved. On the contrary, it is as bad as it ever was, even worse.

The punishments inflicted are cruel and inhuman. As is well known, prisoners are absolutely dependent upon parcels for food and clothing. A favorite punishment is to withhold these from a whole camp or from large bodies of prisoners. It has been established beyond doubt that prisoners are employed behind the front and are under shellfire, in defiance of The Hague agreement of 1917.

Some prisoners never reach a camp in Germany for six months, meanwhile receiving no parcels of food. Their condition on arrival at camp, broken down and starving, is pitiable.

The evidence doesn't tend to show that American prisoners are receiving any preferential treatment. It is reported that the first American prisoners taken were hawked about the country, presumably to show them off to the populace. At Giessen, where, it would seem, American prisoners were kept on two separate occasions, they were prohibited any intercourse, even by sign language, with other prisoners and were not allowed to receive parcels or gifts from them.

British prisoners at Giessen asked if they could give parcels to Americans, and finally received permission to do so the following day. But the next day the American prisoners were moved away early in the morning.

British prisoners were able to detect Americans who had been captured any

length of time by their appearance and by the state of their clothes. Until parcels for them arrived from Berne their state was deplorable.

A British noncommissioned officer recently obtained the signatures of the first ten Americans captured and talked with them. These men signed the scrap of paper in the hope that some news of them would reach the outside world. They were in poor physical health and somewhat despondent.

A few recent examples from a large amount of sworn evidence follow:

In February, 1918, 4,000 men were sent from a Westphalian camp to within thirty kilometers behind the front. Their guards ran away to escape the British shrapnel fire.

The state of prisoners coming from the big Somme battle in the first week of the present month was deplorable. Their wounds had not been dressed in many cases for more than ten days. Owing to the lack of dressing, British comrades bandaged their wounds with old towels and shirts.

It was formally announced by the German authorities in Camp Bonn on April 13 last that two British soldiers, R. and B., had been shot near Minden for not stopping talking when ordered to do so.

In November, 1917, men were brought into the hospital at M. continually, having been wounded by shrapnel from behind the lines. Wounded men lay for three or four weeks unattended and grossly neglected.

Much of the sworn evidence is so repugnant that it could not be published. There has been talk of reprisals on American prisoners, and even foreigners born in America are included in these threatened reprisals.

Total Destruction of Rheims

By G. H. Perris

With the French Armies, April 20, 1918

THE great fire at Rheims has nearly burned itself out. Having thrown in a week 50,000 explosive and an unknown number of incendiary and gas shells, the German gunners ceased as suddenly and inexplicably as they had begun, and when I entered the city this morning the silence of death brooded over it.

The written word is powerless to describe such a spectacle, and it is no more adequate for being unmeasured. But when men of faith, men who love the old and beautiful, write under the fresh, stunning impression of such a sight, is it strange that some loose phrases escape them?

I am very familiar with the ruins of Rheims. From the first bombardment, which destroyed the exquisite sculptures of the north tower and the façade of the cathedral three and a half years ago, I have been able to watch the mischief extending step by cruel step. At first, with normal British reluctance to credit the outrageous or incomprehensible, one was chiefly concerned to find out whether, after all, there was not some sort of military excuse. I severely cross-examined every one who could be supposed to know anything about the matter. There never was any shadow of excuse.

It remained only to record from time to time the progress of a crime as deliberate as any in the annals of the war, and in its own kind particularly damnable—a blackhearted crime such as a Comanche chief or a Congo cannibal would not have had the wickedness to conceive.

And if there be still any rationalist obstinate enough to ask for the reason why of this last outburst of vandalism, I can only hazard the guess that it may have been planned, like the long-distance bombardments of Paris, as a terroristic accompaniment of the Hindenburg offensive. It may have been supposed that the tales of the refugees would help to de-

moralize Paris and the rest of the country. So little after these terrible years has the boche learned of the people he set out to conquer.

Well, the Cathedral of St. Louis is not falling. Wonderful was the work of the builders. More buttresses, pinnacles, gargoyles, and stone railings have been shattered, more statues chipped, and rain, entering freely by a large rent in the roof, has worked invisible damage since my last visit in November. The cathedral has been struck again. The uplifted sword of Joan of Arc in the bronze equestrian statue before the cathedral has been cut in half.

If this were all, we should have after the war at least a worthy memorial to leave to posterity. It is said that it would now cost a million sterling to restore the finest Gothic fane in France. I hope nothing of the kind will be attempted, nothing more, that is, than the construction of a new roof, new windows, doors, and furnishings, and the necessary strengthening of the structure.

For as it stands, gashed and discolored, the vast shell has a strange magnificence and a piteous loveliness like that of some of the broken splendors that remain to us from the ancient world. Let Rheims speak to the future generations as the ruins of the Acropolis and the Forum have spoken to our fathers and us.

But the city itself raises a different and a more difficult problem. It is now no exaggeration to say that as a whole it is destroyed beyond hope. Till a fortnight ago large parts of it were not beyond the possibility of repair. Remember that Rheims was not a small town like Ypres or Arras, but a wealthy and dignified community of 120,000 souls, occupying a space equal to one-fifth of that of Paris.

There is now from end to end probably not a single house whose walls are not more or less broken. The northern and eastern quarters were already in ruins.

Now the centre of the city is gutted. Of the public buildings the central squares built in the time or after the Counts of Champagne, the cloth warehouses and

workshops, the private residences, bazaars and shops, nothing stands but rows of smoking walls, half buried in fallen rafters and masonry.

The Abomination of Desolation

An Episode in France

Dr. Norman Maclean, an eminent Scottish scholar, whose articles from the front have appeared in The Scotsman of Edinburgh, penned this touching picture of the war-devastated Somme region a few days before the Germans again swept over it in March, 1918:

THEY stood side by side on a heap of rubbish inside the door of the ruined church in the midst of the ruined town—a man and woman garbed in humble, rusty black. The survivors of the erstwhile population were being brought back as shelters were prepared and work provided for them; these had obviously just returned, and had come straight to the church. When they fled before the flood of death, the church stood scatheless, built immovably upon the rock of the centuries. It was a shrine of beauty and a haunt of peace. But as they now stood on the mound of fallen masonwork inside the west door, what they saw was this—the roof lying in an undulating ridge piled on the floor, the sacred pictures torn and tattered; the pillars shattered; the altar buried under a great mass of débris, and a figure of the Christ, uninjured, looking out through the broken arches on the dead town, and on the land beyond, where the white crosses gleam o'er the multitudinous dead.

The man stood motionless, with a face like a mask. But in a moment the woman shook as if stricken by an ague. She turned and stumbled toward the doorway, where there is no door, the tears coursing down her cheeks and a sob in her throat. The man turned and followed her. He took her hand in his, and they walked away with bowed heads in silence. It is strange how the human heart is moved. It was the tremulous face of that black-robed woman, and the lifting of her hands as if to hide the abomination of desolation from her sight, and the stumbling flight from a scene intolerable,

that made me feel the horror spread before me. For I saw it with her eyes.

What she saw was infinitely more than what I could see. She had experienced in her own soul that this was holy ground. In happy days of childhood heaven seemed to lie here; she had come hither to be received, in white, into the holy fellowship; hither to be married; hither to dedicate her children at the sacred font. And when the burden of life was heavier than could be borne, how often had she come hither; and as she fell on her knees at the elevation of the Host, the very God seemed to fold her in the Eternal Embrace, and her troubles fled as morning mists before the sun.

And when the war came, and the men went forth, and with them her sons, how often did she come softly to this sanctuary and dip her hand in the holy water at the door and cross herself, and bow toward the altar, and kneel and pray that they might be saved. In and out all day they came then, men and women, and they prayed for their own, and for France, and their prayers were as the moaning of the winds. * * * And now this! Nothing is left. Home and town and children and sanctuary are all overwhelmed in the one flood. And the Christ from the broken pillar gazes upon a perishing world. It is with her as with those of old, who fell under the heel of the oppressor and who cried: "Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation; our holy and our beautiful house where our fathers praised Thee is burned with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste."

There is that in man which enables him to meet every blow of fate with unblanched face—save one. When the blow is aimed at his soul, then he shrivels. It was in her soul that this woman was smitten, as she saw the house of her God thus. And that is why there in the land of death the churches and cathedrals are all in ruins. To make the altars of Arras gaze on the clouds and the stars, and make the winds wail through the colonnades of Rheims, was deemed the surest and swiftest way of spreading terror and affright. So the devotees of Odin declared war upon God. For a little while the tribal deity and the belligerent dynast reign supreme. The homeless and bereft, the great multitude who are as those standing on the rubble-heap, are verily left with nothing but their eyes to weep with.

It is amazing how soon one gets assimilated to the most horrifying environment. In a few days one can walk through a town which has been turned into heaps without even a shock of wonder, just as at home one reads the war news and the list of the dead without any realization. In these days we need to be stung broad awake now and then. A city in ruins becomes deadly monotonous—until one is wakened.

One day, when the sun broke forth heralding the Spring, the promise of green on a clump of tangled rose bushes tempted me to turn into the garden of a shattered villa. It was as thousands of others: the hearthstones looked upward to the clouds, and the household goods lay piled tier on tier of rotting lumber as floor fell on floor. In the centre of the green a shell hole took my eye, and I picked my way toward it. Out of the earth at the bottom of the hole there obtruded the bones of a man's arm. In haste, the dead had been thrown into the shell hole and lightly covered. And the rains had washed so much of the earth away. And that bone brought the realization that I stood in the midst of one vast cemetery.

Everywhere and all around under the feet are the nameless dead—men, women, and little children. These last are the nightmare of this horror. Formerly

nations recovered from war swiftly; the cradles filled up the gaps. But here the children are dead. To the eye of faith the Star of the East shines still with splendor over every spot where a babe lies. But that Star has been extinguished in this region of doom. The altar is buried, the hearthstone is in the rain, and amid the welter of rubbish you can see the children's cots twisted and rusting and woeful. A woman breaking into sobs inside a ruined church door; a body in a shell hole in a garden, a child's cot rusting on a rubbish heap—these open the eyes and make them see.

These things did not come by the arbitrament of war. It wasn't shrapnel and high explosives that wrought the desolation. From the battlements of the old citadel one can see the dead town lie spread, and the houses hit by shells are few and far between. The houses destroyed wantonly by the enemy ere they retreated are easily recognized, for the walls fell outward by the internal explosions. Ninety-five per cent. have fallen outward, and the wall of the church is likewise. This ancient sanctuary was wantonly destroyed by the retreating enemy. What amazes one is the appalling stupidity of such a crime. If the Germans destroyed the town, that was their right, the might of the sword, and their act could perhaps be justified. But to destroy the church is to destroy what even Attila spared, and so outrage the conscience and instinct of the world. There is never an excuse to seek when an outrage is perpetrated by the enemy. A hospital ship is sunk—but, of course, it is carrying munitions! A church is turned into a ruin, but its towers are used as observation posts! Poor little towers in a land of airplanes and captive balloons! If the churches had been spared, as they were spared in the world's darkest ages, humanity would know that the German soul was still alive. But now the world knows that it is up against an enemy that threatens body and soul alike—an enemy that not only kills the body, but destroys the soul!. What an amazing stupidity!—but it is through such stupidity that God lays up judgment against the day of wrath.

Lloyd George and General Maurice

A Speech in Which the Premier Routed His Enemies and Revealed Some Inside Facts

A FLURRY arose in British Parliamentary circles early in May which for a day or so threatened to wreck the Lloyd George Government, but which resulted in a new triumph for the Premier and a humiliating defeat for those who had intrigued against him. It was precipitated by Major Gen. Sir Frederick Barton Maurice, who had been Director of Military Operations until April, 1918, when he was succeeded by Brig. Gen. Radcliffe. His removal had been due to a public utterance in which he had criticised General Foch for not coming sooner to the assistance of the British after the beginning of the German offensive.

On May 7 General Maurice published a letter in which he definitely asserted that the Premier had made a misleading statement to the House of Commons April 9, when he asserted that the British Army in France on Jan. 1, 1918, was considerably stronger than on Jan. 1, 1917; that he misstated the facts regarding the number of white divisions in Egypt and Palestine; also that Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had made a misstatement in denying that the extension of the British front in France had been ordered by the Versailles War Council.

A resolution was introduced by former Premier Asquith for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charges. The Lloyd George Government accepted the challenge and announced that they would regard the passage of the resolution as a vote of censure and would resign if it was carried. The debate on the resolution occurred May 9 and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Government, the vote to uphold the Lloyd George Ministry being 293 to 106; the Irish members were not present.

In his address the Premier took up the charges in detail. Regarding the figures of the British strength he quoted from a report from General Maurice's own de-

partment, initialed by his deputy, dated April 27, 1918, which concluded with these words:

From the statement included, it will be seen that the combatant strength of the British Army was greater on Jan. 1, 1918, than on Jan. 1, 1917.

He also showed that his statements regarding the relative strength of the opposing forces in France and the number of white divisions in Egypt were based on figures furnished by General Maurice's department.

Regarding the extension of the British front in France the Premier made some interesting disclosures showing that the extension was made by agreement of Field Marshal Haig and General Pétain, and not by the Versailles Council. He said:

Before the council had met it had been agreed between Field Marshal Haig and General Pétain, and the extension was an accomplished fact. Field Marshal Haig reported to the council that the extension had taken place. There was not a single yard taken over as a result of the Versailles conference—not a single yard of extension.

In discussing this phase Lloyd George proceeded as follows:

Extending the British Line

Of course, the Field Marshal was not anxious to extend his line. No one would be, having regard to the great accumulation of strength against him, and the War Cabinet were just as reluctant.

There was not a single meeting between the French Generals and ourselves when we did not state facts against the extension, but the pressure from the French Government and French Army was enormous, and what was done was not done in response to pressure from the War Cabinet. It was done in response to very great pressure which Sir Douglas Haig could not resist and which we could not resist. We are not suggesting that our French allies are asking unfairly. That is certainly not my intention.

There was a considerable ferment in France on the subject of the length of the line held by the French Army as com-

pared with our army. The French losses had been enormous. They had practically borne the brunt of the fighting for three years. There was a larger proportion of their young manhood put into the line than in any belligerent country in the world. They held 336 miles. We held a front of 100 miles.

That is not the whole statement, because the Germans were much more densely massed in front of ourselves. Not only that, but the line we held was much more vulnerable. Practically the defense of Paris was left to us, and the defense of some of the most important centres, but there was the fact that you had this enormous front held by the French Army, as compared with what looked like the comparatively small front of ours.

Shortage of Farm Labor

In addition to that, the French Army at that time was holding, I think, a two-division front on our line in order to enable us to accumulate the necessary reserves for the purposes of the attack in Flanders. That was part of the line which, I believe, was held before by the British and French.

The French were pressing in order to withdraw men from the army for purposes of agriculture. I ought to explain that their agricultural output had fallen enormously, owing to the fact that they had withdrawn a very large proportion of their men from the cultivation of the fields, and they felt it essential that they should withdraw part of their army for the purpose of cultivating the soil, and they were pressing us upon these topics.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir William Robertson, and the Cabinet felt that it was inevitable that during the Winter months there should be some extension, and we acknowledged that something had to be done to meet the French demands, and to that extent we accepted the principle that there must be some extension of the line.

At that time the Field Marshal was under the impression that the Cabinet had taken a decision without his consent. The Chief of the Imperial Staff upon that sent the following memorandum to the War Cabinet. I will read it, but first, with reference to the Boulogne Conference, I may, perhaps, say that that was the first time we had a discussion with the French Ministers. The subject of discussion was a rather important foreign office. It was not summoned in the least to discuss an extension of the lines. We never knew that that was to be raised. Sir William Robertson and I represented the British Government, and M. Painlevé, the Prime Minister, and General Foch represented the French Government.

When Sir William Robertson discovered

that the Field Marshal was under the impression that we had come to a decision without his consent he sent the War Cabinet a memorandum, in which he says:

"At the recent Boulogne Conference the question of extending our front was raised by the French representatives. The reply given was that, while in principle we were, of course, ready to do whatever could be done, the matter was one which could not be discussed in the absence of Sir Douglas Haig, or during the continuance of the present operations, and that due regard must also be had to the plan of operations for next year.

"It was suggested that it would be best for the Field Marshal to come to an arrangement with General Pétain, when this could be done. So far as I am aware no formal discussion has taken place, and the matter cannot be regarded as decided. Further, I feel sure that the War Cabinet would not think of deciding such a question without first obtaining Sir Douglas Haig's views. I am replying to him in the above sense."

That, I think, was on the 19th of October. The War Cabinet fully approved of the communication. Sir Douglas Haig communicated, and said that it threw a new light on the Boulogne position. I think that we have a right to complain of the way in which it has been rumored about that Sir Douglas Haig protested.

The War Cabinet's Decision

The fact that Sir William Robertson had explained and Sir Douglas Haig had stated that the explanation threw new light has never been repeated. That is how mischief is done.

On Oct. 24 this question was first formally discussed by the War Cabinet. There was further pressure from the French Government, and Sir William Robertson gave his views as to the time which the British Government ought to take, and this conclusion is recorded in the minutes of the War Cabinet as follows:

"The War Cabinet approve of the suggestion of the Chief of the Imperial Staff that he should reply to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in the following sense: The War Cabinet are of the opinion that in deciding to what extent the British troops can take over the line from the French regard must be had to the necessity of giving them a reasonable opportunity for leave, rest, and training during the Winter months and to the plan of operations for the next year, and, further, while the present offensive continues it will not be possible to commence taking over more line.

"Under these circumstances the War Cabinet fear that until this policy is settled it will be premature to decide finally whether the British front is to be extended by four divisions or to greater or lesser extent."

The resolution was communicated to Sir Douglas Haig by Sir William Robertson, and we never departed from it. After that came the Cambrai incident and the Italian disaster, which necessitated our sending troops to Italy. That made it difficult for the Field Marshal to carry out the promise he made to General Pétain for a certain extension of the front. Then the present French Prime Minister came in, and he is not a very easy gentleman to refuse. He was very insistent that the British Army should take over the line.

Clemenceau Suggested Versailles

We stood by the position that that was a matter to be discussed by the two Commanders in Chief. We never swerved from that position. At last M. Clemenceau suggested that the question should be discussed by the military representatives at Versailles, and that the Versailles Council should decide if there was any difference of opinion. The military representatives discussed the question, and the only interference of the War Cabinet was to this extent. We communicated with the Chief of Staff, who was then in France, and with Sir Douglas Haig to urge on them the importance of preparing their case for the other side so as to make the strongest possible case for the British view.

The military representatives at Versailles suggested a compromise, but coupled with it recommendations as to steps which ought to be taken by the French Army to assist the British if they were attacked, and by the British to assist the French if they were attacked,

which was even a more important question than the extension of the front.

That recommendation came up for discussion at the Versailles Council of Feb. 1. Before that meeting Sir Douglas Haig and General Pétain met and entered into an agreement as to the extension of the front to Brissy, and Sir Douglas Haig reported that to the Versailles Council. When the discussion took place there no further extension of the line was taken at all as a result of the discussion.

That is the whole story. I was to make it perfectly clear that in the action Sir Douglas Haig took for the extension of the line he had the full approval of the British Cabinet, having regard to the pressure of the French Government and military authorities. Sir Douglas Haig had no option except to make the extension. He was in our judgment absolutely right in the course he took. Naturally, he would have preferred not to have done it, but the British Government fully approved of the action he took.

The real lesson of the discussion is the importance of unity of command. It would never have arisen if you had had that. Instead of one army and one commander responsible for one part of the line, and another army and another commander responsible for another part of the line, we have one united command responsible for the whole and every part. It was the only method of safety, and I am glad we have it at last.

It was not so much a question of the length of the line held by one force or the length held by another. It was a question of reserves massed behind.

The Premier ended with a plea for a truce to political "sniping." On May 13 it was announced that as a disciplinary measure General Maurice had been placed on "the retired list."



The New British Service Act

Provisions of Law Which Raises Military Age

THE new British Military Service act became effective in April, 1918, having passed both houses of Parliament by large majorities; it immediately received the royal assent. The provision applying conscription to Ireland was suspended temporarily, on the assumption that it would not be enforced until a measure of home rule for Ireland was agreed upon. The main provisions of the new service measure are as follows, as analyzed by The London Times:

RAISING OF MILITARY AGE

Men Up to 50.—Obligation to military service imposed upon every male British subject:

1. Who has at any time since Aug. 14, 1915, or who for the time being is in Great Britain, and

2. Who on April 18, 1918, had attained the age of 18 years and had not attained the age of 51 years or who at any subsequent date attains the age of 18 years.

Men Up to 55.—If it appears necessary at any time for the defense of the realm, his Majesty may, by Order in Council, declare the extension of the obligation to military service to men generally or to any class of men up to any age not exceeding 56 years. The draft of any such order is to be presented to each house of Parliament, and will not be submitted to his Majesty in Council unless each house presents an address, praying that the order may be made.

Doctors.—Duly qualified medical practitioners, who have not attained the age of 56 years, are made immediately liable to military service.

FORMER PRISONERS OF WAR

The clause in the act of May, 1916, exempting from military service any person who has been "a prisoner of war, captured or interned by the enemy, and has been released or exchanged," is to cease to have effect. It is, however, provided that the change shall be without prejudice to any undertaking, recognized by the Government, and for the time being in force, that any released or exchanged prisoner of war shall not serve in his Majesty's forces during the present war.

TIME-EXPIRED MEN

The act of May, 1916, provided that the service should not be prolonged of men who, when their times for discharge occurred, had served a period of twelve

years or more and had attained the age of 41 years. This section is to cease to have effect.

EXTENSION TO IRELAND

Method of Procedure.—His Majesty may, by Order in Council, extend the act to Ireland, with the necessary modifications and adaptations.

Legal Proceedings.—An Order in Council may be issued to make special provision for the constitution of the civil court before which proceedings for any offenses punishable on summary conviction under the Reserve Forces act, the Army act, and the Military Service acts are to be brought in Ireland. The order may also assign any such proceedings to a specified civil court or courts.

WITHDRAWAL OF EXEMPTIONS

His Majesty may, by proclamation declaring that a national emergency has arisen, direct that any certificates of exemption other than those granted on the grounds of ill-health or of conscientious objection shall cease to have effect.

THE TRIBUNALS

The Local Government Board or the Secretary for Scotland may make regulations for the following purposes:

1. For providing for applications for certificates of exemption, including appeals, being made to such tribunals, constituted in such manner and for such areas as may be authorized.

2. For establishing special tribunals, committees, or panels for dealing with particular classes of cases.

3. For regulating and limiting the making of applications.

4. For making other provision to secure the expeditious making and disposal of applications.

It is provided that such regulations shall not alter the four grounds for applications for certificates of exemption—the expediency, in the national interests, that a man should be engaged in other work, business or domestic reasons, ill-health, and conscientious objection.

PENALTIES

Any person making a false statement with a view to preventing or postponing the calling up of himself or any other person, or for any medical examination, is to be liable to six months' imprisonment.

It is to be the duty of any man whose certificate has been withdrawn, or who no longer satisfies the conditions on which it was granted, to transmit it forthwith to the local office of the Ministry of National Service. If he fails without reasonable

cause to do so, he will be liable to a fine of £50.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION

Any man holding a certificate of exemption (other than one from combatant service only) or applying for its renewal may at any time be required to present himself for medical examination or re-examination.

VOLUNTEER OBLIGATION

Every man granted a certificate of exemption is to join the Volunteer Force for the period of the war, unless the tribunal dealing with the case orders to the contrary.

CONVENTIONS WITH ALLIED STATES

The act is to be read with previous acts in relation to the act of 1917, which confirmed conventions with allied States making subjects of those States in this country liable for military service. That

act is also to apply to Ireland, if the act is extended to Ireland.

EXCEPTIONS

The exceptions from the act are the following:

1. Men ordinarily resident in the Dominions.

2. Members of the regular or reserve forces or of the Dominion forces, and territorials liable to foreign service.

3. Men serving in the navy, the Royal Marines, or the air force.

4. Certain categories of officers and men who have left or been discharged from the forces in consequence of disablement or ill-health; and men medically rejected, if, on further medical examination after April 5, 1917, they have been certified to be totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service.

5. Men in holy orders or regular ministers of any religious denomination.

British Aid to Italy

General Plumer's Dispatch

THE report was published May 10, 1918, that 250,000 Italian troops had been concentrated in France to swell the reserves of the allied armies against the German offensive, and that this had been accomplished without weakening the Italian front, which was preparing for a threatened Austrian attack. No statement was made regarding the British troops that had gone to Italy's aid during the disaster to the Italian armies in 1917.

General Sir Herbert Plumer, who took over the command of the British troops in Italy after their arrival there, Nov. 10, 1917, submitted his official report March 9, 1918. He stated that he found on his arrival that the situation in Italy was disquieting, the Italian Army having received a severe blow, and the aid that the British and French might give could not be immediate owing to difficulties of transport. As it was then uncertain whether the Italians could hold the Piave line, it was arranged that two British divisions in conjunction with the French should move to the hills north and south of Vicenza. By the time the troops had reached this position the situation had improved and an offer was made by the

British in conjunction with the French to take over a sector of the foothills of the Asiago Plateau. But as snow was imminent and special mountain equipment was difficult to provide, the suggestion was made by the Italians that the British should take over the Montsello sector, with the French on their left. This was agreed to.

Sir Herbert considers that the entrance of the French and British had an excellent moral effect and enabled the Italians to withdraw and reorganize. The Montsello sector, which was taken over on Dec. 4 and work immediately begun on its defense, is described by Sir Herbert as a hinge to the whole Italian line, joining the mountain portion facing north, from Mount Tomba to Lake Garda, to the Piave line held by the 3d Italian Army.

December was an anxious month. Several German divisions were east of the Piave, and an attempt to force the river and capture Venice was considered likely. Local attacks grew more and more severe, and, though the progress of the enemy was not great and Italian counterattacks were constantly made, the danger of a break-through increased. The Austrians were being encouraged to perse-

vere in the hope of getting down to the plains for the Winter.

Rear lines of defense were constructed, and as time passed and the preparations were well forward the feeling of security grew, and was further increased by the recapture by the Italians of the slopes of Monte Asolone on Dec. 22. The following day Mount Melago and Col del Rosso, on the Asiago Plateau, were lost, but the Italians regained the former by a counterattack. Though Christmas Day found the situation still serious, especially on the Asiago, where the Italians, while fighting stubbornly, suffered from strain and cold, the situation showed signs of improvement. This outlook was brightened still further by the capture of Mount Tomba, with 1,500 prisoners, by the French. In this action British artillery assisted.

"During all this period," the dispatch continues, "we had carried out continuous patrol work across the River Piave and much successful counterbattery work. The Piave is a very serious obstacle, especially at this season of the year, the breadth opposite the British front being considerably over 1,000 yards, and the current 14 knots. Every form of raft and boat has been used, but wading has proved the most successful, though the icy cold water made the difficulties even greater. In spite of this there has never been any lack of volunteers for these enterprises.

"On Jan. 1 our biggest raid was carried out by the Middlesex Regiment. This was a most difficult and well-planned operation, which had for its objective the capture and surrounding of several buildings held by the enemy to a depth of 2,000 yards inland, provided a surprise could be effected. Two hundred and fifty men were passed across by wading and some prisoners were captured, but, unfortunately, the alarm was given by a party of fifty of the enemy that was encountered in an advanced post, and the progress inland had therefore, in accordance with orders, to be curtailed. The recrossing of the river was successfully effected, and our casualties were very few. An operation of this nature requires much forethought

and arrangement, even to wrapping every man in hot blankets immediately on emerging from the icy water.

"The 3d Italian Army also opened the year well by clearing the Austrians from the west bank of the Piave about Zenson. This was followed on Jan. 14 by the attack of the 4th Italian Army on Mount Asolone, which, although not entirely successful, resulted in capturing over 400 Austrian prisoners. The situation had by this time so far improved that I offered to take over another sector of defense on my right in order to assist the Italians. This was agreed to, and was completed by Jan. 28. On this day and the following the 1st Italian Army carried out successful operations on the Col del Rosso—Mont Val Bella front, on the Asiago Plateau. The infantry attacked with great spirit, and captured 2,500 Austrians. British artillery took part in the above operation."

General Plumer states that in February the weather was bad, much snow having fallen, and operations were hampered. Although the British had not taken part in serious fighting, yet they had some share in the improvement which, he says, had taken place.

The work of the R. F. C., under Brig. Gen. Webb-Bowen, during the period under review (says Sir Herbert) has been quite brilliant. From the moment of arrival they made their presence felt, and very soon overcame the difficulties of the mountains. They have taken part in all operations, and rendered much assistance to the Italians in the air. They have carried out a large number of successful raids on enemy aerodromes, railway junctions, &c., and have during the period destroyed sixty-four hostile machines, a large proportion of which were German, and nine balloons, our losses to the enemy during the period being twelve machines and three balloons.

A comparison of the photographs of hostile battery positions when our artillery entered the line with the positions now occupied shows that the enemy batteries have been successfully forced back almost throughout the whole front. Some British artillery assisted both in French and Italian operations, and a

frequent interchange of British and Italian batteries was made, together with counterbattery staff officers, in order that experience of each other's methods might be gained. Every effort was made to illustrate the value of counterbattery work, the value of which we had learned by experience in France, but which the Italians had not hitherto fully appreciated.

"The Italians were only too anxious to profit by any experience we could give them, and this was done not only by frequent interchange of visits of commanders and staffs to the various sectors of

defense, but by the establishment of schools of instruction, at which a large number of Italian officers actually underwent the courses. About 100 Italian officers attended the courses at the various schools, together with some French officers. Similarly, British officers underwent courses at French and Italian schools."

Sir Herbert thanks the Italian authorities for their assistance, especially General Diaz, Chief of the Staff, and expresses indebtedness to Generals Fayolle and Maistre, in command of the French troops.

Emperor Charles's "Dear Sixtus" Letter

French Supplemental Statement Corroborates Its Authenticity

THE publication of the letter of Emperor Charles of Austria to his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus, in which he sought a separate peace with France, referring to the "just claims" of France to Alsace-Lorraine, and which caused the downfall of Count Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Secretary, was followed by this official denial by the Austrian Government:

The letter by his Apostolic Majesty, published by the French Premier in his communiqué of April 12, 1918, is falsified, (*verfälscht*.) First of all, it may be declared that the personality of far higher rank than the Foreign Minister, who, as admitted in the official statement of April 7, undertook peace efforts in the Spring of 1917, must be understood to be not his Apostolic Majesty but Prince Sixte of Bourbon, who in the Spring of 1917 was occupied with bringing about a rapprochement between the belligerent States. As regards the text of the letter published by M. Clemenceau, the Foreign Minister declares by All Highest command that his Apostolic Majesty wrote a purely personal private letter in the Spring of 1917 to his brother-in-law, Prince Sixte of Bourbon, which contained no instructions to the Prince to initiate mediation with the President of the French Republic or any one else, to hand on communications which might be made to him, or to evoke and receive replies. This letter, moreover, made

no mention of the Belgian question, and contained, relative to Alsace-Lorraine, the following passage: "I would have used all my personal influence in favor of the French claims for the return of Alsace-Lorraine, if these claims were just. They are not, however." The second letter of the Emperor mentioned in the French Premier's communiqué of April 9, in which his Apostolic Majesty is said to have declared that he was "in accord with his Minister," is significantly not mentioned by the French communiqué.

This statement drew forth from the French Government the following reply:

There are rotten consciences. The Emperor Charles, finding it impossible to save his face, falls into the stammerings of a man confounded. He is now reduced to accusing his brother-in-law of forgery, by fabricating with his own hand a lying text. The original document, the text of which has been published by the French Government, was communicated in the presence of M. Jules Cambon, Secretary General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and delegated for this purpose by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the President of the Republic, who, with the authorization of the Prince, handed a copy of it to the President of the Council.

The Prince spoke of the matter to M. Ribot himself in terms which would have been devoid of sense if the text had not been that published by the French Government. Is it not evidence that no conversation could have been opened, and

that the President of the Republic would not even have received the Prince a second time, if the latter, at Austria's instance, had been the bearer of a document which contested our rights instead of affirming them?

The Emperor Charles's letter, as we have quoted it, was shown by Prince Sixte himself to the Chief of State. Moreover, two friends of the Prince can attest the authenticity of the letter, especially the one who received it from the Prince to copy it.

The Serbian Government, moreover, gave the lie direct to Count Czernin's statement in reference to offering peace to Serbia. Premier Pashitch was asked in the Skupshchina at Corfu by Deputy Marco Trifcovitch whether Count Czernin's statement was true. He replied that he had denied Count Czernin's statements as soon as he had received the text of the speech from Amsterdam, and that he welcomed this fresh opportunity of declaring before Parliament that, so far as Serbia was concerned, the statements were totally inaccurate. (Exclamations from the right, "Czernin lied!") The Premier then proceeded to say that Count Czernin had never made peace overtures to Serbia, and that, if he had, such proposals would not have been accepted. "All the statements of Count Czernin," continued M. Pashitch, "are only the result of Austro-Hungarian intrigues."

Premier Clemenceau explained in detail before three committees of the French Chamber, the Committees on Foreign Affairs, the Army, and the Navy, which represented practically one-fourth of the total membership, the circumstances connected with the letters; it was unanimously agreed that there was nothing in the situation to justify any further consideration than had been given them. The Paris Temps gave the following details concerning their receipt:

The Emperor's two letters, and the conversations arising out of them, will form an essential part of the proceedings before the committees today. The letter from the Emperor to Prince Sixte of Bourbon-Parma was communicated to M. Poincaré on March 31 last year, but it remained in the possession of the Prince, who gave a copy of it to M. Ribot, by whom it was placed in the archives of the French Foreign Office. "Let us add,"

says the Temps, "that in the course of the interview which he had with Lloyd George at Folkestone a few days after the copy of the letter came into his possession that M. Ribot handed a copy of this copy to the British Premier. A little later in the interview which took place at St. Jean de Maurienne, in Savoy, between the chiefs of the British, French, and Italian Cabinets the question was raised as to what should be done in case the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet took steps toward peace negotiations. An agreement was come to without difficulty between the Allies as to the line of conduct to be adopted in such an eventuality. Let us add that this first letter sent to Prince Sixte had determined the Allies to ask for further explanations, as the result of which Prince Sixte received from his imperial brother-in-law a second letter, which was also communicated to M. Poincaré and M. Ribot. We have no right to give any indication on this subject, but we believe we can state that this second letter was regarded unanimously by the Allies as of such a nature that it would not permit them to pursue the conversations further."

Kaiser Wilhelm in the following telegram accepted without reserve Emperor Charles's statement that the Sixtus letter had been distorted:

Accept my heartiest thanks for your telegram, in which you repudiate as entirely baseless the assertion of the French Premier regarding your attitude toward French claims to Alsace-Lorraine, and in which you once again accentuate the solidarity of interest existing between us and our respective empires. I hasten to inform you that in my eyes there was no need whatever for any such assurance on your part, for I was not for a moment in doubt that you have made our cause your own, in the same measure as we stand for the rights of your monarchy. The heavy but successful battles of these years have clearly demonstrated this fact to every one who wants to see. They have only drawn the bonds close together. Our enemies, who are unable to do anything against us in honorable warfare, do not recoil from the most sordid and the lowest methods. We must, therefore, put up with it, but all the more is it our duty ruthlessly to grapple with and beat the enemy in all the theatres of war. In true friendship,

WILHELM.

As a sequel to the matter it was reported from Vienna that the mother of Empress Zita and Prince Sixtus had been compelled to leave Vienna and live in retirement at her estates, remote from the Austrian capital.

THE ISSUES IN IRELAND

Official Report of the Irish Convention—Full Text of the Chairman's Summary of the Proceedings

THE Irish home-rule question, in consequence of the failure of the Irish Convention to agree, became an important war issue in the Spring of 1918 on account of its effect upon Great Britain's man-power measures.

Premier Lloyd George, on May 21, 1917, announced the Government's decision to summon a convention of Irishmen representing all parties and interests to endeavor to reach an agreement on the home-rule question. The Sinn Feiners refused to send representatives, but all other factions were represented in the convention, which met July 25, 1917, at Dublin and elected Sir Horace Plunkett Chairman. The report of its recommendations was made public April 13, 1918, in three separate documents—the proposals for a scheme of Irish self-government, adopted by vote of 44 to 29 in a total membership of 90; a protest by the Ulster Unionist delegates, who dissented from any agreement, and the report of 22 Nationalist delegates, who were unable to agree to the fiscal proposals. The majority proposals were accepted by practically all the Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and 5 out of 7 of the Labor representatives.

The summary of the proceedings, presented by Sir Horace Plunkett, and the scheme of government as agreed upon by the majority, are of importance historically for a comparison with subsequent measures of home rule, which the British Government announces it intends to introduce before putting into force conscription in Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY

Sir Horace Plunkett's letter reads:

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith the report of the proceedings of the Irish Convention. For the immediate object of the Government the report tells all that needs to be told:

It shows that in the convention, while it was not found possible to overcome the objections of the Ulster Unionists, a majority of Nationalists, all the Southern Unionists, and five out of the seven Labor representatives were agreed that the scheme of Irish self-government set out in Paragraph 42 of the report should be immediately passed into law. A minority of Nationalists propose a scheme which differs in only one important particular from that of the majority. The convention has, therefore, laid a foundation of Irish agreement unprecedented in history.

I recognize that action in Parliament upon the result of our deliberations must largely depend upon public opinion. Without a knowledge of the circumstances which, at the termination of our proceedings, compelled us to adopt an unusual method of presenting the results of our deliberations, the public might be misled as to what has actually been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary to explain our procedure.

Adopting the Report

We had every reason to believe that the Government contemplated immediate legislation upon the results of our labors. The work of an Irish settlement, suspended at the outbreak of the war, is now felt to admit of no further postponement. In the dominions and in the United States, as well as in other allied countries, the unsettled Irish question is a disturbing factor both in regard to war effort and peace aims. Nevertheless, urgent as our task was, we could not complete it until every possibility of agreement had been explored. The moment this point was reached—and you will not be surprised that it took us eight months to reach it—we decided to issue our report with the least possible delay. To do this we had to avoid further controversy and protracted debate. I was, therefore, on March 22, instructed to draft a report which should be a mere narrative of the convention's proceedings, with a statement, for the information of the Government, of the conclusions adopted, whether unanimously or by majorities.

It was hoped that this report might be unanimously signed; and it was understood that any groups or individuals would be free to append to it such statements as they deemed necessary to give expression to their views. The draft report was circulated on March 30, and discussed and amended on April 4 and 5. The accuracy of the narrative was not challenged, though there was considerable difference of opinion as to the rela-

tive prominence which should be given to some parts of the proceedings. As time pressed, it was decided not to have any discussion upon a majority report, nor upon any minority reports or other statements which might be submitted. The draft report was adopted by a majority, and the Chairman and Secretary were ordered to sign it and forward it to the Government. A limit of twenty-four hours was, by agreement, put upon the reception of any other reports or statements, and in the afternoon of April 5 the convention adjourned sine die.

The public is thus provided with no majority report, in the sense of a reasoned statement in favor of the conclusions upon which the majority are agreed, but is left to gather from the narrative of proceedings what the contents of such a report would have been. On the other hand, both the Ulster Unionists and a minority of the Nationalists have presented minority reports covering the whole field of the convention's inquiry. The result of this procedure is to minimize the agreement reached, and to emphasize the disagreement. In these circumstances I conceive it to be my duty as Chairman to submit such explanatory observations as are required to enable the reader of the report and the accompanying documents to gain a clear idea of the real effect and significance of the convention's achievement.

I may assume a knowledge of the broad facts of the Irish question. It will be agreed that of recent years the greatest obstacle to its settlement has been the Ulster difficulty. There seemed to be two possible issues to our deliberations. If a scheme of Irish self-government could be framed to which the Ulster Unionists would give their adherence, then the convention might produce a unanimous report. Failing such a consummation, we might secure agreement, either complete or substantial, between the Nationalist, the Southern Unionist, and the Labor representatives. Many entertained the hope that the effect of such a striking and wholly new development would be to induce Ulster to reconsider its position.

Ulster Issue Unsolved

Perhaps unanimity was too much to expect. Be this as it may, neither time nor effort was spared in striving for that goal, and there were moments when its attainment seemed possible. There was, however, a portion of Ulster where a majority claimed that, if Ireland had the right to separate herself from the rest of the United Kingdom, they had the same right to separation from the rest of Ireland. But the time had gone by when any other section of the Irish people would accept the partition of their country, even as a temporary expedient. Hence, the Ulster Unionist members in the convention remained there only in the hope that some form of home rule would be proposed which might modify the determination of those they

represented to have neither part nor lot in an Irish Parliament. The Nationalists strove to win them by concessions, but they found themselves unable to accept any of the schemes discussed, and the only scheme of Irish government they presented to the convention was confined to the exclusion of their entire province.

Long before the hope of complete unanimity had passed, the majority of the convention were considering the possibilities of agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists. Lord Midleton was the first to make a concrete proposal to this end. The report shows that in November he outlined to the Grand Committee and in December brought before the convention what looked like a workable compromise. It accepted self-government for Ireland. In return for special minority representation in the Irish Parliament, already conceded by the Nationalists, it offered to that Parliament complete power over internal legislation and administration, and, in matters of finance, over direct taxation and excise. But, although they agreed that the customs revenue should be paid in to the Irish Exchequer, the Southern Unionists insisted upon the permanent reservation to the Imperial Parliament of the power to fix the rates of customs duties. By far the greater part of our time and attention was occupied by this one question, whether the imposition of customs duties should or should not be under the control of the Irish Parliament. The difficulties of the Irish Convention may be summed up in two words—Ulster and Customs.

Customs and Excise Problem

The Ulster difficulty the whole world knows; but how the customs question came to be one of vital principle, upon the decision of which depended the amount of agreement that could be reached in the convention, needs to be told. The tendency of recent political thought among constitutional Nationalists has been toward a form of government resembling as closely as possible that of the dominions, and, since the geographical position of Ireland imposes obvious restrictions in respect of naval and military affairs, the claim for dominion home rule was concentrated upon a demand for unrestricted fiscal powers. Without separate customs and excise Ireland would, according to this view, fail to attain a national status like that enjoyed by the dominions.

Upon this issue the Nationalists made a strong case, and were able to prove that a considerable number of leading commercial men had come to favor fiscal autonomy as part of an Irish settlement. In the present state of public opinion in Ireland it was feared that without customs no scheme the convention recommended would receive a sufficient measure of popular support to secure legislation. To obviate any serious disturbance of the trade of the United Kingdom the Nationalists were prepared to agree

to a free-trade arrangement between the two countries. But this did not overcome the difficulties of the Southern Unionists, who on this point agreed with the Ulster Unionists. They were apprehensive that a separate system of customs control, however guarded, might impair the authority of the United Kingdom over its external trade policy. Neither could they consent to any settlement which was, in their judgment, incompatible with Ireland's full participation in a scheme of United Kingdom federation, should that come to pass.

It was clear that by means of mutual concessions agreement between the Nationalists and the Southern Unionists could be reached on all other points. On this important point, however, a section of the Nationalists, who have embodied their views in a separate report, held that no compromise was possible. On the other hand, a majority of the Nationalists and the whole body of Southern Unionists felt that nothing effective could result from their work in the convention unless some understanding was reached upon customs which would render an agreement on a complete scheme attainable. Neither side was willing to surrender the principle; but both sides were willing, in order that a Parliament should be at once established, to postpone a legislative decision upon the ultimate control of customs and excise. At the same time each party has put on record, in separate notes subjoined to the report, its claim respecting the final settlement of this question. A decision having been reached upon the cardinal issue, the majority of the convention carried a series of resolutions which together form a complete scheme of self-government.

Parliament for All Ireland

This scheme provides for the establishment of a Parliament for the whole of Ireland, with an Executive responsible to it, and with full powers over all internal legislation, administration, and direct taxation. Pending a decision of the fiscal question, it is provided that the imposition of duties of customs and excise shall remain with the Imperial Parliament, but that the whole of the proceeds of these taxes shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. A joint Exchequer Board is to be set up to determine the Irish true revenue, and Ireland is to be represented upon the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom.

The principle of representation in the Imperial Parliament was insisted upon from the first by the Southern Unionists, and the Nationalists conceded it. It was felt, however, that there were strong reasons for providing that the Irish representatives at Westminster should be elected by the Irish Parliament rather than directly by the constituencies, and this was the arrangement adopted.

It was accepted in principle that there

should be an Irish contribution to the cost of imperial services, but owing to lack of data it was not found possible in the convention to fix any definite sum.

It was agreed that the Irish Parliament should consist of two houses—a Senate of sixty-four members and a House of Commons of 200. The principle underlying the composition of the Senate is the representation of interests. This is effected by giving representation to commerce, industry, and labor, the County Councils, the Churches, learned institutions, and the peerage. In constituting the House of Commons the Nationalists offered to guarantee 40 per cent. of its membership to the Unionists. It was agreed that, in the south, adequate representation for Unionists could only be secured by nomination; but, as the Ulster representatives had informed the convention that those for whom they spoke could not accept the principle of nomination, provision was made in the scheme for an extra representation of Ulster by direct election.

The majority of the Labor representatives associated themselves with the Nationalists and Southern Unionists in building up the Constitution, with the provisions of which they found themselves in general agreement. They frankly objected, however, to the principle of nomination and to what they regarded as the inadequate representation of Labor in the upper house. Throughout our proceedings they helped in every way toward the attainment of agreement. Nor did they press their own special claims in such a manner as to make more difficult the work, already difficult enough, of agreeing upon a Constitution.

Knottiest Question in History

I trust I have said enough to enable the reader of this report and the accompanying documents to form an accurate judgment upon the nature and difficulties of the task before the convention and upon its actual achievement. While, technically, it was our function to draft a Constitution for our country, it would be more correct to say that we had to find a way out of the most complex and anomalous political situation to be found in history—I might almost say in fiction. We are living under a system of government which survives only because the act abolishing it cannot, consistently with Ministerial pledges, be put into operation without further legislation no less difficult and controversial than that which it has to amend. While the responsibility for a solution to our problem rests primarily with the Government, the convention found itself in full accord with your insistence that the most hopeful path to a settlement was to be found in Irish agreement. In seeking this—in attempting to find a compromise which Ireland might accept and Parliament pass into law—it has been recognized that the full program of no party could be adopted. The convention was also bound to give due weight to your opinion that

to press for a settlement at Westminster, during the war, of the question which, as I have shown, had been a formidable obstacle to agreement would be to imperil the prospect of the early establishment of self-government in Ireland.

Notwithstanding the difficulties with which we were surrounded, a larger measure of agreement has been reached upon the principle and details of Irish self-government than has yet been attained. Is it too much to hope that the scheme embodying this agreement will forthwith be brought to fruition by those to whose call the Irish Convention has now responded? I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

HORACE PLUNKETT.

April 8, 1918.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

The proposed scheme of Irish self-government referred to in Sir Horace Plunkett's letter is set out below, the majorities by which each section or subsection was carried being indicated in parentheses:

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. (51 votes to 18.)

- (1) The Irish Parliament to consist of the King, an Irish Senate, and an Irish House of Commons.
- (2) Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in the Government of Ireland act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland and every part thereof.

POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to have the general power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, subject to the exclusions and restrictions specified in 3 and 4 below. (51 to 19.)

EXCLUSIONS FROM POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. (49 to 16.) The Irish Parliament to have no power to make laws on the following matters:

- (1) Crown and succession.
- (2) Making of peace and war, (including conduct as neutrals.)
- (3) The army and navy.
- (4) Treaties and foreign relations, (including extradition.)
- (5) Dignities and titles of honor.
- (6) Any necessary control of harbors for naval and military purposes, and certain powers as regards lighthouses, buoys, beacons, cables, wireless terminals, to be settled with reference to the requirements of the military and naval forces of his Majesty in various contingencies. (41 to 13.)
- (7) Coinage; legal tender; or any change in the standard of weights and measures.
- (8) Copyright or patent rights.

TEMPORARY AND PARTIAL RESERVATION. The Imperial and Irish Governments shall jointly

arrange, subject to imperial exigencies, for the unified control of the Irish police and postal services during the war, provided that as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities the administration of these two services shall become automatically subject to the Irish Parliament. (37 to 21.)

RESTRICTION ON POWER OF IRISH PARLIAMENT ON MATTERS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE. (46 to 15.)

- (1) Prohibition of laws interfering with religious equality. N. B.—A subsection should be framed to annul any existing legal penalty, disadvantage, or disability on account of religious belief. Certain restrictions still remain under the act of 1829.
- (2) Special provision protecting the position of Freemasons.
- (3) Safeguard for Trinity College and Queen's University similar to Section 42 of act.
- (4) Money bills to be founded only on Vice-regal message.
- (5) Privileges, qualifications, &c., of members of Irish Parliament to be limited as in act.
- (6) Rights of existing Irish officers to be safeguarded.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. Section 9 (4) of the act of 1914 to apply to the House of Commons with the substitution of "ten years" for "three years." The constitution of the Senate to be subject to alteration after ten years, provided the bill is agreed to by two-thirds of the total number of members of both houses sitting together. (46 to 15.)

EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The executive power in Ireland to continue vested in the King, but exercisable through the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of an Irish Executive Committee in the manner set out in act. (45 to 15.)

DISSOLUTION OF IRISH PARLIAMENT. The Irish Parliament to be summoned, prorogued, and dissolved as set out in act. (45 to 15.)

ASSENT TO BILLS. Royal assent to be given or withheld as set out in act with the substitution of "reservation" for "postponement." (45 to 15.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE. (48 votes to 19.) Lord Chancellor, 1; four Archbishops or Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, 4; two Archbishops or Bishops of the Church of Ireland, 2; a representative of the General Assembly, 1; the Lord Mayors of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, 3; peers resident in Ireland, elected by peers resident in Ireland, 15; nominated by Lord Lieutenant—Irish Privy Councillors of at least two years' standing 4, representatives of learned institutions 3, other persons 4; representatives of commerce and industry, 15; representatives of labor, one for each province, 4; representatives of County Councils, two for each province, 8—64.

On the disappearance of any nominated ele-

ment in the House of Commons an addition shall be made to the numbers of the Senate. CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. (45 to 20.)

- (1) The ordinary elected members of the House of Commons shall number 160.
- (2) The University of Dublin, the University of Belfast, and the National University shall each return two members. The graduates of each university shall form the constituency.
- (3) Special representation shall be given to urban and industrial areas by grouping the smaller towns and applying to them a lower electoral quota than that applicable to the rest of the country.
- (4) The principle of proportional representation, with the single transferable vote, shall be observed wherever a constituency returns three or more members. (47 to 22.)
- (5) The convention accept the principle that 40 per cent. of the membership of the House of Commons shall be guaranteed to Unionists. In pursuance of this, they suggest that, for a period, there shall be summoned to the Irish House of Commons twenty members nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, with a view to the due representation of interests not otherwise adequately represented in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, and that twenty additional members shall be elected by Ulster constituencies, to represent commercial, industrial, and agricultural interests.
- (6) The Lord Lieutenant's power of nomination shall be exercised subject to any instructions that may be given by his Majesty the King.
- (7) The nominated members shall disappear in whole or in part after fifteen years, and not earlier, notwithstanding anything contained in Clause 5.
- (8) The extra representation in Ulster not to cease except on an adverse decision by a three-fourths majority of both houses sitting together. (27 to 20.)
- (9) The House of Commons shall continue for five years unless previously dissolved.
- (10) Nominated members shall vacate their seats on a dissolution but shall be eligible for renomination. Any vacancy among the nominated members shall be filled by nomination.

MONEY BILLS. (45 to 22.)

- (1) Money bills to originate only in the House of Commons, and not to be amended by the Senate. (Act, Section 10.)
- (2) The Senate is, however, to have power to bring about a joint sitting over money bills in the same session of Parliament.
- (3) The Senate to have power to suggest amendments, which the House of Commons may accept or reject as it pleases.

DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN HOUSES. Disagreements between the two houses to be solved by joint sittings as set out in act, with the proviso that if the Senate fail to pass a money bill such joint sitting shall be held

in the same session of Parliament. (45 to 22.)

REPRESENTATION AT WESTMINSTER.

- (1) Representation in Parliament of the United Kingdom to continue. Irish representatives to have the right of deliberating and voting on all matters.
- (2) Forty-two Irish representatives shall be elected to the Commons House of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the following manner:
A panel shall be formed in each of the four provinces of Ireland, consisting of the members for that province in the Irish House of Commons, and one other panel shall be formed consisting of members nominated to the Irish House of Commons. The number of representatives to be elected to the Commons House of the Imperial Parliament shall be proportionate to the numbers of each panel and the election shall be on the principle of proportional representation. (42 to 24.)
- (3) The Irish representation in the House of Lords shall continue as at present unless and until that chamber be remodeled, when the matter shall be reconsidered by the Imperial and Irish Parliaments. (44 to 22.)

FINANCE. (51 to 18.)

- (1) An Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund to be established and an Irish Controller and Auditor General to be appointed as set out in act.
- (2) If necessary, it should be declared that all taxes at present leviable in Ireland should continue to be levied and collected until the Irish Parliament otherwise decides.
- (3) The necessary adjustments of revenue as between Great Britain and Ireland during the transition period should be made.

FINANCIAL POWERS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

- (1) The control of customs and excise by an Irish Parliament is to be postponed for further consideration until after the war, provided that the question of such control shall be considered and decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom within seven years after the conclusion of peace. For the purpose of deciding in the Parliament of the United Kingdom the question of the future control of Irish customs and excise, a number of Irish representatives proportioned to the population of Ireland shall be called to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. (38 to 34.)
- (2) On the creation of an Irish Parliament, and until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish customs and excise services shall have been decided, the Board of Customs and Excise of the United Kingdom shall include a person or persons nominated by the Irish Treasury. (39 to 33.)
- (3) A Joint Exchequer Board, consisting of two members nominated by the Imperial Treasury, and two members nominated

by the Irish Treasury, with a Chairman appointed by the King, shall be set up to secure the determination of the true income of Ireland. (39 to 33.)

(4) Until the question of the ultimate control of the Irish customs and excise services shall have been decided, the revenue due to Ireland from customs and excise, as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer. (38 to 30.)

(5) All branches of taxation, other than customs and excise, shall be under the control of the Irish Parliament. (38 to 30.)

IMPERIAL CONTRIBUTION. The principle of such a contribution is approved. (Unanimously.)

LAND PURCHASE. The convention accept the recommendations of the Sub-Committee on Land Purchase. (Unanimously.)

JUDICIAL POWER. (43 to 17.) The following provisions of the Government of Ireland act to be adopted:

(a) Safeguarding position of existing Irish Judges.

(b) Leaving appointment of future Judges to the Irish Government and their removal to the Crown on address from both houses of Parliament.

(c) Transferring appeals from the House of Lords to the Judicial Committee, strengthened by Irish Judges.

(d) Extending right of appeal to this court.

(e) Provision as to reference of questions of validity to Judicial Committee.

The Lord Chancellor is not to be a political officer.

LORD LIEUTENANT. The Lord Lieutenant is not to be a political officer. He shall hold office for six years, and neither he nor the Lords Justices shall be subject to any religious disqualification. His salary shall be sufficient to throw the post open to men of moderate means. (43 to 17.)

CIVIL SERVICE. (42 to 18.)

(1) There shall be a Civil Service Commission consisting of representatives of Irish universities which shall formulate a scheme of competitive examinations for admission to the public service, including statutory administrative bodies, and no person shall be admitted to such service unless he holds the certificate of the Civil Service Commission.

(2) A scheme of appointments in the public service, with recommendations as to scales of salary for the same, shall be prepared by a commission consisting of an independent Chairman of outstanding position in Irish public life, and two colleagues, one of whom shall represent Unionist interests.

(3) No appointments to positions shall be made before the scheme of this commission has been approved.

DEFERRING TAKING OVER CERTAIN IRISH SERVICES. Arrangements to be made to permit the Irish Government, if they so desire, to defer taking over the services relating to Old-Age Pensions, National Insurance, Labor Ex-

changes, Post Office Trustee Savings Banks, and Friendly Societies. (43 to 18.)

The final division on the question of the adoption of the report as a whole was as follows:

FOR (44)

E. H. Andrews	Alderman McCarron
M. K. Barry	M. McDonogh
J. Bolger	J. McDonnell
W. Broderick	C. McKay
J. Butler	A. R. MacMullen
J. J. Clancy	Viscount Midleton
J. J. Coen	J. Murphy
D. Condren	J. O'Dowd
P. Dempsey	C. P. O'Neill
Earl of Desart	Lord Oranmore and
J. Dooley	Browne
Captain Doran	Dr. O'Sullivan
Archbishop of Dublin	J. B. Powell
Lord Mayor of Dublin	T. Power
T. Fallon	Provost of Trinity
J. Fitzgibbon	College
Sir W. Goulding	Sir S. B. Quin
M. Governey	D. Reilly
Earl of Granard	M. Slattery
Captain Gwynn	G. F. Stewart
T. Halligan	R. Waugh
A. Jameson	H. T. Whitley
W. Kavanagh	Sir B. Windle

AGAINST (29)

Duke of Abercorn	M. E. Knight
Sir R. N. Anderson	Marquis of London-
H. B. Armstrong	derry
H. T. Barrie	J. S. McCance
Lord Mayor of Bel-	Sir C. McCullagh
fast	J. McGarry
Archbishop of Cashel	H. G. MacGeagh
Sir G. Clark	J. McHugh
Colonel J. J. Clark	Moderator General
Lord Mayor of Cork	Assembly
Colonel Sharman-	W. M. Murphy
Crawford	P. O'H. Peters
Bishop of Down and	H. M. Pollock
Connor	Bishop of Raphoe
T. Duggan	T. Toal
H. Garahan	Colonel Wallace
J. Hanna	Sir W. Whitla

ULSTER UNIONISTS' REPORT

Nineteen Ulster Unionists signed a dissenting report in which they declared that it had soon become evident to them that no real approach to agreement was possible, as the Nationalists put it beyond doubt that what they wanted was "full national independence," or a Parliament possessing co-equal powers with those of the Imperial Parliament. If the Ulster Unionists had anticipated this at the outset, their report explained, they "could not have agreed to enter the convention." Objection was taken to the Nationalist

scheme, which aimed at denying the right of the Imperial Parliament to impose military service in Ireland "unless with the consent of the proposed Irish Parliament."

Dr. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Archbishop of Armagh, in a separate note, stated that they found it impossible to vote for the majority proposals, since these involved, in their opinion, either the coercion of Ulster, which was unthinkable, or the partition of Ireland, which would be disastrous.

Twenty-two Nationalists, including Joseph Devlin, M. P., the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Raphoe, the Bishop of Down and Connor, and the Lord Mayors of Dublin and Cork, signed a report favoring a subordinate Irish Parliament with immediate full powers of taxation.

The majority of the Nationalists also signed a note explaining that for the sake of reaching an agreement with the Unionists they did not press their claim for full fiscal autonomy.

The Southern Unionists, who for "high considerations of allied and imperial interests" signed the majority report, also added a note. They insisted that all imperial questions and services, including the levying of customs duties, be left in the hands of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; that Ireland send representatives to Westminster; and that the whole of Ireland participate in any Irish Parliament.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE

Apert from the main question whether an Irish Parliament with an Executive responsible to it should be established, debate chiefly centred on the question of fiscal autonomy. By January, 1918, it became apparent that on the financial issue there were three clearly defined bodies of opinion:

First—The Ulster Unionists favoring the maintenance of the fiscal unity of the United Kingdom;

Second—A section of Nationalists insisting upon complete fiscal autonomy for Ireland;

Third—The Southern Unionists, sup-

ported by other Nationalists, and the majority of the Labor representatives, favoring a compromise which left to Ireland the proceeds of all sources of revenue and the imposition of all taxes other than customs.

It was to overcome these and other differences that Premier Lloyd George invited representatives of the convention to London to confer with the Cabinet. The Premier's letter, dated Feb. 25, 1918, is published in the report. It discloses the fact that some of the Nationalists had been willing to set up an Ulster Committee in the Irish Parliament to veto the application of certain legislation to that province, to make Belfast the headquarters of the Irish Ministry of Commerce, and to let the Irish Parliament meet alternately in Dublin and Belfast.

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Dealing with "the difficult question of customs and excise," Lloyd George wrote:

The Government are aware of the serious objections which can be raised against the transfer of these services to an Irish Legislature. It would be practically impossible to make such a disturbance of the fiscal and financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland in the midst of a great war. It might also be incompatible with that federal reorganization of the United Kingdom in favor of which there is a growing body of opinion. On the other hand, the Government recognize the strong claim that can be made that an Irish Legislature should have some control over indirect taxation as the only form of taxation which touches the great majority of the people, and which in the past has represented the greater part of Irish revenue.

The Government feel that this is a matter which cannot be finally settled at the present time. They therefore suggest for the consideration of the convention that, during the period of the war and for a period of two years thereafter, the control of customs and excise should be reserved to the United Kingdom Parliament; that, as soon as possible after the Irish Parliament has been established, a Joint Exchequer Board should be set up to secure the determination of the true revenue of Ireland—a provision which is essential to a system of responsible Irish government—and to the making of a national balance sheet, and that, at the end of the war, a royal commission should be established to re-examine impartially and thoroughly the financial relations of

Great Britain and Ireland, to report on the contribution of Ireland to imperial expenditure, and to submit proposals as to the best means of adjusting the economic and fiscal relations of the two countries.

The Government consider that during the period of the war the control of all taxation other than customs and excise could be handed over to the Irish Parliament; that for the period of the war and two years thereafter an agreed proportion of the annual imperial expenditure should be fixed as the Irish contribution; and that all Irish revenue from customs and excise as determined by the Joint Exchequer Board, after deduction of the agreed Irish contribution to Imperial expenditure, should be paid into the Irish Exchequer. For administrative reasons, during the period of the war it is necessary that the police should remain under imperial control, and it seems to the Government to be desirable that for the same period the postal service should be a reserved service.

CONSCRIPTION IN IRELAND

The announcement of the British Government's twofold plan of home rule and conscription for Ireland caused an outpouring of protests from the whole of the Nationalist population. Preparations for resistance were begun, a great anti-conscription fund was opened, resolutions from public bodies began pouring in, and the Sinn Fein clubs renewed their activities.

The most striking feature of the opposition to conscription was that it welded together all the Irish elements represented by the Nationalist Party, the Independent Home Rulers, led by William O'Brien and Timothy Healy; the Sinn Fein, and the Labor organizations, which in recent years had not been very friendly to the Nationalists. Representatives of all these parties were present at a conference in Dublin, held, under the Chairmanship of the Lord Mayor, on April 18. The Catholic Bishops, at a meeting in Maynooth the same day, adopted a declaration against conscription. This meeting was attended by five representatives from the Dublin conference—John Dillon, Edward de Valere, Timothy Healy, a Labor delegate, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin.

A majority of the Nationalist members of the House of Commons decided to

abstain from attendance in Parliament during the crisis, thus adopting the attitude of the Sinn Feiners who were elected to the House but have never attended. Fifty-five of the Nationalist members met in Dublin on April 20, with John Dillon presiding, and passed a resolution in which they declared that the enforcement of compulsory military service on a nation without its assent constituted "one of the most brutal acts of tyranny and oppression of which any Government can be guilty."

Fifteen hundred delegates of labor unions met at the Mansion House, Dublin, on April 20, and pledged their resistance to conscription. They also fixed April 23 for the stoppage of all work as an earnest of this resolve and to enable all workers to sign the pledge of resistance. The complete stoppage of work was duly observed on the day mentioned, and passed off for the most part in a quiet and orderly manner.

Sunday, April 21, was observed throughout Catholic Ireland as the day for the administration by the priests of the anti-conscription covenant. From every Catholic pulpit conscription was the subject of discourse, and the action of the Bishops and political leaders was explained. The assemblies where the pledge was taken were generally outside the churches, sometimes in the open air, sometimes in a hall. The practice followed in many cases was for the priest to read the pledge, sentence by sentence, the people reciting after him. In other cases the pledge was given by the raising of hands or the signing of a paper. The Bishops took part with the inferior clergy in administering the pledge, addressing the people and generally warning them against isolated and unconsidered action. They urged obedience to the orders of the recognized leaders, who act in co-operation. All classes, including lawyers, bankers, and merchants, as well as farmers and workmen, took the pledge.

On May 1 an Order in Council was issued by the British Government postponing the operation of the National Service, or conscription, act in Ireland beyond that date, to which it had been previously postponed.

Premier Lloyd George, commenting on the new attitude of the Irish Home Rulers in a letter addressed on May 2 to Irish workers on the Tyneside in England, wrote:

The difficulties have not been rendered easier of settlement by the challenge to supremacy of the United Kingdom Parliament in that sphere, which always has been regarded as properly belonging to it by all advocates of home rule, which recently was issued by the Nationalist Party and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in concert with the leaders of the Sinn Féin.

While Nationalist and Catholic Ireland had already begun its campaign of resistance to conscription, the Ulster Unionists, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, prepared to oppose home rule. Sir Edward Carson declared that the Government had broken its

pledges to Ulster by undertaking to pass a Home Rule bill, and on April 24 he advised the Ulster Unionist Council to reorganize its machinery for the impending struggle.

The appointment of Field Marshal Viscount French as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and of Edward Shortt, member of the House of Commons for Newcastle-on-Tyne, as Chief Secretary for Ireland was officially announced on May 5.

Lord French, before his new appointment, was Commander in Chief of the forces in the United Kingdom and had gone to Ireland in that capacity a few days before he became Viceroy. Edward Shortt, in addition to being a Home Ruler, had voted against the extension of conscription to Ireland until an Irish Government had been established.

Greatest Gas Attack of the War

W. A. Willison, Canadian correspondent, cabled from the Picardy front on March 22, 1918:

While British and German troops were struggling far to the south in the opening clash of the Spring campaign, the greatest projector gas bombardment in the world's history was carried out by the Canadians tonight against the enemy positions between Lens and Hill 70. Sharply at 11 o'clock the signal rocket gave notice of the beginning. A moment later over 5,000 drums of lethal gas were simultaneously released from projectors, and were hurled into the enemy territory from the outskirts of Lens, and northward to Cité St. Auguste and the Bois de Dix-Huit.

From his front lines and strong points favoring winds carried the poisonous clouds back upon the enemy's supports, reserves, and assembly areas. The whole of the front was lit up with enemy flares, dimly seen through the heavy mist, while the men in our lines could hear the enemy's gas alarms and cries of distress from the hostile trenches.

Nine minutes later our field artillery, supported by heavy guns and heavy trench mortars, opened up with a slow bombardment, which gradually increased in intensity, until, forty minutes later, the enemy positions were swept with a short, intensive, creeping barrage, which raked his forward and rear areas with high explosive. Caught by our gas without a moment's warning, caught again as he was emerging from his shelters by our artillery, the enemy's casualties must have been very heavy, for the effectiveness of our smaller gas operations has been emphatically proved by the evidence of prisoners.

Tonight's bombardment was three times greater than anything of its kind ever attempted by us on the Western front, and much greater than anything ever launched by the Germans, though the score of the second battle of Ypres and other reckonings are still to be settled, and will be settled.

Plucky Dunkirk

By Anna Milo Upjohn

Inspector in Paris for the Fraternité Americaine

[Since this article was written Dunkirk has faced a new peril from the blow struck in her direction by the powerful German armies around Ypres, to the southeast; but the author's vivid and sympathetic description of the daily life of the little city remains as true as in the Winter days when it was penned for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

IN the track of the wind stands the plucky little City of Dunkirk, still flapping the flags of courage and constancy in the face of an increasingly rabid enemy. It is the only city of France that is subjected to bombardment from land and sea and sky.

What is the every-day life in a town near enough to the front to be never free from the menace of a triple bombardment? That is what I went to find out, traveling by way of Calais in stygian darkness, for the train was without lights to avoid the danger of bombs.

A little before dawn the train drew into the black station of Dunkirk, through whose roofing the sky showed dimly in spots where air-raid shells had spattered. The silent crowd jostled through the darkness, the soldiers separating themselves from it at the military exit. Inside, only a ray from a dark lantern, held by the officer who scanned the passports one by one, made a spot of light among the overlapping shadows. The wind sighed through the draughty place, the snow entered freely, the floor was sloppy with mud. Outside in the empty square not a vehicle, not a porter, in sight. The street cars had stopped running.

My hotel lay beyond the centre of the town. In the driving storm, through unknown streets, I knew it would be foolish to attempt to find it. An officer passed and to him I appealed. "To the right, in the middle of the square," he said, with outstretched arm, "is the Lion de Flandre. If they can't put you up there, come back and we will see."

Not a point of light indicated the identity of the Lion de Flandre. On nearer approach all the houses appeared boarded up, as though long since abandoned. In the middle of the square was an ob-

long hump, like the roofed-over foundation of a demolished building. I learned later that this was a public refuge built for the inhabitants of the section.

HOTEL IN DANGER ZONE

As I turned irresolutely in the direction of the dark façades, the silhouette of a man in casque and puttees passed across the snow. A crack of light gleamed from a hidden doorway, and through it he disappeared. I followed hard after him and stepped into a lighted room full of smoke and soldiers, a *man's* place, with sand-strewn floor and bottles conspicuously in evidence. Nevertheless, the comfortable woman behind the bar received me without surprise. A room she could give me, but as for food, that was a different matter. The boches had the habit of coming at about dinner time, and it had become a nuisance to abandon the untasted meal every night and to dive into the cave—it really had! So she had given up trying to have anything hot at night and let the fires go out at 6. But if I would like a sandwich and some beer—?

After the long, starved journey this was not alluring.

"Not a cup of tea with the sandwich?" I pleaded. A collaborator was called, a plump, dark woman, and after a hurried conference I was asked to wait in the room behind the café. Nothing could be more dismal than this compartment. It was high for its floor space, like a deep box with a lid, and had no outside windows, being wedged between the café and the kitchen. The ornate glass divisions were gone or clinging in fragments, the walls pierced in many places, the plaster down. A tiny point of gas burned high above the table.

They were very good to me, these war-

bound women, one of whom, I discovered, had an ulcerated tooth, the other two little boys captive in Belgium.

FIRST NIGHT'S EXPERIENCES

In a short time a small bit of steak and a potato cut in quarters and fried were placed before me, and simultaneously a large black dog with wistful eyes but determined manner stationed himself at my side. The steak was followed by a chilly little salad, bread and cheese, and more butter than I had seen for many a month in Paris—and a cup of tea which, for its grateful warmth, I drank without challenge.

Snatches of honest English, mingled with French, filtered in from the café, where the fire was not quite extinct and where beer was served until 9 o'clock. Before that hour I was fumbling upstairs guided by the patronne, who carried a two-inch stub of candle between her fingers. "This is the way to the cave," she explained, pointing to a doorway under the stairs. "In case of an alarm you have only to rush down there. There will be a light burning at the entrance." Passing through the hallway she indicated the spot where a man had recently been killed. "If he had stayed where he was, at the table where you have just eaten, Madame, he would have been all right, but as he ran to the refuge a bomb exploded outside in the square, burst open the front door, traversed the length of the corridor, passed through the kitchen wall and into the garden beyond. But you can rest assured that nothing will happen tonight, Madame," continued the patronne, who seemed as familiar with the habits of Goths as a farmer's wife is with those of fowls—"Not in this wind, oh, no!"

After that first night I groped my way alone to bed, the candle stub having come to an end, feeling my way along the pitch dark passageways to the room with the linoleum mat, the room which had not known fire for three years and a half, whose paneless windows were boarded up, the one room in the house which had not lost a ceiling or floor or whose walls were not clipped through with shells. The regular inmates of the

hotel slept nightly in the cellar. It saved time and was warmer.

Notwithstanding the reassurances of the patronne I confess to going to bed with half my clothes on. But under the wing of the storm Dunkirk slept tranquilly for three successive nights. Of course, there was always the soft bum-bum of the cannon on the northern horizon, strange tremors shook the bed, and the night was full of weird sounds, the rattling skeletons of dead houses.

BRAVE LITTLE DUNKIRK

Like an arm held up to protect the face, the coast between Calais and Dunkirk bears the brunt of storm from the North Sea. A dark sea, sombre and brooding, girdled by lowering clouds; on the snow-driven plain a few detached towers, etched as though in sepia against the gray sky and rising abruptly above the low line of roof—this is Dunkirk on a Winter's day. A homely little town with a deep fringe of docks and waterways on its seaward side and a girdle of fortifications built by Vauban encircling the rest. The whole set in a ring of dark water which fills the moat. It is thoroughly Flemish in character, and, seen from the water, must resemble a city on a delft tile. The moral attitude of the town has always been one of robust activity. Even its patron saints are among the most industrious and enterprising in the calendar—notably St. Eloi, who brought Christianity to the Dunkerquois and to whom the original Dunkirk (church on the dunes) was dedicated.

All the history of the town is tinged with a vigor which has blown in to it from the sea. Here the crusading ships of Baldwin of Flanders, and later those of St. Louis of France, were fitted out. After the momentous marriage of Marie of Burgundy had thrown the city for a time under the dominion of Spain it played a brilliant part in the game of the period—piracy.

The quaint tower on the quay—called Lugenhaer, the Liar—was used at that epoch to give false signals to ships at sea. But it dates from a much earlier period, and was one of twenty-eight towers with which Baldwin of Flanders



A photograph, full of human interest, showing Americans, headed by a regimental band, marching to the front in France
(*American Official Photograph*)



The Harvard University Regiment marching through the streets of Boston
(© Underwood)

bound together the wall with which he surrounded the city. The Liar and the belfry of the recently ruined Cathedral of St. Eloi were the only interesting architectural bits left in Dunkirk. The thirteenth century tower, dark and strong at its base, rises to a great height, flowering into restrained tracery at the top and shepherding under its shadow the heart of the town, which lies below it. This is the lodestone. Toward it I turned after leaving the battered hotel that first morning at Dunkirk.

CITY OF SHATTERED HOMES

From the snowy Place de la Gare the street cars started regularly in divergent directions, but oh, the gloom of those dead streets which they passed! Wide streets, winding between rows of low houses, plain and solid, but built on a neighborly plan. Their desolation is the more marked because of this innate, homelike quality. In almost all of them the window and door spaces were boarded up, and the first impression was rather that of a deserted city than of a demolished one. But a second glance showed that destruction had come from the sky, tearing away the roof, annihilating the interior, and rendering the house uninhabitable, perhaps irreparable, though the walls might to a certain extent be left standing. Often the havoc was more apparent, exposing the bare skeleton of a home and the shattered remnants of household comforts in shocking nudity.

The freakishness of destruction by bombardment is proverbial. It is this which creates in the timid an intense anxiety and in the hardy the willingness to take a chance. The 8-year-old son of the chief surgeon at the Military Hospital, stretching out his hand during a bombardment, said calmly, "Of course it *may* fall on *that*, but there is plenty of room on each side." And this rather sums up the spirit of the Dunkerquois who remain.

Of a population of 40,000, about 5,000 are left, and most of these have become modern cave men. To be thoroughly up to date one must live in a "casemate." In every quarter of the town posters announce the locality of these public ref-

uges. They are either cellars reinforced overhead, or dugouts in the public squares, strongly roofed with corrugated iron, which is covered with wood and sandbags. Often there is extra trench work inside, always a tight little stove with a pipe running the length of the cave, plank benches along the sides, and usually beds with army blankets.

DODGING THE BOMBS

Into these refuges the Dunkerquois has learned to precipitate himself with extraordinary celerity. He considers a minute and a half sufficient time in which to gain safety, no matter where he may be when the "alerte" is given. When there is a bombardment from the land side the alarm is sounded as the obus leaves the gun at the front. It takes 90 seconds for its flight to Dunkirk. So accurately is this calculated that casualties seldom result from a land bombardment. The inhabitants scuttle into safety, and the damage is limited to bricks and mortar. The peppering from sea is also taken lightly. The firing is very rapid, but it is soon over, and the shots are comparatively small, passing clean through the walls without shattering them. It is the air raids which are dreaded, and these are increasingly frequent and destructive. Often the chugging of the motors can be heard in the thick darkness for a quarter of an hour or more before there is an explosion, and this is a nerve-racking experience.

A striking feature of the streets in Dunkirk is the incumbrance of the sidewalks by boxes filled with stones and sandbags. These cover the windows and approaches to the cellars and serve as shock absorbers against flying pieces of shell.

And why does any one stay in so precarious an outpost on the verge of the fighting line? Some perhaps because to set forth alone or with a brood of children into an unknown world already trampled by countless refugees seems an equally perilous outlook. Others because their maintenance still depends upon the docks and shipyards, though the 6,000 longshoremen usually employed about the piers have disappeared. Then

there are those whose interests are bound up in a shop or other investment in the town, and business is brisk in Dunkirk, owing to the presence of two armies. A few there are who are not only of Dunkirk but who *are* Dunkirk itself, upon whose presence depends the prosperity of the town and its usefulness to the State.

STILL A LIVELY PORT

For if the picturesque landmarks have disappeared, Dunkirk has by no means lost its sea prestige. It is the third port of France, and though its position is singularly exposed it is largely through its harbor that the British Army has been revictualled since the beginning of the war. This renders still more remarkable the fact that not one ship has been lost between Dunkirk and the English port of clearing. One does not appreciate at first glance all that this implies. It means for one thing that some one must sit tight at Dunkirk. Traffic by sea has gone on uninterruptedly and until recently has been quite that of normal times. Now, owing to the recent restrictions on imports and exports, it is greatly reduced, though still regular. The sailings and dockings take place on schedule time.

One of those largely responsible for the order of the port is the Consular Agent of the United States, M. Morel, also President of the Chamber of Commerce of Dunkirk. His house, a mere skeleton, has long since been abandoned for the superior comforts and safety of the cellar. Attached to the jamb of the almost equally ruined office building his small sign in black and gold makes a brave showing. The front of the building had been largely torn away and with it a part of the roof. Looking up one saw a dizzy arrangement of laths and rafters, suggestive of the underside of a heap of jackstraws. But the staircase was firm and led to a small back room, where a bright fire burned and where business was transacted as usual; not only the business of the port, for while I was there an American Red Cross doctor and a bevy of nurses came in to have their passports renewed.

Another home which I had the privi-

lege of entering, that of Commandant Boultheel, had been more fortunate, for it stood as yet untouched by disaster. Here in an atmosphere of warm charm, a serene and gracious hostess dispensed hospitality to her friends. Pewter and old china on the walls and a great fire of logs dispelled the depression of the outside world. Around the table were men of war and men of the world, who represented the finest qualities of the French. Among them was a valiant Préfet du Nord, who had spent ten months as hostage in a German prison, using his time to study English and re-read Horace. In fact, I felt, as I had on the train, that the further I got from Paris the nearer I came to the heart of France.

A glimpse of "cave life" I had in the pharmacie maintained by the Sisters of the Sacré Cœur in the basement of the Hôtel de Ville, where it had been temporarily installed by the city, its own quarters being untenable. This was a large space lighted by electricity and crowded with bottles and jars, bundles of herbs and bandages, and made cheerful by the bright faces of the sisters. In another portion of the cellar they sleep, living entirely underground.

Families are large in Dunkirk, and children troop unconcernedly to and fro between home and school. To them the nightly flight to the casemate is no longer a wild adventure.

BUSINESS UNDER DIFFICULTIES

The business part of the town has not the sad aspect of the residence streets, for it is full of life. The decrepit shops, half boarded up, many of them resembling a face with a bandage over one eye, are doing a lively business. With the demands of a large floating population of two armies, Dunkirk is not suffering commercially. Department stores, book shops, shoe stores, provision shops of all kinds, make the most of a short day. Oranges, figs, dates, nuts, and conserved food of all kinds are much in evidence, also warm clothing, blankets, boots, and novels. The restaurant of the Hôtel Chapeau Rouge was filled with French and English officers, and an excellent meal

was served much as it would be in Paris. At 4:30 everything is closed. Lights are extinguished, windows and doors are sealed with their householders behind them, unless the latter are among those who seek the comparative safety of the suburbs at nightfall. For though the entire surrounding country is subject to bombardment, the town is the centre of attack. In the twilight of the unlighted streets scarce a footfall is heard. Only the occasional rumble of a heavy cannon shakes the air. Behind the wall of darkness pulses a full life undismayed by the terrors of the approaching night or the possibilities of the tomorrow.

A STAG AT BAY

In the heart of the forest I once saw a stag leading his herd to the shelter of a rock in the rush of an oncoming storm. Having urged them into crouching positions around him, he turned and with a simple gesture lifted his head to the storm. There was that in his attitude which compelled reverence. One mentally saluted, though one might think "poor, silly beast, in what way could he mitigate the lash of the tempest?" But instinctively he had obeyed the highest for which he had been created, the protection of the weak. And his calm presence caught away all panic from those around him. Often while in Dunkirk this scene came back to me, recalled by the simple matter-of-courtness with which these brave men and equally brave women stayed on because it was the place for them to be.

At the Military Hospital of Rosendael, with the exception of the intrepid surgeon and the almoner, it is the women who hold the position. Originally the city hospital, it was taken over by the army at the beginning of the war. An immense building with modern equipment and a capacity for 700 patients, it has been necessary of late to evacuate many of the sections because of the increasing frequency of the bombardments. The hospital has been struck many times and one ward completely destroyed. As it happened there were no soldiers in that section, it being used as a maternity hospital for the city. Several women

and little children were killed and also the sister in charge, Sister St. Etienne, so dear to her co-workers that she is never spoken of without tears. She had just finished her rounds for the night when the alarm came. Her one thought was to save her ward from panic. A bomb crashing through the roof hurled a beam across the sister, killing her instantly and wrecking the entire wing.

"FOR ALL AMERICAN WOMEN"

In spite of this tragedy and of recurring attacks, the other sisters and the head nurse, Mlle. Guyot, have held their posts with quiet heroism and have never lost an hour's duty. The patients now are mostly convalescent, because fresh cases are no longer brought there.

The supplies of shirts, pajamas, and bandages sent from America were gratefully commented upon by Mlle. Guyot, and I was touched by similar expressions from the men. One poor aviator, terribly burned, but recovering, put up a bandaged hand and saluted me "for all American women." Another poilu wove for me a table mat of red, white, and blue cord. All were fervent in their good wishes.

Everywhere warmth and order prevailed, from the wards where the bandaged soldiers sat about with their pipes and their knitting to the big bakery where the fragrant brown bread is baked and to the kitchens with their caldrons of broth and crisp roasts of meat.

Dry, well ventilated "abris" or bomb shelters have been built in connection with each section of the hospital. The surgeon, who sleeps in a cellar near the centre, is the first to assist his patients to shelter in case of an alarm. There, underground, long games of cards are played on the brink of the unknown. This is not callousness, but is done with deliberate intent by the clever surgeon, (a refugee from Lille,) knowing that by this means his men may be saved a nervous strain which might prove fatal.

Mlle. Guyot, who has been at the hospital since the beginning of the war, knows as well as any one what the city has endured. It was she who said to me:

"I shall never forget that Dunkirk

has borne the weight of the war from the first day; that she has seen the exodus of the Belgian population, to whom she has given refuge as well as to the people of the *Department du Nord*; that she has known the passing of innumerable armies going and coming from the *Yser*; that in October, 1914, she began to be bombarded, having at the same time to fulfill the immense duty of bringing in and caring for the wounded from that immortal battlefield; and through it all I have seen Dunkirk living and working and saving with a smile!"

The military position of Dunkirk is sometimes confusing because it has been alternately on the French and English fronts. The English are now retiring, but sentinels of three nationalities still guard the city gates; English Tommy and French *poilu* stand with their arms across each other's shoulders, the Belgian stands apart.

On the sands of Malo, which is but a prolongation of Dunkirk, with a sweeping beach toward the North Sea, strange men from Tonquin were digging trenches—dark men branded by the sun and the mark of the East, with warm dabs of color on their high cheekbones, and small opaque eyes under rising brows. The uniform of the French Colonial is often a medley. He looks as though he had

begun "dressing up" like children in the attic, and as though his mind had fallen short of his expectations. Out on those bleak sands his touches of rich blue, crimson, and green had almost the fervor of stained glass set against the dark and sinister sea. To the north the Belgian coast cut the background with a livid streak of sand.

In spite of the moving figures, the loneliness was as of the ends of the earth. The silence was accentuated rather than broken by the purr of the cannon and the mewing of a stray gull slapped sidewise by the wind. But it is thus that I like to think of Dunkirk—scourged by the wind, blotted out by the storm, knowing that for the time being her stout hearts are safe.

As the sea has been the life of Dunkirk in the past, so it will be its resurrection. The city cannot be struck a deathblow from the land side as has many another less favorably situated. But what a unique protégé for some god-mothering American city to help re-establish through her sympathy and aid!

Is it any wonder that France has just included in the arms of Dunkirk the following legend in addition to the one gained by the naval battle of 1793: "*Ville heroïque, sert d'exemple à toute la nation*"?

Brutal Treatment of Italian Prisoners

SWORN statements from British soldiers returned from German prison camps and hospitals received by Reuter's Agency (the Associated Press of Great Britain) indicate that systematic brutality is practiced there upon Italian prisoners. Lance Corporal Horace Hills, 7th Suffolk Regiment, made the following statement under oath:

Five or six thousand Italians came in. They had traveled three or four days, and had had nothing at all to eat. After they arrived soup was brought in, and, as they were starving, they rushed at it. The Germans then dashed forward and stabbed them with their swords and bayonets, and killed and wounded a lot. Seven or eight Italians were dying every day in the camp of starvation. They had no parcels. I saw an Englishman give an Italian bread, and the Italian went down on his knees and kissed his hands.

Private J. F. Jackson, King's Liverpool Regiment, swore:

One Italian told me they had been fifteen days on the journey and had only three meals all the time. Our hospital lager was separated from the camp by barbed wire; we took some bread and threw it over the wire to the Italians; they all began to grab for it, but a lot of Germans rushed up and drew their bayonets and flourished them in the air in a threatening manner, and kicked and threw the Italians about, and got the bread for themselves.

At Friedrichsfeld the treatment of the Italians was equally barbarous, the sentries shooting them for trying to get food from the British. Equally revolting stories come from Ohrdrup, Nammelsburg, Stendal, Soltau, Limburg, and Hamburg.

Germany's Attempt to Divide Belgium

Official Summary of Recent Political Events in Flanders, Issued by the Belgian Foreign Office

Germany's plan to divide Belgium by organizing a small group of "activists" to establish a so-called Council of Flanders for the purpose of separating the Flemish from the Walloon Provinces, was described in the April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, pp. 91-96, along with the fearless opposition which the attempt created. The following summary of the case, with a fuller array of dates and details, has since been prepared by the Belgian Foreign Office at St. Adresse, France, the seat of King Albert's Government in exile:

THE semi-official Wolff Agency in Berlin announced on Jan. 20, 1918, that the so-called Council of Flanders had proclaimed the autonomy of Flanders Dec. 22, 1917. Soon after that action, which had passed unnoticed and had left Belgian opinion indifferent and scornful, Herr von Walraff, German Secretary of the Interior, had judged the time opportune for a trip to Belgium, (Jan. 1, 1918.) The "council," after getting into close relations with him, had taken up the decree which the Landtag had intrusted to him on the 4th of February preceding, and had declared that it would submit itself to a popular referendum.

At length a commission of executive officials was created; it included heads for the Departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Public Works, Arts and Sciences, Justice, Finance, Labor, National Defense, Posts and Telegraph, and the Navy. The German telegraphic agencies sent out this news in all directions to spread the idea that Flanders was showing an intention of detaching itself from Belgium, and to give the impression of a spontaneous popular movement for political separation.

The thought that inspired this intrigue dates back to a period almost two years earlier. On April 5, 1916, the German Chancellor, in defining the war aims of Germany before the Reichstag, had outlined the imperial policy of establishing a protectorate over the Flemings. Later there were found in Belgium some obscure and discredited citizens who, betraying their sacred duty, placed them-

selves in the pay of the enemy and consented to make themselves the agents and accomplices of the invaders.

GERMAN ACT OF SEPARATION

On Feb. 4, 1917, an assembly composed of 200 Belgians speaking the Flemish language met and voted for the creation of a "Council of Flanders." On March 3 this body sent a deputation to Berlin, and the Chancellor announced to it that "the policy tending toward the administrative separation would be pursued with all the vigor possible during the occupation," and that "during the negotiations and after the conclusion of peace the empire would not cease to watch over the development of the Flemish race." The German decrees dividing Belgium into two administrative regions followed close upon these declarations, (March 21, 1917.)

At the end of 1917 the German authorities believed that the moment had come to consummate the enterprise by completing the administrative separation with a political separation. Thus the end would be attained: Belgium would be dismembered; one part of the country would fall under vassalage to Germany, and, in case there were no annexation, would become in a way a sphere of influence for the empire.

The intrigues of the "Council of Flanders" are merely a comedy intended to mask this policy. The policy rests upon a clever juggling with the question of languages. Under cover of the principle of free self-determination of peoples, it seeks to internationalize an internal prob-

lem in the hope of dislocating the Belgian nationality. Perhaps it also aims at the creation of a fictitious Government which shall furnish the German Government with the means for opening fallacious peace negotiations to deceive the world and weaken the cohesion of the Allies. Many German newspapers have allowed these aims to appear, and some have boldly unveiled them.

ALL BELGIUM PROTESTS

But the strong protests of Flemish communities and of the entire Belgian Nation have foiled these plans, and the news coming from the occupied region enables us to determine with precision the character of the rôle played by the "Council of Flanders." At the same time it attests the determination of the Belgian people to repel all foreign interference and to maintain its unity unshaken.

What is this "Council of Flanders"? It has no representative character. It was created by a private assembly which had no mandate from the people. It now pretends to seek popular sanction through an election. This is only a subterfuge. There has been no election. There has been no consultation of the people. The promoters have limited themselves to assembling groups of adherents in theatres or restaurants, and causing gatherings composed of their proselytes, with an admixture of the curious and the idle, to vote on lists of candidates previously arranged in the private offices of those who are directing the work.

The Deputies and Senators, in a protest to the Chancellor, thus denounced the pretense of an election that was organized in Brussels:

A meeting was called at a day's notice in an exhibition hall. Everybody entered who wished to, Belgians or strangers, men, women, and children. There were in all 600 or 700 persons. It was these unknown persons, come together by chance, without control or guarantee, that in a few moments, as an interlude in a speech, proclaimed the election of twenty-two Deputies to the "Council of Flanders" and fifty-two Provincial Councilors. Such was the expression—without the knowledge of the people—of the will of the Municipality of Brussels, which

has 200,000 electors and almost 1,000,000 inhabitants.

PROTESTS OF CITY COUNCILS

Foreign occupation has not wholly destroyed legitimate and regular representation in Belgium. The Provincial Councils and the City Councils are still functioning. The administrative framework of the country survives. The municipal organization, so solidly rooted, has not ceased to exercise power. The Provincial and Municipal Councilors, like the Deputies and Senators, most of whom remain in the country, have been elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage. They alone in the occupied territory are competent to express the true national opinion, and that opinion is strikingly voiced in the protest of the Flemish and Walloon members of Parliament, in that of the Common Councils of the capital and the large cities of Antwerp and Ghent, whose example has been followed by an increasing number of prominent citizens and local Governments of smaller towns in Flanders.

It has been demonstrated that the "Council of Flanders" is pursuing an enterprise of usurpation, that it is a tool of the invader, and that its members are in reality only agents of the German authorities. They went to Berlin a year ago to ask for administrative separation. Herr von Walraff met them at Brussels at the beginning of 1918 to arrange for political separation. When Tack and Borms were arrested by the Belgian police on the order of Belgian Magistrates it was the German functionaries who, by force, compelled their release, and they came out of prison by the side of the German officer who had liberated them. It was the Kommandantur of Antwerp that ordered the communal administration, disregarding its resistance, to authorize the "activist" demonstration of Feb. 3, and to have this protected by the police, in violation of orders of the Burgomaster that had been in force nearly four years. It was the German military headquarters, too, that forbade all demonstrations of other groups and commandeered the hall of the Chamber of Commerce, placing it at the disposition

of the organizers of a demonstration judged by the Burgomaster to be one to wound public sentiment and endanger the public peace.*

At length Governor General von Falkenhausen stamped the "Council of Flanders" with the seal of German investiture, deciding by a decree of Jan. 18, 1918, (published Feb. 10,) that the appointment of the "council's" delegates was subject to his ratification, and that these delegates were called to collaborate with him in his legislative labors.

Thus one has the right to conclude that the whole organism of the "Council of Flanders" is only a foreign tool to serve the enemy in his designs of division and oppression. The delegates of the council cannot pretend to any independence, since the decree of Jan. 18 reduces them to the rôle of functionaries of German authority, named by that authority and expected to contribute, by their advice, to its political work.

THE DELEGATES OSTRACIZED

The Belgian people, without distinction of language, party, or condition, have, by impressive demonstrations, repudiated the faithless citizens who, joining hands with the enemy, have arrogated to themselves the right to speak in the name of the Flemings. The Flemings were the first to condemn the crime. To the protests of the Deputies and Senators and of the City Councils have been added those of the leading intellectual and political societies of Flanders. The Flemish Academy raised its voice to "affirm its fidelity to the Belgian Fatherland and its King." The Belgian Labor Party proclaimed that "not one of the 800 labor groups composing it, and not one of its authorized leaders, had been led astray or corrupted by the activist-separatist movement, either in Flanders or in Wallonia."

In the streets of Antwerp, of Malines, of Brussels, spontaneous uprisings which the German troops could not suppress voiced the scorn and anger of the crowds.

Crowning this expression of the popu-

lar will and giving it the sanction of law, the Brussels Court of Appeals, acting upon the protest of the Deputies and Senators, at a plenary sitting of all its united chambers, [Feb. 7, 1918,] ordered a hearing which ended in the arrest of delegates of the "Council of Flanders" on a charge of conspiracy against the form of the State, interference with public functions, and wicked attacks against the constitutional authority of the King, the rights of the chambers, and the laws of the nation. When the German authorities, protecting the guilty ones and acting in the guise of vengeance, caused the arrest of the Presidents of the Court, who had come in the august garb of justice to do their duty, the Court of Cassation, by a decree of Feb. 11, decided unanimously to suspend its sittings; the Courts of Appeals in Ghent and Liège, with all the courts of first instance and the courts of commerce, followed its example. The civic heroism of a whole people is summed up in that impressive gesture. There is no more eloquent page in history.

This nation can remain free. It stoically endures the presence and domination of the enemy in its territory. The foreign occupation that has lasted three and a half years has not broken its spirit or its will to resistance. The Flemish, like the Walloon communities, victims of the most frightful brutalities, subjected to a system of forced labor, decimated by deportations, have remained immovably faithful to King and country. The moral unity of the nation has continued intact.

FLEMISH QUESTION NOT NEW

The Flemish question does not imperil this unity. It dates much further back than the war and has often been a subject of lively debate. It is a question of interior policy which the nation alone must solve, after the war, independently, under its own free constitutional powers. Belgium has had the same Constitution since 1831, and has not dreamed of altering its principles, unless we except the proclamation of universal manhood suffrage in 1893. In eighty-three years of peace and prosperity there was not a single political party that cast doubt upon the validity of the fundamental

*Later the City Councils were forbidden by German authority to debate political questions, such as the autonomy of Flanders.

charter—an eloquent proof of its plastic vitality and perfect harmony with the deepest needs of the nation's collective existence.

Equality before the law, (Article 6,) individual liberty, (Articles 7, 8, 9, 10,) liberty of religious faith, (Articles 14 and 15,) freedom in education, (Article 17,) freedom of the press, (Article 18,) the right of assembly, (Article 19,) liberty of association, (Article 20,) freedom as to language, (Article 21)—these are the essential axioms on which the nation's public life is based.*

The Belgian Constitution, after guaranteeing respect for these fundamental principles, regulates the exercise of political powers, all of which, it declares, "emanate from the nation." (Article 25.) "The legislative power is exercised jointly by the King, the House of Representatives, and the Senate." (Article 26.) The Deputies are elected directly by all the Belgian citizens who are 25 years old and who have lived at least one year in the commune, those who fulfill certain requirements of knowledge or capacity being allowed one or two supplementary votes. (Article 47.) Senators are elected on the same principles, with the difference that the voters must be at least 30 years old. The Senate also includes a certain number of members elected by the Provincial Councils. (Article 53.) For both chambers the voting is obligatory and secret, and the division of seats is arranged on a system of proportional representation that safeguards the rights of minorities. Subject to the responsibility of his Ministers the King exercises the executive power. (Articles 63 and 64.)

Judicial power is exercised through courts whose members are not subject to removal. (Articles 99 and 100.) A jury alone can deal with criminal cases, political charges, and indictments brought against the press. (Article 98.)

Finally, side by side with the three great political branches, the provincial and communal Governments deal with all

matters of local interest. Chief among them are—for the commune: the City Council, elected by direct vote, and the "College of Burgomasters and Aldermen," whose members are chosen by the Common Council, with the exception of the Burgomaster, who is appointed by the King; and for the province: the Provincial Council, directly elected, the "Permanent Deputation," elected by the Provincial Council, and the Governor, who represents the National Government.

SETTLING THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

This rapid sketch suffices to show the democratic and liberal nature of the Belgian Governmental system. Such institutions permit of free discussion and facilitate the peaceful solution of the most irritating internal problems. As the protest of the Flemish societies puts it, "The Flemings are not a conquered nation; they have the same electoral right as the Walloons; they have all the means for safeguarding their just rights."

Belgium has always lived an intense life, yet this has never compromised its unity. Three great parties, the Catholic, the Liberal, the Socialist, struggle for preponderance, and their action extends to all parts of the country without distinction of language. Each of them supports an identical program, in Flanders as in Wallonia, regardless of whether the citizens speak Flemish or French. The party lines have never corresponded with the linguistic lines. In each are found leaders of the Flemish movement, whose aspirations have given rise to many speeches, but have never been repudiated as anti-patriotic. This movement is thus described by the Flemish societies in their protest against the "Council of Flanders": "It is the expression of the fundamental principle that every population possesses the inalienable right to develop itself according to its own character and its own language, life, and historic personality." But it remains essentially national and declares itself, in the document just cited, unalterably hostile to the separation of the country into two Governments with two capitals, two Ministries, two Parliaments. The

*Article 21 of the Constitution reads thus: "Employment of the languages used in Belgium is optional. It can be regulated only by law and solely for acts of public authority and for judicial proceedings."

Flemish societies see in separation only "a weakening that will lead to a catastrophe for the Flemings, as well as for the Walloons." They add:

Our most sacred political and economic interests are menaced by these absurd plans. The organic whole which has made of Belgium, through its commerce and industry, its rivers, ports and railways, its agriculture and workmen, all working together under a single Government through scores of years, an economic power of the first order, would be dissolved, artificially weakened by contradictory influences, enervated by divergent official policies. The narrow particularism which in the past and present has done so much harm would dominate. The balance between the different political, religious, and social tendencies in our country would be destroyed, and Belgium would be left in a state of crisis which, through long years, would render almost impossible the relief of the country and the curing of the wounds caused by the war.

RIGHTS OF FLEMISH TONGUE

In the years before the war the Belgian Parliament passed several laws intended to assure to the Flemish language the place that belongs to it in the national life, especially in the administrative, judicial, and educational departments. It will suffice to recall the law of May 12, 1910, on secondary schools, and the law of July 2, 1913, on languages in the army, making a knowledge of Flemish and French obligatory for admission to the National Military School. At the moment when the war broke out the Parliament was considering a proposition tending to organize Flemish high schools, and in a report to the King, Oct. 8, 1916, the Government declared itself "convinced that immediately upon the re-establishment of peace a general agreement of favorable sentiments, which it will try to promote, will assure to the Flemings, both in the higher schools and in all the others, that complete equality, in right and in fact, which ought to exist under the guarantees of our Constitution." (Moniteur, Oct. 8-14, 1916.)

Only after the war can the Government solve the problems arising out of the Flemish movement. The promoters of that movement themselves deplore the

intervention of an alien power and scorn the traitors who have conspired with the enemy, accepting money and positions at his hand. It is as loyal Belgian citizens, they declare, that they are striving for reforms from which they expect a fuller intellectual development of Flemish communities, and they see in such culture a new force of unity for the nation, from which they by no means wish to be separated.

BELGIAN PREMIER'S VIEW

Baron de Broqueville, the Belgian Prime Minister, said to a correspondent of The London Times:

The Belgian people, after three and a half years of the most grinding oppression, have shown by the courageous defiance of enemy bayonets which brought about the collapse of the "activist" plot, that they have lost none of their sturdy resolve to be free; that the spirit which moved them to reject the German ultimatum of Aug. 2, 1914, is as strong as ever. * * *

Only one thing is worrying and humiliating in a quite special degree all Belgians in occupied territory. It is the fear lest abroad it may be imagined that there really is an "activist" movement in Belgium. All the reports we have received on this point amount to this: "No one in Belgium talks of this alleged movement, for it is nonexistent. There are a few miserable individuals in German pay—always the same—who intrigue and plot. All they have achieved is to arouse against them such feelings of repulsion and hate that they have been thrust forever forth from the nation, and nothing can cleanse them of their crime. For mercy's sake, beg people not to insult us by treating the agitation of these individuals seriously, and to stop seeing any agitation where there is nothing but the work of a few paid traitors.

It is in this sense that our compatriots write to us from behind the German barrier. There, as elsewhere, the most ardent advocates of Flemish claims reject foreign interference in internal policy, and they treat as traitors to the cause all those who accept bribes from the torturers of their country.

Stripping Belgian Industries

Germany's Use of the "Rathenau Plan" for the Exploitation of Belgium and Northern France

THE German Government from the beginning of the war has systematically stripped the factories of Belgium and other conquered territory with the purpose, it is charged, of crippling industries in those countries, not only as a war measure, but as an economic means of preventing future competition. This phase of German war policy is treated in a brochure edited by Professors Dana C. Munro of Princeton, George C. Sellery of the University of Wisconsin, and August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota. It is issued by the United States Committee on Public Information under the title, "German Treatment of Conquered Territory." The editors find their text in this statement by Deputy Beumer, made before the Prussian Diet in February, 1917:

Anybody who knows the present state of things in Belgian industry will agree with me that it will take at least some years—assuming that Belgium is independent at all—before Belgium can even think of competing with us in the world market. And anybody who has traveled, as I have done, through the occupied districts of France, will agree with me that so much damage has been done to industrial property that no one need be a prophet in order to say that it will take more than ten years before we need think of France as a competitor or of the re-establishment of French industry.

This exploitation for the benefit of German industry is an outgrowth of the plan suggested early in August, 1914, by Dr. Walter Rathenau, President of the General Electric Company of Germany, to establish a Bureau of Raw Materials for the War. The bureau (Kriegsrohstoffabtheilung) was made a part of the Ministry of War. Its operation in the occupied territories was explained in a lecture by Dr. Rathenau in April, 1916, as follows:

It was necessary to be sure of an increase in the reserve of raw materials both by purchase in neutral countries and

by monopolizing all stocks found in the occupied territory of the enemy. * * * The occupation of Belgium, of the most valuable industrial parts of France, as well as of parts of Russia, made a new task for the organization. It was necessary to make use of the stocks of raw material of these three territories for the domestic economy of the war, to use, especially, the stores of wool found at the centres of the Continental wool market. Valuable stocks of rubber and of saltpeter were to be used for the profit of the manufacturer at home. The difficulties that are met with in keeping to the rules of war while making these requisitions have been overcome. A system of collecting stations, of depots and of organizations for distribution was arranged which solved the difficulties of transportation, infused new blood into industry at home, and gave it a firmer and more secure basis.

BRAND WHITLOCK'S STATEMENT

This plan, which has given German industry "a firmer and more secure basis," was used not merely to "make war support war" by contributions wrung from the conquered peoples, but also to destroy future competition—in violation of The Hague Convention, (Articles 46, 52, 53,) which Germany had signed. In the first months of the war a pretense was still made of acting under military necessity, but this was soon abandoned. On March 4, 1915, Brand Whitlock, American Minister to Belgium, reported to the State Department:

The Federation of Belgian Steel and Iron Manufacturers forwarded a protest to the German Governor General in Belgium, on Jan. 22, 1915, complaining that the German authorities have invaded the Belgian plants and seized the machinery and tools, which have been taken to pieces and sent to Germany in great number; in many cases no receipt was left in the hands of the legitimate owner to prove the nature, number, and value of the seized tools. Machinery to the value of 16,000,000 francs (\$3,000,000) had been taken away up to Jan. 22.

Furthermore, the Feldzeugmeistere in Berlin has entered into a contract with

the firm Sonnenthal Junior of Cologne, which firm is to collect, transport, and deliver to German manufactories of war supplies all engines and tools seized in Belgium and France, and to bring them back after the war is over.

This contract provides, also, that the Sonnenthal Company has the right and even is compelled, in co-operation with the gun foundry at Liège, to pick out in factories of the occupied territory those machines which seem most useful for the manufacture of German war supplies and to propose the seizure of the machinery.

The Royal Belgian Government protests, with indignation, against these measures, which constitute a clear violation of Article 53 of the regulations of the Fourth Hague Convention. The items enumerated in Article 53 are limited and neither the seizure nor the transport to another country of machinery and tools used in industry are permitted; these implements must always be respected when they are private property, (Article 46.)

By the removal of these tools, the efforts made by the manufacturers in order to maintain a certain activity in the plants are nullified, numerous workmen are obliged to remain idle and are facing starvation. These measures will also retard the restoration of industry after the war is over.

Furthermore, the German authorities disregard in a systematic way the prescriptions of Article 52 of the above-mentioned regulations of the Fourth Hague Convention, which stipulate that requisitions in nature from towns and their inhabitants in the occupied territory can only be permitted when they are directly destined for the army of occupation.

UNJUST FINES

A dispatch from Minister Whitlock dated at Brussels, Aug. 2, 1915, gives a fuller memorandum on the subject, as follows:

Upon the arrival of German troops at Brussels, the city and communes of the agglomeration were required to pay as a war contribution the sum of 50,000,000 francs in gold, silver, or banknotes, the Province of Brabant having to pay, in addition, the sum of 450,000,000 francs, to be delivered not later than Sept. 1, 1914.

The sum of 50,000,000 francs imposed on the City of Brussels was reduced to 45,000,000 francs, but the city was later subjected to a penalty of 5,000,000 francs on the ground that two members of the German Secret Service had been attacked by the crowd without assistance having been rendered by the Brussels police. On this point it may be noted that when Mr. Max, the Burgomaster, at the beginning of the occupation, asked the German

authorities to inform him of the names of the German secret police agents whom they intended to employ, he was told that there were no German secret police in Brussels.

In December, 1914, a contribution of 480,000,000 francs, payable at the rate of 40,000,000 a month, was imposed on the provinces.

At the beginning of April, 1915, a fine of 500,000 marks was imposed on the City of Brussels, which refused to repair the road between Brussels and Antwerp—a State road the repair of which devolved upon the State. But the German authorities had taken over the State moneys, and should, therefore, have assumed the expense of the work. Furthermore, this road is entirely outside of the territory of the City of Brussels, and, finally, the city had not the administration for the maintenance or construction of roads, and had neither material nor personnel to carry on such work.

On Jan. 16, 1915, on Belgians who had voluntarily left the country and had not returned by March 1, 1915, tenfold advance of personal tax was made; and many taxes were imposed on communes as indemnity for damages claimed by German citizens to have been suffered through acts of the inhabitants at the time war was declared.

When the German Army arrived in Brussels, it requisitioned for the daily support of the troops 18,000 kilos of wheat, 10,000 kilos of fresh meat, 6,000 kilos of rice, 10,000 kilos of sugar, and 72,000 kilos of oats. Similar requisitions were made in all cities in which the German troops camped. The requisitions, however, exceeded the needs of the troops in passing or in occupation, and a large part of the requisitioned supplies was sent to Germany.

At Louvain the German authorities requisitioned 250,000 francs' worth of canned vegetables and at Malines about 4,000,000 francs' worth.

In Flanders and in part of Hainault the farmers were despoiled of almost all their horses and cattle and the little wheat and grain remaining. The little village of Middleburg, for instance, which numbers 850 inhabitants, after having given up 50 cows, 35 hogs, and 1,600 kilos of oats, was forced to furnish in January and February, 1915, 100 hogs, 100,000 kilos of grain, 50,000 kilos of beans or peas, 50,000 kilos of oats, and 150,000 kilos of straw.

At Ghent and Antwerp the German authorities found about 40,000 tons of oil-cake, necessary for the feeding of cattle in Winter, and seized it.

They also carried off several hundred thousand tons of phosphates from Belgium for use in Germany.

Walnut trees on private properties, as well as on State lands, were cut down and requisitioned.

Besides, draught horses—the result of a rational selection carried on through more than a century and probably the most perfect Belgian agricultural product—were carried off throughout all Belgium. Not only did the German Army requisition horses necessary for its wagons, mounts for its troops or artillery service, but it carried away from the Belgian stock horses absolutely unfit for military service, which were sent to Germany. The same is true as regards the cattle.

All crude materials indispensable for Belgian industries were requisitioned and sent to Germany—leather, hides, copper, wool, flax, &c. Furthermore, if not the entire stock, at least the greatest number possible of machinery parts, were shipped to Germany to be used, according to German statements, in making munitions which the Belgian factories had refused to produce.

At Antwerp, requisitions of all kinds of materials and products were considerable, notably:

	Francs.
Cereals	18,000,000
Oilcake, about	5,000,000
Nitrate, over	4,000,000
Oils—animal and vegetable— over	2,000,000
Oils—petrol and mineral—about	3,000,000
Wools	6,000,000
Rubber	10,000,000
Foreign leathers, to Dec. 1, about	20,000,000
Hair	1,500,000
Ivory, about	800,000
Wood	500,000
Cacao	2,000,000
Coffee	275,000
Wines	1,100,000

Cottons in large quantities—one house having been requisitioned to the amount of 1,300,000 francs. Other enormous requisitions were made on shop depots, &c., and are impossible of computation just now.

PAYMENT WITHHELD

The requisitions from Antwerp, which Mr. Whitlock enumerates, were the subject of a protest by the Acting President of the Antwerp Chamber of Commerce on March 18, 1915. He valued these goods at more than 83,000,000 francs (\$16,600,000) and stated that only 20,000,000 francs (\$4,000,000) had been paid by the German authorities. The reply of Governor General von Bissing on Sept. 24 shows that up to that time payment had not been made. The reason is indicated in the following statement of German

policy, published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* Dec. 21, 1914:

The raw materials which the Imperial Government has bought in Antwerp, Ghent, and other places will be paid for as soon as possible. The payment will be made only after the goods have been transported into Germany and after the valuation has been made, and the payment shall be made in such manner that no money shall be sent from Germany to Belgium during the period of the war.

Professor Munro and his fellow-editors have drawn freely upon the official texts printed in the work entitled "German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium," edited, in ten volumes, by Huberich and Nicol-Speyer, (The Hague, 1915-17.) These volumes cover the period from Sept. 5, 1914, to March 29, 1917, and contain a reprint of "The Official Bulletin of Laws and Ordinances" in German, French, and Flemish. The documents show that the first step under the Rathenau plan was to ascertain what raw materials and other supplies were accessible. Consequently, there were many ordinances commanding the declaration of certain wares. The following is an example:

Brussels, Dec. 11, 1914.

All stocks of benzine, benzol, petroleum, spirits of alcohol, glycerine, oils and fats of any kind, toluol, carbide, raw rubber and rubber waste, as well as all automobile tires, shall immediately be reported in writing to the respective chiefs of districts or commanders, with a statement of quantity and the place of storage. * * *

If a report is not made the wares shall be confiscated for the State and the guilty individual shall be punished by the military authorities. (From "German Legislation," *dc.*, Vol. I., p. 95.)

Such a declaration made it easy for the military authorities later to acquire the wares either by direct requisition or by forced sales. The following are examples:

Brussels, Aug. 13, 1915.

Article 1. The stocks of chicory roots existing within the jurisdiction of the General Government in Belgium are hereby commandeered. (From "German Legislation," *dc.*, Vol. IV., p. 148.)

Brussels, Jan. 8, 1916.

Article 1. All wools (raw wool, washed wool, tops and noils, woolen waste, woolen yarns, artificial wools, as well as mixtures of these articles with others) and also all mattresses filled with the wools above specified and now an object of trade

or introduced into trade, found within the jurisdiction of the General Government, are hereby commandeered.

Wool freshly shorn or in any other way separated from the skin shall also be subject to seizure immediately upon its separation. (*From "German Legislation," &c., Vol. VI., p. 57.*)

Between October, 1914, and March, 1917, there were ninety-two separate ordinances of the General Government commanding the declaration, forced sale, or confiscation of various materials. Of these, forty-five were issued in 1915 and thirty-five in 1916. How these decrees passed by rapid evolution from mere declaration to complete confiscation is instanced in these typical examples:

1. A decree issued at Brussels July 19, 1916, lists several pages of textile materials which are to be declared.

2. A decree of Aug. 22, 1916, enlarges the preceding list.

3. A decree drawn up July 19, 1916, but not published till Sept. 12, 1916, declares 75 per cent. of this material subject to seizure by the Militärisches Textil-Beschaffungsamt.

4. Later decrees of seizure cover materials overlooked in these.

STRIPPING BELGIUM OF METALS

Every scrap of metal in the conquered countries that could possibly be seized has been confiscated. The ordinance below is given as an example of the thoroughness of the system of requisitions. The prices to be paid were entirely too low, and the sixth section shows that the owners were not expected to part with their property willingly. The ordinance was issued at Brussels Dec. 13, 1916:

SECTION I. The following designated objects are hereby seized and must be delivered.

SECTION II. Movable and fixed household articles made of copper, tin, nickel, brass, bronze or tombac, whatever their state:

1. Kitchen utensils, metal ware, and household utensils, except cutlery.

2. Wash basins, bathtubs, warm-water heaters and reservoirs.

3. Individual or firm name plates in and on the houses, doorknobs, knockers, and metal decorations on doors and carriages not necessary for locking.

4. Curtain rods and holders and stair carpet fixtures.

5. Scales.

6. All other household articles or adornments made of tin.

The articles included under the numerals 1-6 are subject to seizure and delivery even when not contained in households in the narrow sense, but in other inhabited or uninhabited buildings and rooms, (*e. g.*, offices of authorities, office rooms in factories and entries.)

SECTION III. Exempt from seizure and delivery:

1. Articles on and in churches and other buildings and rooms dedicated to religious services.

2. Articles in hospitals and clinics, as well as in the private offices of physicians, apothecaries, and healers, so far as these articles are essential to the care of the sick or the practice of medicine and cannot be replaced.

3. Articles in public buildings.

4. Articles which are part of commercial or industrial stores either designated for sale or useful in the business. For these articles a special decree is enacted.*

SECTION IV. Procedure of seizure is as follows:

All alteration of the articles subject to seizure is forbidden. All judicial disposition or change of ownership is interdicted, except in so far as the following paragraphs permit.

SECTION V. Obligation to Deliver. The delivery of the seized articles must be made at the time and places designated by the Division of Trade and Industry; it can also be made before the requisition at the Zentral-Einkaufsgesellschaft for Belgium. Upon delivery the ownership of the articles is vested in the German Military Administration.

Articles of artistic or historic value, if so recognized by the Bureau of Delivery, need not be delivered.

The Bureau of Delivery may, for unusual cause, grant exemptions from delivery.

SECTION VI. Indemnity. The following prices will be paid for the delivered articles:

	Francs.
Copper, per kilo.....	4
Tin	7.50
Nickel	13
Brass	3
Bronze	3
Tombac	3.

*Such articles in trade and industry were declared seized Dec. 30, 1916. The form of that edict is practically the same as this, penalties being somewhat higher. The listing of these articles had occurred in July, 1916. Other items were added later and all were now declared seized.

In arranging the weight, seizures of nondesignated materials will not be included.

The payment will take place on the basis of the estimate made by the Bureau of Delivery. Payment will be made to the deliverer without question of his ownership.

If the deliverer refuses to accept the payment he will be given a receipt, and the determination of the indemnity in this case will follow through the Reichsentschädigungskommission according to the rules in force.

SECTION VII. *Persons and Corporations Affected by This Decree:*

1. House owners, inhabitants and heads of establishments.

2. Persons, associations, and corporations of a private or public nature whose buildings or rooms contain articles enumerated in Section 2.

To this group, furthermore, belong also State, Church, and community business and industrial establishments, including business, industrial, and office buildings in the ownership, possession, or guardianship of military and civil authorities. For buildings abandoned or not occupied by their owners or inhabitants, the communal authorities are responsible for the execution of this decree. The district commanders are authorized to furnish further instructions to the communities in this case. If dwelling houses are occupied as quarters by German military or civil authorities the execution of this order rests upon the military authorities concerned.

SECTION VIII. *Confiscation.* [Failure to comply with the provisions of the decree entails confiscation.]

SECTION IX. *Co-operation of Communities.* [Local authorities ordered to co-operate in execution of this order.]

SECTION X. *Certificates of Exemption.* [Verwaltungschef empowered to issue certificates of exemption.]

SECTION XI. *Punishment for Violations.* Any one who intentionally or through gross negligence violates the present decree, or supplementary regulations will be punished with imprisonment not to exceed two years or a fine not to exceed 20,000 marks, or both. Any one who urges or incites others to violate the present decree or its supplementary regulations will be punished in like manner, unless he has incurred graver punishment under the general law. The attempt is punishable. Military courts and military authorities are empowered to try cases. (*From "German Legislation,"* &c., Vol. IX., pp. 398-394.)

Some industries which were not directly useful to the Germans were at first allowed to resume work in whole or in part,

for the Government did not wish to cut off all sources of the enormous indemnities which it was levying upon towns and individuals. But the rival manufacturers in Germany objected angrily against this policy. Thus Dr. Goetze, head of the German Glassmakers' Union, wrote in the *Wirtschaftszeitung der Zentralmächte*, Nov. 10, 1916:

It has become vital to the German manufacturers of glass wares that the Belgian manufacturers should be stopped from going to neutral markets, and it must be admitted that the German Civil Administration has fully recognized the necessity of arranging this matter according to the demands of the German industry, and that it has taken suitable action. [In spite of this some Belgian shops were able to do some exporting and had affected the market price.] Measures must be taken to stop this. For this reason the factories of Central and Eastern Germany, which are most directly concerned, have secured the promulgation of an order stopping importation, transit, and exportation. * * * We must demand that the German Civil Administration of Belgium should first of all look out for the protection of the interests of the German industry.

In addition to securing the aid of the German Government in ruining Belgian industries which competed with them, German manufacturers have also been aided by the German Government in obtaining Belgian trade secrets. For example, Dr. Bronnert secured a permit from the War Ministry to visit the factory at Obourg for making artificial silk. He took full notes of all that he could learn when he visited it, on Dec. 9, 1916, and carried away designs and parts of the machinery. Dr. Bronnert is a director of a German factory for making artificial silk which competes with the Belgian factory. (*From the "Informations Belges,"* No. 307.)

HAGUE REGULATIONS FLOUTED

When Belgium attempted to protest against the illegal requisitions, citing The Hague regulations, they received answers such as the following, which was read to the Municipal Council and notables of the town of Halluin, June 30, 1915:

Gentlemen: What is happening is known to all these gentlemen. It is the conception and interpretation of Article 52 of The Hague Convention which has cre-

ated difficulties between you and the German military authority. On which side is the right? It is not for us to discuss that, for we are not competent, and we shall never arrive at an understanding on this point. It will be the business of the diplomatists and the representatives of the various States after the war.

Today it is exclusively the interpretation of German military authority which is valid, and for that reason we intend that all that we shall need for the maintenance of our troops shall be made by the workers of the territory occupied. I can assure you that the German authority will not under any circumstances desist from demanding its rights, even if a town of 15,000 inhabitants should have to perish. The measures introduced up to the present are only a beginning, and every day severe measures will be taken until our object is obtained.

This is the last word, and it is good advice I give you tonight. Return to reason and arrange for the workers to resume work without delay; otherwise you will expose your town, your families, and your persons to the greatest misfortunes.

Today, and perhaps for a long time yet, there is for Halluin neither a prefecture nor a French Government. There is only one will, and that is the will of German authority.

The Commandant of the Town,
SCHRANCK.

(From Massart's "Belgians Under the German Eagle," New York, 1916, pp. 192-3.)

GERMANY'S PROFITS

The German profits from the Rathenau plan were summarized thus frankly by Herr Ganghofer in an article published in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* Feb. 26, 1915:

For three months about four-fifths of the army's needs were supplied by the conquered country. Even now, although the exhausted sources in the land occupied by us are beginning to yield less abundantly, the conquered territory is still supplying two-thirds of the needs of the German Army in the west. Because of this, for the last four months the German Empire has saved an average of 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 marks a day. This profit which the Germans have secured by their victory is very greatly increased by another means. That is the economic war which, in accordance with the rules of international law, is being carried on against the conquered land by the exhaustion of the goods which belong to the State, which are being carried to Germany from Belgium and Northern France. These are in enormous quantities and con-

sist of war booty, fortress supplies, grain, wool, metal, expensive hardwood, and other things, not including all private property which cannot be requisitioned. In case of necessity this private property will, of course, be secured to increase the German supply, but it will also be paid for at its full value. What Germany saves and gains by this economic war, carried on in a businesslike way, can be reckoned at a further 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 marks a day. Thus the entire profit which the German Empire has made behind its western front since the beginning of the war can be estimated at about 2,000,000,000 marks. For Germany this is a tremendous victory through the sparing and increase in her economic power; for the enemy it is a crushing defeat through the exhaustion of all of the auxiliary financial sources in those portions of his territory which have been lost to us.

Of the branches and management of this economic war I shall have more to say. Then people will learn to banish to the lumber room of the past the catch phrase about "the unpractical German." A German officer of high rank at St. Quentin characterized this happy change which has taken place in our favor in these half-serious, half-humorous words: "It is extraordinary how much a man learns! Although in reality I am an officer of the Potsdam Guard, now I am in the wool and lumber business. And successful, too!"

Governor General von Bissing's testimony on this subject, as recorded in his "Testament," will be found in full in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* for February, 1918, pp. 330-38. Among the passages from it quoted in the pamphlet here under review is this:

The advantages which we have been able during the present war to obtain from Belgian industry, by the removal of machinery and so on, are as important as the disadvantages which our enemies have suffered through the lack of their fighting strength.

LANGHORNE'S DISPATCH

That the systematic exploitation and destruction in Flanders and Northern France were still going on in the Fall of 1917 is shown by the following dispatch from the American Chargé d'Affaires in Holland:

The Hague, Sept. 29, 1917.

SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON: A person who has recently arrived here from Ghent gives the following information as to conditions in East and West Flanders and Northern France:

The looms and machinery are being

taken away from the textile mills in Roubaix and Tourcoing and sent to Germany. Such machines as cannot be removed and transported have in some instances been dynamited, and in others are being destroyed with hammers. In the neighborhood of Courtrai in Flanders all the mills have been ordered to furnish a list of their machinery. The measures which have been applied to the north of France will be carried out in Flanders. All textile fabrics have been requisitioned by the military authorities, even in small retail stores, and woolen blankets have been taken from private houses. There is also extensive requisitioning of wine. In the larger cities in the course of the past few weeks large numbers of children of from 10 to 15 years have been brought in for office work. There is a rapid increase in the number of women brought in for this purpose. A marked animation was observed in the Etappen inspection at Ghent last week. It is believed that at the meeting of the inspection something unusual was being discussed.

LANGHORNE,
Charge d' Affaires.

DESTRUCTION STILL GOING ON

That the Rathenau plan is still wringing the remnants of industrial supplies from Belgium in 1918 is shown by documents still later than those printed in the brochure just reviewed. In January linen and mattresses were being taken from hotels, boarding houses, and convents all over Belgium. The inhabitants were forbidden by law to have any wool in their possession, but were offered a substitute made of seaweed. The large electrical plant at Antwerp known as l'Escaut was stripped of its machinery, which was transferred to a German plant. Belgian kitchens did not escape. The huge copper pans and kettles, the glory of Belgian housewives, had to go to Germany with the bright jars and jugs of the milkmaids. Nearly every conceivable brass, copper, and bronze object had been requisitioned by that time.

The Belgian Government sent out a statement on Feb. 17, 1918, containing these passages:

The German authorities then aggravated the evils of industrial stoppage by forbidding public works and commandeering the factories and metals and leather for military purposes. After this they instituted the barbarous system of deporting workmen to perform forced labor in Germany, a system which they had to interrupt of-

ficially, after some months, because it proved revolting to the conscience of mankind, but only to substitute for it immediately the forced labor of the civilian population, in work of military value, by the order of the military authorities. This system is still being cruelly maintained in the zones lying back of the fighting line in the provinces of East and West Flanders, Hainault, Namur, and Luxemburg.

Meanwhile, the commandeering has become general, and affects both natural and manufactured products and also tools, motors, and means of transportation, whether mechanical or animal. Finally, fiscal and administrative measures have been taken to close the last remaining outlets for Belgian products into neutral countries.

These facts are incontestable. They are proved by many rules and regulations officially published by the German authorities.

At present the raid upon the last economic resources of occupied Belgium has been carried on to such an extent that they are methodically taking away all the machinery from the factories, which they themselves have made idle, in some cases to set it up again in Germany, in other cases, to break it up and use it for grape-shot.

The purpose of this entire system of destruction is double: First, to supply deficiencies in German industry; secondly, to put an end to Belgian competition and later to subject Belgian industry to that of Germany when the time comes for refitting the factories with machinery after the war.

The proofs collected by the Belgian Government in support of this statement are conclusive. It is significant that in general the task of systematically stripping Belgian factories was intrusted to German manufacturers who were the direct competitors of the Belgian owners. Some of them have taken advantage of their official positions to steal secrets of manufacturing processes, for example, at the artificial silk shops of Obourg, and personal methods of production and sale.

And as to the fact that Germany is destroying the factories for a military reason without any regard for the economic needs of Belgium or for the rights of nations, it is sufficient to cite the following passages from a semi-official note that appeared in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, No. 392, of Dec. 18, 1917, in which Germany distinctly pleads guilty:

"All measures taken in Belgium are inspired by military necessity.

"The exploitation, under military control, of Belgian factories in order to repair locomotives and automobiles, and also to obtain material of war for the front, is carried out for the purpose of



Trafalgar Square, London, as it appears after three and a half years of war
(© *Western Newspaper Union*)



A typical scene in Flanders today, with all signs of civilization completely obliterated
(International Film Service)

"relieving the strain on German industry and economizing transportation. It has become necessary to strip the Belgian factories of their machinery and other fittings, because all German industry is busy filling orders for material of war. * * * By relieving the home market from the necessity of enlarging our own factories we are accelerating the production of munitions and other products. * * * In consequence of the intense activity of all German industry our machinery and other equipment is tremendously overworked, and must from time to time be partly replaced by new machines, while, furthermore, we must be able to furnish spare parts rapidly unless we wish to see our output of munitions diminish. The machinery and equipment required for these purposes are evidently brought from Belgian factories. The destruction of whole factories for the production of grapeshot is effected in order to maintain at its present level the supply of iron and steel in Germany, or, if possible, to raise it. * * * It is not only

"possible, but even evident, that, in view of all the steps taken by the military authorities, the question of keeping up work in some of the factories of the occupied country must be subordinated to considerations tending to spare the lives of German soldiers and thus protect our national power."

This record of the deliberate crippling of Belgian industries was brought up to March 6, 1918, by an official dispatch to the United States Government, quoting the statement of Belgian refugees to the effect that dynamite was being used to destroy machines and equipment in factories in the Mons district. Rails of tramways were being taken up, and in some cities they were entirely destroyed. Meanwhile, deportation of men, and even of children 13 years old, was proceeding, several hundred boys between the ages of 13 and 15 being taken from Mons alone.

Spoliation of Belgian Churches

Cardinal Mercier's Protest

CARDINAL MERCIER, Archbishop of Malines, issued the following letter to the clergy and people of his diocese on March 2, 1918:

My Very Dear Brethren:

The painful tidings, announced semi-officially on Feb. 8, by the occupying power, have been confirmed. The bulletin of laws and edicts, dated Feb. 21, requires an inventory of the bells and organs of our churches. Informed by experience, we need not delude ourselves; the inventory of today is the signal for the requisition of tomorrow.

The repeated protests of the Sovereign Pontiff, our appeal to the Chancellor of the Empire, appear thus to have been in vain.

Your Christian hearts will bleed. At a time when we are in such need of comfort, a veil of mourning will descend upon our land, covering like a shroud our every day. It is to be for Catholic Belgium an interminable Way of the Cross.

It is true, is it not, dear brethren, that we should have borne this sorrow, added to so many others, if it had concerned ourselves alone, but this time the rights of God, of our Saviour, Jesus, the freedom of the Church and of her heritage are to be sacrificed to what is called necessity, that is, to the military need of our enemies.

"This term, liberty of the Church, rings harshly on the ears of politicians," writes the great Dom Gueranger. They immediately discern therein the signs of a conspiracy. Now there is no thought in our minds either of conspiracy or of revolt, but of the indefeasible affirmation of the rights granted to His Immaculate Spouse by our Saviour, Jesus.

The freedom of the Church lies in her complete independence with regard to all secular powers, not alone in her teachings of the Word, in the administering of the sacraments, in the untrammelled relations between all ranks of her Divine hierarchy, but also in the publishing and applying of her disciplinary decrees—in the conservation and administration of her temporal heritage.

"Nothing in the world is dearer to God than this liberty of His Church," says St. Anselm.

The Apostolic See, through the medium of Pope Pius VIII., wrote on June 30, 1830, to the Bishops of the Rhine Province: "It is in virtue of a Divine order that the Church, spotless spouse of the Immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ, is free and subject to no earthly dominion."

"This freedom of the Church," continues Dom Gueranger, "is the bulwark of the very sanctuary, hence, the shepherd, sentinel of Israel, should not wait until the enemy has entered into the fold to

"sound the cry of alarm. The duty of "protecting his flock begins for him at "the moment of the enemy's siege of his "outposts, upon whose safety depends the "police of the entire city."

In the execution of this duty of our pastoral office we protest, dear brethren, against the injury which the forcible seizure of church property will cause to the liberty of our mother, the Holy Church.

We add that the removal of the bells without the consent of the religious authorities and despite their protests will be a sacrilege.

The bell is, in fact, a sacred object, its function is sacred. It is a consecrated object; that is to say, it is devoted irrevocably to Divine service. It has been not only blessed but anointed by the Bishop with the holy oil and the holy chrism, just as you were anointed and consecrated at holy baptism; just as anointed and consecrated as the priest's hands which are to touch the consecrated wafer.

The function of the bell is holy. The bell is sanctified by the Holy Ghost, says the liturgy, *sanctificetur a Spiritu Sancto*, to the end that, in its voice, the faithful shall recognize the voice of the Church calling her children to hasten to her breast.

It announced your initiation into Christian life, your confirmation, your first communion. It announced, dear parents, your Christian marriage; it weeps for the dead; thrice daily it marks the mystery of the Incarnation; it recalls the immolation of the Lamb of God on the altar of sacrifice; it sings the joys of Sabbath rest, the cheer of our festivals of Christmas, of Easter, of Pentecost. Her prayers are associated with all the events and all the great memories, happy or unhappy, of the fatherland.

Yes, the seizure of our bells will be a profanation; whosoever assists in it will lend the hand to a sacrilege.

The Catholic Bishops of Germany and Austria will not deny these principles. If their patriotism has wrong from them concessions which must have cost their religious spirit dear, patriotism with us confirms on the contrary the law of resistance. We would be betraying the Church and the fatherland were we so cowardly as to permit without a public act of reprobation the taking away of metal to be converted by the enemy into engines of destruction, destined to carry death into the ranks of the heroes who are sacrificing themselves for us.

The authorities, strangers to our beliefs, will not be greatly moved, I fear, by the protest, however worthy of respect, of our religious consciences, but at least they should remember their given word and not tear up a juridical code which their believers have elaborated with

us and promulgated. Morality has force of law for Governments as for individuals.

On Oct. 18, 1907, the representatives of forty-four Governments gathered together at The Hague, drew up a convention concerning laws and customs of war on land.

They were assembled, they proclaimed unanimously, for a double purpose—in the first place to safeguard peace and prevent armed conflicts between nations; and, in the second place, in the extreme hypothesis of an appeal to arms, to serve, nevertheless, the interests of humanity and the progressive demands of civilization by restraining, as much as possible, the rigors of war.

To this convention there was annexed a set of regulations which, the general tenor of its clauses having been examined a first and a second time, respectively, during the peace conferences held in 1874 at Brussels and in 1899 at The Hague, was submitted a third time, in 1907, to careful study at the second conference at The Hague and signed by the plenipotentiaries of all the great powers.

The first signer of this code of international law in wartime was Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, delegated by his Majesty, the German Emperor, King of Prussia.

Articles 52 and 46 of the regulations annexed to the convention are formulated as follows:

"Article 52. Neither requisitions in kind "nor service can be demanded from communities or inhabitants, except for the "necessities of the army of occupation."

"Article 46. Family honor and rights, "individual life and private property, as "well as religious convictions and worship, must be respected."

Evidently bells and organs are not necessary to supply the needs of the army of occupation, they lie in the domain of private property, are destined for the exercise of Catholic worship.

The transformation of these articles of the Church into war munitions will be, therefore, a flagrant violation of international law, an act of force perpetrated on the weaker by the stronger because he is the stronger.

We Belgians, who have never wished nor acted other than well toward Germany, we are the weak ones. I call you all to witness, brethren, is it not true that prior to 1914 a current of sympathy, of esteem, of generous hospitality was turning our trusting hearts toward those who are today so harshly oppressing us? You will remember that on the very day of the invasion the first lines that flowed from my pen spoke to you of those "whom we have the sorrow to call our enemies." For four years Germany has been rewarding us. Nevertheless, we will not rebel. You will not seek in desperate recourse to

material force the sudden triumph of our rights.

Courage does not reside in passionate impulse but in self-mastery. We will offer to God in reparation for the sacrilege which is about to be committed against Him, and for the final success of our cause, our supreme sacrifice.

Let us pray, one for the other, that the arm of the All-Powerful may lend us support; "Lord," says the Holy Spirit, in the Book of Esther, "Lord, Sovereign Master, all is subject to Thy authority. "Nothing, nobody, is capable of resisting "Thee if Thou shalt decide to save Israel. * * * Grant our prayer, Lord! "Transform our grief into joy, so that, "living, we may glorify Thy name. " * * * Thou art just, Lord. Now they "are no longer satisfied to weigh us down "under the most grievous servitude, they "intend to silence the voices that praise

"Thee and to tarnish the glory of the "temple. Remember us, O Lord. Reveal "Thyself to us in this hour of our tribulation. * * * O God, Thou art exalted "above all, hearken to the voice of those "who place their hopes in Thee. Deliver "us from the blows of injustice and grant "that our courage may control our fears."

In the name of the freedom of the Church, in the name of the sanctity of the Catholic religion, in the name of international law, we condemn and reprove the seizure of the bells and organs of our churches; we forbid the clergy and faithful of our diocese to co-operate toward their removal; we refuse to accept the price of the sacred objects taken from us by violence.

Strong in invincible hope, we await the hour of our God.

D. J. CARDINAL MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Belgium's Appeal to the Bolsheviki

The Belgian Government, shortly after the Bolshevik Government of Russia deserted the Allies and disbanded its armies, sent this eloquent appeal to Petrograd:

BY the treaty of April 19, 1839, Russia placed her guarantee upon the independence and neutrality of Belgium. On Aug. 4, 1914, when Germany had violated this neutrality—which the German Government also had guaranteed—Belgium appealed to Russia for aid. To this appeal Russia replied on Aug. 5 by promising the assistance of her arms. Thus Belgium entered into the struggle for independence and neutrality, trusting in the unswerving loyalty of the Russian people.

On Feb. 14, 1916, Russia undertook to renew by a solemn act the pledges she had made regarding Belgium, "heroically faithful to her international obligations." Russia declared before a listening world that she would not cease hostilities until Belgium should be re-established in her independence and liberally indemnified for the losses she had endured. Furthermore, Russia promised her aid in assuring the commercial and financial rehabilitation of Belgium.

The authorities placed in power by the Russian revolution have just signed—on Feb. 9 and March 3, 1918—treaties under

which they lay down their arms before the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

Yet Belgium is still the prey of the imperial armies, which oppress her, decimating her population by privations and pitiless repressions, and overwhelming her with the worst kind of moral tortures. To these violences the Belgian Nation continues to oppose forces of resistance drawn from a consciousness of right, from the beauty of her cause, from her love of liberty.

Respect for treaties is the basis of the moral and juridical relations of States and the condition of an honest and regular international order. Carried into the war by a will to compel respect for a treaty which Russia had guaranteed, Belgium is pursuing the struggle without wavering, and at the price of the most cruel sacrifices. She considers that the promise of Russia, in which she trusted, is still binding. She refuses to believe that the Russian people, master of its destinies, will irrevocably abandon the promises made in its name. Confident in the honor and loyalty of the Russian people, Belgium reserves to herself the right to implore the execution of obligations whose permanent character places them outside any internal changes of régime in the State.

Serbia's Hopes and Russia's Defection

By Nikola Pashitch

Premier and Foreign Minister of Serbia

[Speech delivered March 31, 1918, before the Skupstina at Corfu and especially translated for
CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

SINCE the last meeting of this Assembly a great number of events have come to pass which have measurably modified the general military and political situation. One of our greatest allies, Russia, has retired from the battlefield, but another ally, quite as powerful as Russia, but doubtless not yet bringing to bear all the force of which she is capable, has rushed to our aid.

These two principal events, with others of less importance, have perceptibly changed the situation which existed more than a year ago, when Germany proposed to us the conclusion of a peace "honorable" for both the belligerent groups. Already at that time had Germany perceived the impossibility of fighting her adversaries by military force alone, and was obliged to resort to other means, which she had already employed, although in a more restrained fashion. So Germany decided to make more energetic use of her hidden channels with the idea of disorganizing in the quickest possible time the unity of her adversaries. She contrived intrigues, employing different methods according to the country where they were to be used and where she believed they would succeed.

You still remember the case of Miasoyedov, which was perpetrated with the aim of annihilating an entire Russian army. You also remember the attempt of the enemy to have Ireland revolt, an experiment which dismally failed owing to the prompt and energetic measures taken by the British Government. Surely you have a vivid memory of the criminal exploitation which the enemy Governments made in Italy of the Papal note in favor of peace. Also, you remember the numerous cases of arson of munition plants by the action of their agents, and the enemy propaganda of a premature

peace for the benefit of Germany, employed to the limit by pacifists and certain imperialist and international adventurers through lectures and "defeatist" newspapers in neutral countries.

RUSSIA ALONE DECEIVED

All these intrigues were clothed in fine phrases and put forward with high humanitarian ideals, by which the enemy propagated monarchistic ideas in republics and republican ideas in monarchies, eulogizing a military régime in democratic countries and in autocracies democratic, republican, and even anarchistic ideals.

They all had one sole end—to provoke internal disorders and discord among the Allies in order to divert the attention of Germany's adversaries from the principal aim. In every allied country these secret machinations of our enemies were unmasked and repelled. Repelled—except in Russia. All these intrigues and secret machinations could not succeed anywhere except in Russia, where there are many Germans, and where our enemies managed to concentrate the entire attention of a people in the midst of war upon their internal organization. In this way the possibility was placed in the hands of enemies—most dangerous to the liberty of the people and to their right to dispose freely of their destiny—to guide more easily the struggle with free and democratic nations reared against Prussianism in order to defend the rights of the weak and prevent the enslaving of other countries and other peoples.

RUSSIAN LIBERTY DESTROYED

The first revolutionary movement in Russia was directed against an autocratic and irresponsible Government. On the side of the revolution they pretended that the Government had initiated pour-

parlars for a separate peace with Germany unknown to the Russian people and the Allies. After this first movement, a second took place in Russia demanding a democratic peace "without annexations and indemnities" on the basis of the right of peoples to determine their destiny freely and for themselves.

This second revolutionary provisional Government not having the desire to cut the bonds which attached Russia to the democratic and allied countries, a third movement followed, which did not hesitate to cut the bonds uniting Russia to the Allies, to demobilize the Russian armies—an act contrary to all reason, even revolutionary—and to initiate pourparlars with the enemy at Brest-Litovsk for a separate peace.

The result of these pourparlars was the capitulation of the Maximalists to Prussian militarism, the disguised annexation by Germany of the great Baltic provinces of Russia, and the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers and the Ukraine, by which the latter separated from her enfeebled sister in order consciously to aid the enemies of the Slav race. The recognition of the independence of Finland, Caucasia, and Poland by the Central Powers followed, and, upon its heels, disintegration and general discord in Russia finally giving place to the present civil and fratricidal war.

We would not wish to deny that the Russian revolution counted for something in the ranks of its sincere combatants in the way of high social ideals, for democratic reforms, and for liberty. But, judging from its results, it is impossible to deny that the Russian revolution sustained a German influence, and that this influence so far has been useful only to Germany, who still makes war on Russia in order to prevent the latter from unifying her enfeebled peoples and re-establishing her position in the world.

A SHAMEFUL CATASTROPHE

The Russian revolutionists fell before the blow of Prussian militarism and surrendered to it the peoples who had hoped to obtain the right of self-determination. It is possible, even probable, that the situation in Russia may improve. But

at present what the Germans aimed at in Russia has been attained. They have taken away Russian provinces, incited civil war in the Russian fatherland, and removed the danger of the Russian armies which threatened them. These armies having been prematurely demobilized for incomprehensible reasons, the enemy is able to direct all his forces against his other adversaries. He has also obtained in this way a considerable amount of war material and food.

This catastrophe, which has covered the Russian people with shame, has been a lesson to all other nations, for it has definitely confirmed the conviction that it was certainly Germany who provoked this terrible war with the aim of conquest and hegemony.

But the great and free America did not wait for this moment before deciding to declare war on Germany, who had placed above the principles of right and justice that of brute force. On account of the Germans' conduct in the war, which surpassed all known horror and barbarism, not sparing even neutral nations, the United States became convinced that it was its duty to restrain this bestial force if the world were not to fall under the yoke of Prussian militarism. America entered the war to defend civilization and the right of people to dispose of themselves.

AMERICANS TO THE BREACH

The appearance of North America on the war stage filled the place made vacant by the surrender of Russia. Our allies having come to the conviction that they could count no longer on Russia, and that it would even be dangerous to regard her as a military asset, have employed all their forces in conformity with the new situation in order to fortify the solidarity which unites them and to augment their military and material force in proportion to what they had lost by the withdrawal of Russia, all with the idea of assuring the world a just and durable peace based on the liberty of the people to be self-determining. The strength of the army of our allies is greater by far than that of the enemy, not only in man power but also in mate-

rial. Organization is improving, and on all questions there is complete accord. Quite recently German war atrocities decided Japan to participate still more actively in the struggle.

The Serbian people, who have made the greatest sacrifice and given the finest proofs of their loyalty and fidelity toward the Allies, may therefore be certain that their sacrifices have not been in vain, and that their ideals will be realized if they continue to give in the future the evidence of their military and civil virtues, and if, as in the past, they abhor all intrigues having for their aim the destruction of our concord and union in defense of the interests of our people, who bear three names, but who form but one nation. We have observed that Austria-Hungary, particularly in these latter days, has intensified her intrigues, and her calumnies against the Serbian people. She began by spreading in Western Europe the false rumor that Serbia had tried, in an indirect way, to initiate pourparlers for a separate peace, because in our country and on the front of the Serbian Army she had suggested that she would be disposed to end the war against Serbia were it not for the fact that King Peter and the Serbian Government were opposed to the project. All such intrigues and calumnies have only one end—to destroy the faith which our allies have in the Serbian people, to rupture the national concord, and by our discord and quarrels to assure the conquest of the Serbian Nation.

SERBIA STILL FAITHFUL

But our people know Austria-Hungary too well to be taken in by these infamous intrigues and to believe her lying words. The nation remains faithful to her noble allies, who are pouring out their blood for little and weak nations, and will not deviate one hair's breadth from her stand until the end. The Serbian people have given all that they have, and now, although few in numbers, they still stand faithfully by the side of the Allies. They should never lose sight of the fact that it was Austria-Hungary who provoked the war with the idea of annihilating Serbia.

Our allies will not fail to acquire the conviction that the various peoples of Austria-Hungary cannot be free, and that a durable peace cannot be guaranteed so long as these peoples shall live in the State of the Hapsburgs, who from peoples once free have made Germano-Magyar slaves and have prevented their development by subjecting them to Germano-Magyar exploitation.

Germanism in its drive toward the Orient hurled itself upon Serbia, and only as a single united nation of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, closely bound to Italy, can we obstruct the German push toward the Orient and Adriatic, and aid in the establishment of a durable peace.

We ask only justice. We demand that slavery of peoples be abolished, just as slavery of individuals was suppressed. We demand equality among all nations, whether great or small, the fraternity and equality of all nationalities, and the foundation of a free State of all the reunited Yugoslavs. The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the complete re-establishment of independent Belgium; the re-establishment of the kingdom of all the Czechs, also that of all the Poles, the union of Italians with Italy, of Rumanians with Rumania, of Greeks with Greece, all of which would constitute the greatest and most solid guarantee for a just and lasting international peace. Hence we proclaim what should be realized soon or later—if not after this war then after a new shedding of blood—because this realization is identified with the progress of civilization and of humanity.

These great ends, humane and just, which are incarnated with the life and growth of civilization, we repeat, should be realized. They embrace those great ideals which spring from the soul and sentiments of individuals and races, and which will vanquish the brute force of certain anachronistic States, just as, in the last century, they vanquished the brute force of the individual.

Let us pledge our honor and eternal gratitude to all the peoples who are fighting for the right of all nations to shape their own destiny and for an international peace both just and lasting.

Rumania's Peace Treaty

Why the Onerous Terms of the Central Powers Had to be Accepted

THE peace treaty between Rumania and the Central Powers was signed at Bucharest May 6, 1918, and is called "the peace of Bucharest." Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, was Chairman of the plenipotentiaries representing the Central Powers. A comprehensive synopsis of the terms of the treaty appears elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

A writer in The London Times explains why Rumania was compelled to accept the enemy's exacting terms. He quotes General Averescu, the Rumanian Prime Minister, in these words:

If Rumania accepts the humiliating German peace terms and is ready to yield to her enemies the dearest part of her territory, she does not do it only to spare the lives of the remnants of her army, but for the sake of her allies, too. If Rumania refuses the German conditions today she may be able to resist another month, but the results will be fatal. A month later she might have to lose even the shadow of independence which is left to her now; and then, no doubt, the Germans would deal with her in the same way as they dealt with occupied France and with Belgium. The whole Rumanian army would be made prisoners, and would be sent to work on the western front against the Allies, while the civilian population would be compelled to work in ammunition and other factories for the Kaiser's army. I fought in the ranks in 1877 to help my country to win the Dobrudja. You may imagine how I feel now, having to sign the treaty which gives it to our worst enemies. But we are compelled to amputate an important part of our body in order to save the rest of it. However painful it may be, we are bound to do it.

DESERTED BY RUSSIA

To understand Rumania's situation, as The London Times correspondent goes on to say, we have to consider her position since Kerensky's fall. At the end of November, 1917, the front from the Bukowina to the Black Sea was held by a Russo-Rumanian force. Its flanks

from Dorna-Watra to Tergu-Ocna and from Ivesti to the Black Sea were held by three Russian armies, numbering about 450,000 men, and by two Rumanian armies of about 180,000 men. The Russian armies were, of course, weakened by many desertions and by lack of discipline, so that their actual was much less than their nominal strength. Nevertheless, about 350,000 Russians were still holding the front at that time. When the Russian armistice was signed, Rumania was compelled, by the joint threats of Germany and the Soviets of the Rumanian front, to adhere to it. From that day the Russian troops began to leave the trenches, not in hundreds, as they did before, but in masses of thousands at a time. Thus, at the end of January, 1918, hardly 50,000 Russians remained on the whole Rumanian front, and they had no desire to fight the enemy, but, being from Siberia or some other remote part of Russia, found it more convenient to spend their time in Rumania than to go back to their own country. They could easily raise money by selling to the highest bidder (Austrian or Rumanian) their guns, rifles, motor cars, &c.

For a certain time many—especially the French—believed strongly in the Ukraine and in the promises of the Rada. Much money had been spent in recruiting an army of the Ukraine which was supposed to fill the gaps left by the Russian Army on the southwestern front. All that I saw of this army was a group of about 150 boys, none of them over the age of 16, armed with rifles with fixed bayonets, a pistol, a sword, and a dagger. All wore spurs, though none of them had a horse. They paraded in the main streets of Jassy daily between 11 and 12. I calculated that every one of these boys cost the Entente well over £10,000. But in time the most incorrigible dreamers realized that the Ukraine had played a trick on Rumania. Then the handsome

Ukrainian toy soldiers were withdrawn from circulation, and no army ever replaced the Russians.

In the meantime, the Rumanian Government decided, for political and military reasons, to occupy Bessarabia. This operation required no less than seven divisions. Thus at the beginning of February the same front which was held in November by over 500,000 men was occupied by barely 120,000. Army supplies were getting shorter every day; and Rumania, being in a state of war with the Bolshevik Government, was completely cut off from the rest of her allies. In these circumstances Germany had an easy prey, and dealt with it in true German fashion.

AN IMPERIOUS SUMMONS

When the treaty with the Ukraine was signed Rumanian Headquarters received a note from General Morgen, the German Commander in Chief, saying that, as peace with Russia had been concluded, the Rumanian armistice had come to an end, and that delegates should be sent without delay to Focsani to examine the new situation. The Rumanian delegates arrived at Focsani next day. They were received with such insolence by the German delegates that the Chief of the Rumanian General Staff, General Lupesco, threatened to leave immediately. The discussions, however, did not last very long, and the mission came back with the announcement that Rumania had to decide within four days whether she was ready to discuss peace terms or not. A Crown Council was held immediately; and the majority of the Generals declared that the army could resist for a month at the most. M. Bratiano and M. Take Ionescu, who could not consent to make peace with the enemy, resigned, and the King asked General Averescu, the most popular man in Rumania, to form a new Cabinet.

Meanwhile, King Ferdinand received a telegram from Berlin, by which he was warned that the Austro-German Government would not discuss peace terms with a Cabinet which included M. Bratiano or any member of his former Cabinet. The feelings of the King of Rumania—when

he saw that even before peace discussions had begun the enemy had begun to interfere in Rumania's internal politics—can be appreciated. But King Ferdinand carried his head high, as he had done all through the tragic misfortunes of his country, and was indifferent to German arrogance. He replied to Herr von Kühlmann that Rumania was an independent country, and had a right to any Government she pleased. But none of the members of the former Cabinet came into the new one. General Averescu formed a Government which had the tragic task of concluding peace, and thus of annihilating, temporarily at least, all the tremendous efforts that Rumania had made during the preceding fifty years to become, economically as well as politically, the leading power in the Balkans.

THREE HUNGRY ENEMIES

The peace negotiations were supposed to last for a fortnight at most. In fact, they were nothing more than a farce, for the Germans allowed no discussion at all. They simply laid their preliminary conditions before the Rumanian delegates, and, taking advantage of the military helplessness of Rumania, told them: "You can take it or can leave it." The Rumanian delegates made a few attempts to discuss the German terms, but they soon found that it was useless and that the only thing to do was to yield.

The fact was that Rumania had to satisfy three hungry enemies. Each had his own object, but in each case the result was the same from the point of view of Rumania—subjection to the German yoke. The Bulgarians were eager to accomplish their ideal of "a great Bulgaria" by the annexation of the Dobrudja. Therefore, Rumania had to give up the Dobrudja. The Austrians, under Magyar pressure, demanded the surrender of the Carpathian passes—a condition which was pressed by Count Czernin, who remembered with bitterness the rebuff that he had suffered from the Rumanian King and Government at the time when Rumania came into the war. The Germans were determined to seize the immensely rich oilfields of Rumania and to

secure for an unlimited period Rumanian wheat for Germany at a price to be fixed by German authorities. For years Germany had tried to get control of the Rumanian oilfields. Where bribes and the offer of a heavy price had failed, the chance of war now insured success. The oilfields were seized nominally by way of a monopoly for ninety-nine years.

GERMANY'S SHARE OF BOOTY

As usual, Germany's allies had to yield up some of the prey to her. Thus the Germans succeeded in setting up a condominium over the most important part of the Dobrudja, between Constanza and the mouths of the Danube. From Campina, the centre of the oilfields district, a pipe line runs direct to Constanza, where the oil can be stored in enormous tanks, which were left practically untouched when Constanza was abandoned in November, 1916. It is essential for Germany that she should control the pipe line, and this she will certainly do under the form of the condominium.

As for the grain supply, the Germans, who had had to pay a heavy price for Rumanian grain before Rumania went to war, owing especially to British competition, were particularly careful to insure now against the repetition of anything so unpleasant. The form of the agreement which was dictated to Rumania on this point is that the surplus is to go to Germany after the needs of Rumania have been satisfied. What the needs of Rumania may be will be decided by a Rumanian commission; but this is to be un-

der German control, and there is not much doubt that the ration allowed to the Rumanian population will be proportioned pretty accurately to the needs of Germany.

These territorial and economic advantages secured, Germany went on to add humiliation for Rumania to the heavy toll of material loss. They insisted that the eight Rumanian divisions which were holding the Rumanian front should be demobilized at once under the control of German staff officers. Finally, the Germans asked that the Rumanian Government should give all possible facilities to a German force to pass through Rumania to Odessa. In point of fact, on March 10, long before the peace conditions were settled, the first German battalions passed through Galatz on their way to the Ukraine.

All these humiliating conditions had to be accepted. The motive of the Germans in piling up their enactions so frequently was evidently to compel the Averescu Cabinet, which they suspected of being pro-ally, to resign. They hoped to force the King to form a Cabinet of their Bucharest friends. In this they succeeded. The present Government of Rumania may be pro-German; but the Rumanian Nation—from the last peasant soldier, who brought the Germans to a stand last Summer at Maraseshti and Oitoz, to the King—bitterly hates everything German. Isolated as Rumania is now, she waits breathlessly for the victory of the Allies, hoping to be helped to free herself from German dominion.

The Peace of Bucharest

Synopsis of Rumania's Peace Treaty

FOLLOWING is a comprehensive summary of the treaty finally signed by the Rumanian Government at Bucharest, May 6, 1918:

Clause 1.—*Re-establishment of Peace and Friendship.*

Article I. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, on the one hand, and Rumania on the other, declare the state of war ended and that the contracting parties are

determined henceforth to live together in peace and friendship.

Article II. Diplomatic and Consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The admission of Consuls will be reserved for a future agreement.

Clause 2.—*Demobilization of the Rumanian Forces.*

Article III. The demobilization of the Ru-

Rumanian Army, which is now proceeding, will immediately after peace is signed be carried out according to the prescriptions contained in Articles IV. and VII.

Article IV. The regular military bureau, the supreme military authorities and all the military institutions will remain in existence as provided by the last peace budget. The demobilization of divisions eleven to fifteen will be continued as stipulated in the treaty of Focsani signed on March 8 last. Of the Rumanian divisions one to ten, the two infantry divisions now employed in Bessarabia, including the Jäger battalions which are the remnants of dissolved Jäger divisions, and including two cavalry divisions of the Rumanian Army, will remain on a war footing until the danger arising from the military operations now being carried on in the Ukraine by the Central Powers ceases to exist.

The remaining eight divisions, including the staff, shall be maintained in Moldavia at the reduced peace strength. Each division will be composed of four infantry regiments, two cavalry regiments, two field artillery regiments, and one battalion of pioneers, together with the necessary technical and transport troops. The total number of the infantry of the eight divisions shall not exceed 20,000 men; the total number of cavalry shall not exceed 3,200; the entire artillery of the Rumanian Army, apart from the mobile divisions, shall not exceed 9,000 men. The divisions remaining mobilized in Bessarabia must, in case of demobilization, be reduced to the same peace standard as the eight divisions mentioned in Article 4.

All other Rumanian troops which did not exist in peace time will at the end of their term of active military service remain as in peace time. Reservists shall not be called up for training until a general peace has been concluded.

Article V. Guns, machine guns, small arms, horses, and cars and ammunition, which are available owing to the reduction or the dissolution of the Rumanian units, shall be given into the custody of the Supreme Command of the allied (Teutonic) forces in Rumania until the conclusion of a general peace. They shall be guarded and superintended by Rumanian troops under supervision of the allied command. The amount of ammunition to be left to the Rumanian Army in Moldavia is 250 rounds for each rifle, 2,500 for each machine gun, and 150 for each gun. The Rumanian Army is entitled to exchange unserviceable material at the depots of the occupied region, in agreement with the allied Supreme Command, and to demand from the depots the equivalent of the ammunition spent. The divisions in Rumania which remain mobilized will receive their ammunition requirements on a war basis.

Article VI. The demobilized Rumanian troops to remain in Moldavia until the evacuation of the occupied Rumanian regions. Excepted from this provision are military

bureaus and men mentioned in Article 5, who are required for the supervision of the arms and material laid down in these regions. The men and reserve officers who have been demobilized can return to the occupied regions. Active and formerly active officers require, in order to return to these regions, permission of the chief army command of the allied forces.

Article VII. A General Staff officer of the allied powers, with staff, will be attached to the Rumanian Commander in Chief in Moldavia, and a Rumanian General Staff officer, with staff, will be attached as liaison officer to the chief command of the allied forces in the occupied Rumanian districts.

Article VIII. The Rumanian naval forces will be left to their full complement and equipment, in so far as their views, in accordance with Article IX., are not to be limited until affairs in Bessarabia are cleared, whereupon these forces are to be brought to the usual peace standard. Excepted herefrom are river forces required for the purposes of river police and naval forces on the Black Sea, employed for the protection of maritime traffic and the restoration of mine-free fairways. Immediately after the signing of the peace treaty these river forces will, on a basis of special arrangement, be placed at the disposal of the authorities intrusted with river policing. The Nautical Black Sea Commission will receive the right of disposing of the naval forces on the Black Sea, and a naval officer is to be attached to this commission in order to restore connection therewith.

Article IX. All men serving in the army and navy, who in peace time were employed in connection with harbors or shipping, shall, on demobilization, be the first to be dismissed in order that they may find employment in their former occupations.

Clause 3.—*Cessions of territory outlined in Articles X., XI., and XII.*

Article X. With regard to Dobrudja, which, according to Paragraph 1 of the peace preliminaries, is to be added by Rumania, the following stipulations are laid down: (A) Rumania cedes again to Bulgaria, with frontier rectifications, Bulgarian territory that fell to her by virtue of the peace treaty concluded at Bucharest in 1913. (Attached is a map showing the exact extent of the frontier rectification, with a note to the effect that it forms an essential part of the peace treaty.) A commission composed of representatives of the allied powers shall shortly after the signature of the treaty lay down and demarkate on the spot the new frontier line in Dobrudja. The Danube frontier between the regions ceded to Bulgaria and Rumania follows the river valley. Directly after the signature of the treaty further particulars shall be decided upon regarding the definition of the valley. Thus



RUMANIA AND ITS LOST TERRITORY: THE BLACK AREA SHOWS THE SOUTHERN PART OF DOBRUDJA, WON FROM THE BULGARS IN THE LAST BALKAN WAR, WHICH RUMANIA IS FORCED TO RETURN TO BULGARIA. THE SHADED AREA—NORTHERN DOBRUDJA—WHICH INCLUDES THE MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE AND RUMANIA'S ONLY ACCESS TO THE BLACK SEA, IS CEDED TO THE CENTRAL POWERS, WHO WILL ADMINISTER IT THROUGH A MIXED COMMISSION. THE SHADING ALONG RUMANIA'S WESTERN BORDER INDICATES THE AUSTRO-GERMAN "RECTIFICATION," WHICH GIVES AUSTRIA ALL THE MOUNTAIN PASSES AND IMPORTANT MINERAL LANDS.

the demarcation shall take place in Autumn, 1918, at low water level.

(B) Rumania cedes to the allied powers that portion of Dobrudja up to the Danube north of the new frontier line described under Section A; that is to say, between the confluence of the stream and the Black Sea, to the St. George branch of the river. The Danube frontier between the territory ceded to the allied powers and Rumania will be formed by the river valley. The allied powers and Rumania will undertake to see that Rumania shall receive an assured trade route to the Black Sea, by way of Tchernavoda and Constantza, (Kustendje.)

Article XI. says that Rumania agrees that her frontier shall undergo rectification in favor of Austria-Hungary as indicated on the map, and continues:

"Two mixed commissions, to be composed of equal numbers of representatives of the

powers concerned, are immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty to fix a new frontier line on the spot."

Article XII. Property in the ceded regions of Rumania passes without indemnification to the States which acquire these regions. Those States to which the ceded territories fall shall make agreements with Rumania on the following points: First, with regard to the allegiance of the Rumanian inhabitants of these regions and the manner in which they are to be accorded the right of option; secondly, with regard to the property of communes split by the new frontier; thirdly and fourthly, with regard to administrative and juridical matters; fifthly, with regard to the effect of the changes of territory on dioceses.

Clause 4 deals with war indemnities, of which Article XIII. declares that the contracting parties mutually renounce indemni-

fication of their war costs, and special arrangements are to be made for the settlement of damages caused by the war.

The fifth clause relates to the evacuation of occupied territories, embodied in Articles XIV. to XXIV., summed up as follows:

"The occupied Rumanian territories shall be evacuated at times to be later agreed upon. The strength of the army of occupation shall, apart from the formation employed in economic functions, not surpass six divisions. Until the ratification of the treaty the present occupation administration continues, but immediately after the signature of the treaty the Rumanian Government has the power to supplement the corps of officials by such appointments or dismissals as may seem good to it."

Up to the time of evacuation, a civil official of the occupation administration shall always be attached to the Rumanian Ministry in order to facilitate so far as possible the transfer of the civil administration to the Rumanian authorities. The Rumanian authorities must follow the directions which the commanders of the army of occupation consider requisite in the interest of the security of the occupied territory, as well as the security, maintenance, and distribution of their troops.

For the present, railways, posts, and telegraphs will remain under military administration, and will, in accordance with proper agreements, be at the disposal of the authorities and population. As a general rule, the Rumanian courts will resume jurisdiction in the occupied territories to their full extent. The allied powers will retain jurisdiction, as well as the power of police supervision, over those belonging to the army of occupation. Punishable acts against the army of occupation will be judged by its military tribunals, and also offenses against the orders of the occupation administration. Persons can only return to the occupied territories in proportion as the Rumanian Government provides for their security and maintenance.

The army of occupation's right to requisition is restricted to wheat, peas, beans, fodder, wool, cattle, and meat from the products of 1918, and, further, to timber, oil and oil products, always observing proper regard for an orderly plan of procuring these commodities, as well as satisfying the home needs of Rumania.

From the ratification of the treaty onward the army of occupation shall be maintained at the expense of Rumania. A separate agreement will be made with regard to the details of the transfer of the civil administration, as well as with regard to the withdrawal of the regulations of the occupation administration. Money spent by the allied powers in the occupied territories on public works, including industrial undertakings, shall be made good on their transfer. Until the evacuation these undertakings shall remain under the military administration.

Clause 6.—*Regulations regarding navigation on the Danube.*

Article XXIV. Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard for the prescriptions subsequently set forth under Sections A to D, and on conditions that the prescriptions under Section B shall apply equally for all parties to the Danube act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation act shall begin at Munich as soon as possible after the ratification of the treaty.

The sections follow: (A) Under the name Danube Mouth Commission, the European Danube Commission shall, under conditions subsequently set forth, be maintained as a permanent institution, empowered with the privileges and obligations hitherto appertaining to it for the river from Braila downward, inclusive of this port. The conditions referred to provide, among other things, that the commission shall henceforth only comprise representatives of States situated on the Danube or the European coasts of the Black Sea. The commission's authority extends from Braila downward to the whole of the arms and mouth of the Danube and adjoining parts of the Black Sea.

(B.) Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including the harbors. Rumania shall levy no toll on ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania, in the future, levy on the river any tolls, save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation act.

Section C provides for the abolition after the ratification of the treaty of the Rumanian ad valorem duty of 1½ per cent. on imports and exports.

Articles XXV. and XXVI. deal with Danube questions and provide that Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania are entitled to maintain warships on the Danube, which may navigate down stream to the sea and up stream as far as the upper frontier of Austria's territory, but are forbidden intercourse with the shore of another State or to put in there except under force majeure or with the consent of the State.

The powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission are entitled to maintain two light warships each as guard ships at the mouth of the Danube.

Article XXVII. provides equal rights for all religious denominations, including Jews and Moslems, in Rumania, including the right to establish private schools.

Article XXVIII. provides that diversity of religion does not affect legal, political, or civil rights of the inhabitants, and, pending ratification of the treaty, a decree will be

proclaimed giving the full rights of Rumanian subjects to all those, such as Jews, having no nationality.

The remaining three articles provide that economic relations shall be regulated by separate treaties, coming into operation at the same time as the peace treaty. The same applies to the exchange of prisoners.

THE KAISER EXULTS

Emperor William replied to Chancellor von Hertling's congratulations on the conclusion of peace between Germany and Rumania with this message:

The termination of the state of war in the east fills me also with proud joy and gratitude. Thanks to God's gracious help, the German people, with never-failing patriotism, under brilliant military leadership and with the assistance of strong diplomacy, are fighting step by step for a happy future.

I can but convey my thanks on this

occasion to you and also to your collaborators. God will help us to pass through the struggle which the hostile attitude of the powers, still under arms against us, has forced us to continue and to conclude it victoriously for the good of Germany and her allies.

Emperor William in a telegram to Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said:

The conclusion of peace with Rumania gives me an opportunity of expressing my joyful satisfaction that peace has now been given to the entire eastern front.

May rich blessings descend on the peoples concerned from the resumption of peaceful labor to which they can now devote themselves.

I thank you and your collaborators for the work done in loyal co-operation with our allies, and I confer on you as a sign of my appreciation the Order of the Royal Crown of the First Class.

Bessarabia Voluntarily United to Rumania

Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, during the negotiations with Rumania explained in a public speech that Rumania would be compensated for the loss of territory on the Transylvanian border by taking the southern part of Bessarabia, the Russian province bordering Rumania on the east. The southern part of Bessarabia, however, has few Rumanians, while the northern part is largely populated by them. Subsequent events have apparently changed the Austro-German plans, for the whole of Bessarabia has voted almost unanimously for union with Rumania. The event was officially announced at Washington on April 22 through the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires, N. H. Lahovary, as follows:

On April 9 the National Assembly of Bessarabia voted by 86 against 3 for union of Bessarabia to Rumania. The Rumanian Premier was then at Kishinev (capital of Bessarabia) and took cognizance of the vote amid enthusiastic acclamation and declared this union to be definitive and indissoluble.

Bessarabian delegates went to Jassy on April 12 to present the homage of the people of Bessarabia to their Majesties the King and Queen of Rumania. A Te Deum was sung at the cathedral in the presence of the royal family, the Government, and the Bessarabian delegates. The Archbishop of Bessarabia was also there, having taken the place next to the Metropol-

itan of Moldavia, who celebrated the service.

After the ceremony was over a parade of the troops took place, followed by a luncheon given at the royal palace in honor of the Ministers of Bessarabia. His Majesty the King drank to the health of the united Rumanian and Bessarabian people, after witnessing the great historic event accomplished by the will of the people of Bessarabia and proclaiming indissoluble the union of the ancient province of the Moldavian crown to the mother country.

Bessarabia, according to Mr. Lahovary, has about 3,000,000 inhabitants, and more than three-fourths of these are Rumanians. "Bessarabia," he continued, "is one of the richest farm lands of what was formerly Russia. The Bolsheviks ravaged it frightfully during the Winter months, and the country was only saved by the Rumanian troops, who were called in by the Bessarabians. Because of this help the Bolsheviks declared war on Rumania, and there were violent clashes between the Bolshevik brigands and Rumanian troops. Finally the latter ousted the Bolsheviks and succeeded in restoring tranquillity, but only after the Bolsheviks had committed most frightful outrages and pillaged the country. If Rumania was obliged to make peace, it was due directly to the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward Rumania."

The War and the Bagdad Railway

A Study by Dr. Morris Jastrow

Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania

[From his book, "The War and the Bagdad Railway"]

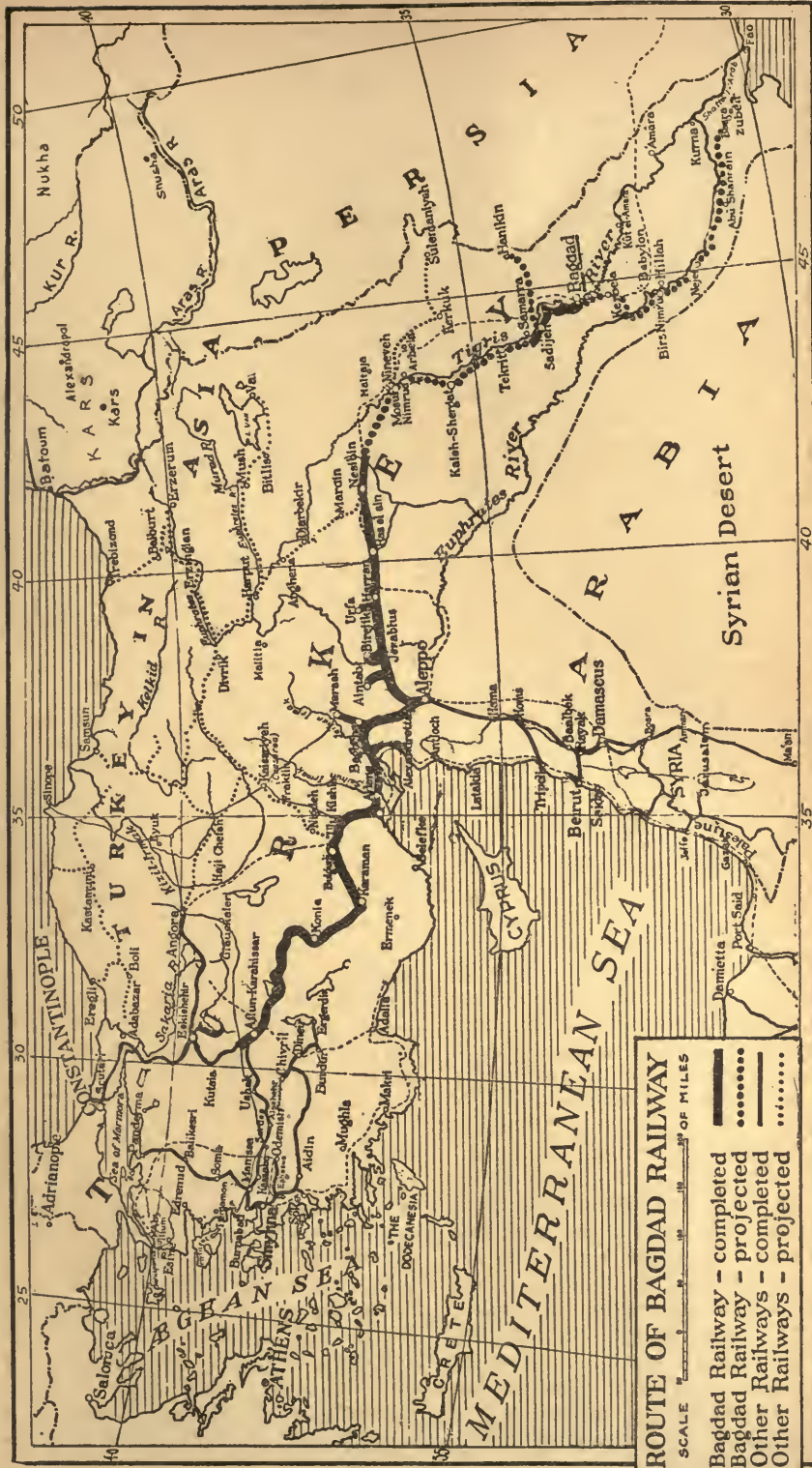
Germany's project of a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, now rivalled by a new one from Berlin to Bombay via Russia, was one of the chief causes of the war. It dates from 1888, when a syndicate of German and British capital organized the Anatolian Railway, to be built from Haddar Pacha, opposite Constantinople, to Angora—about 360 miles. The German members later bought out the British interests. Further concessions were obtained, but in 1893 a much more ambitious plan was brought forward by the visit of the German Emperor to Sultan Abdul Hamid, and in 1899 the general policy of a line across Asia Minor was announced. This line, however, as a glance at the map will show, did not get beyond Angora; Russia killed that phase of the project. The Bagdad Railway was then organized in 1903, and obtained from Turkey an unprecedented concession running southeastward to the Persian Gulf. Both England and France were offered a minor share in the enterprise, but refused. The Germans thus remained in full control, at the same time obtaining all the French capital they needed through Swiss banks.

THE Bagdad Railway has been a nightmare resting heavily on all Europe for eighteen years—ever since the announcement in 1899 of the concession granted to the Anatolian Railway Company. No step ever taken by any European power anywhere has caused so much trouble, given rise to so many complications, and has been such a constant menace to the peace of the world. No European statesman to whom the destinies of his country have been committed has rested easily in the presence of this spectre of the twentieth century. In the last analysis the Bagdad Railway will be found to be the largest single contributing factor in bringing on the war, because through it more than through any other cause the mutual distrust among European powers has been nurtured until the entire atmosphere of international diplomacy became vitiated. The explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, transforming what appeared on the surface to be a magnificent commercial enterprise, with untold possibilities for usefulness, into a veritable curse, an excrescence on the body politic of Europe, is to be sought in the history of the highway through which the railway passes. The control of this highway is the key to the East—the Near and the Farther East as well. Such has been its rôle in the past—such is its significance today. * * *

The most recent events are merely the

repetition on a large scale of such as took place thousands of years ago and at frequent intervals since. The weapons have changed, new contestants have arisen to take the place of civilizations that after serving their day faded out of sight, but the issue has ever remained the same. We are confronted by that issue today—the control of the highway that leads to the East. * * * The decisive battle-fields for the triumph of democracy are in the West, but the decision for supremacy among European nations lies in the East. The Bagdad Railway is the most recent act in a drama the beginnings of which lie in the remote past. * * *

The course of events in the Near East since the entering wedge, represented by Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, is to be interpreted as the irresistible onslaught of the West to break down the barrier created in 1453. As we survey the successive steps in this onslaught, the struggle between France and England, culminating in the Convention of 1904, which gave France a dominant position in Morocco in return for allowing England a free hand in Egypt, the attempts of France and Russia to hedge in England in India, followed by England and Russia in dividing up their "spheres of influence" in Persia, the commercial and railway concessions secured by England, France, and Russia from Turkey, sinking ever deeper into a slough of des-



MAP SHOWING THE COMPLETED AND PROJECTED SECTIONS OF THE BAGDAD RAILWAY, THE GERMAN ENTERPRISE THAT FIGURED AMONG THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF THE WAR

perate weakness, we see how these struggles, conventions, and partnerships all lead up to the dramatic climax—the struggle for the historic highway which is the key to the Near East. Its possession will mean in the future—as it always has in the past—dominion over Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and probably Arabia; and the Near East points its finger directly toward the Farther East. Under the modern symbol of railway control, Asia Minor, true to the genius of its history, once more looms up as a momentous factor in the world history. * * * The murder at Serajevo was merely the match applied to the pile all ready to be kindled. * * *

Full credit should be given to the German brains in which this project was hatched, and there is no reason to suspect that at the outset the German capitalists who fathered the enterprise were actuated by any other motive than the perfectly legitimate one to create a great avenue of commerce. When, however, the German Government entered the field as the backer and promoter of the scheme the political aspect of the railroad was moved into the foreground, and that aspect has since overshadowed the commercial one.

Had the original plan of the German group to run the Bagdad Railway across Northern Asia Minor from Angora been adhered to, the interior would have been kept free, and it is likely that a favorite English plan (afterward taken up also by the French Government) to run a railway from the Gulf of Alexandretta via Aleppo and the Euphrates to Bagdad might have been carried out. * * * The railway projects of Asia Minor and Syria might have remained purely commercial undertakings of great cultural value. The political aspect of railway plans in the Near East might have been permanently kept in the background.

The stumbling block that prevented the execution of the original plan was—strangely enough—Russia. Her opposition to the northern route brought about the change. Russia had plans of her own in Asia Minor and in the lands to the east beyond. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century Russia, fearing

the extension of English power in the Far East, cast her eyes about for securing zones of influence that might bring her into touch with the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. She secured the co-operation of France in 1891, and it is both interesting and instructive to note that the Franco-Russian alliance was originally directed against England rather than against Germany. * * * She exacted from Turkey the Black Sea Basin agreement, formally sanctioned in 1900, which reserved to her the right to construct railroads in Northern Asia Minor. * * * At all events, her opposition was strong enough to secure a modification of the plan of the Bagdad Railway in favor of the transverse route, which, as it turned out, gave Germany a tremendous advantage over all rivals, though it also brought on the opposition of England. Russia was not prepared to allow any further advantage to be gained in the East by England. On the whole she still preferred Germany.

[England's opposition to Germany's new railway scheme became acute when it was publicly announced that the road was not to terminate at Bagdad, or even at Basra, but to run on to a point "to be determined" on the Persian Gulf. The Convention of 1902-3 made it evident that Germany had stolen a march on England, and that the prestige of France, too, had suffered. The favor shown to the German syndicate by the Turkish Government was evident. The terms were indeed unprecedented. Says Dr. Jastrow: "No wonder that there were great rejoicings in Germany when they were announced and gnashing of teeth outside of Germany." With the announcement of the 1902-3 concession and the formation of the Bagdad Railway Company as a successor to the old Anatolian Company, the German syndicate did offer English and French capitalists a share in the enterprise, and insisted that the plan was "international." But the "share" thus offered was merely assistance in financing what would remain a German matter—inasmuch as Germany reserved the control in the management's personnel. England and France therefore refused to participate.]

LICHNOWSKY'S MEMORANDUM

Von Jagow's Replies to the Prince's Revelations —Further German Comments

THE revelations by Prince Lichnowsky, German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, which were printed in the May number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, produced a profound impression throughout the world, disclosing as they did the part played by the German Imperial Government in starting the war. German officialdom at once attacked Lichnowsky, compelling him to resign his rank and threatening him with trial for treason. On April 27, 1918, the Prussian upper house decided to grant the request of the First State Attorney of District Court No. 1 of Berlin for authorization to undertake criminal proceedings against Prince Lichnowsky. The State Attorney held that Prince Lichnowsky, in communicating to third parties documents or their contents officially intrusted to him by his superiors had infringed the secrecy incumbent on him.

In referring to the prosecution of the Prince, Maximilian Harden, in a May issue of the Zukunft, said:

"I will swear that there are dozens of men sitting there in these dark war hours who have written and said similar things in sharper and more bitter words." Herr Harden asked whether these would

meet the same fate if their papers were stolen and exposed in German shop windows. "Many a trusted wife," he said, "must cry out in fear: 'But, you know, Ernst, Adolf, and Klaus have spoken more desperately.'"

The chief theme of Lichnowsky's memorandum, the editor of Die Zukunft asserts, was the danger to Germany of a too-close alliance with Vienna and Budapest, of the flirtation with Poland, and his insistence upon the necessity of friendly relations with a strong Russia. The German outcry against Lichnowsky, however, gave foreign countries the impression that the Prince had made fearfully damaging disclosures of Berlin's guilt. The question of blame, he says, "reflected almost an identical interpretation to that of our White Book, and a cool head would not have made a world sensation out of it." Harden concludes by saying that an ostracized Lichnowsky would become a power; but the Prussian Diet has no sense of humor.

In the May CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE an abridged version of the first reply of former Foreign Secretary von Jagow to Prince Lichnowsky was printed, but the document is of such importance that a translation in its entirety is herewith given.*

Von Jagow's Two Replies to Lichnowsky

PRACTICALLY coincident with the giving out for publication on March 19, through the semi-official Wolff Telegraph Bureau, of an account of a discussion in the Main Committee of the Reichstag of the memorandum of the former Ambassador at London, together with substantial excerpts from the main chapters of his work, the German Government got in touch with Herr von Jagow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the war began, and asked him to write an article calculated to counteract the effect of the Lichnowsky revelations.

Herr von Jagow hastened to accede to this request, but he merely made matters worse for the German Government by practically admitting the correctness of Prince Lichnowsky's assertion that England did not want war and that Berlin was aware of this.

*The full text of Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum, with the replies of Herr von Jagow, the Mühlen letter, comments of the German press, and other matter, has been published in a separate forty-page pamphlet by THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Copies of German newspapers received here show that, while the journals of all factions were practically of one mind in reproaching the German Foreign Office for its lack of diplomatic ability, the Pan-German and militarist organs laid special stress upon the implication in the von Jagow article that Germany might have been willing to drop its alliance with Austria if it could have been sure of contracting one with England, and the Liberal and Socialist papers declared that it was no use insisting any longer that Great Britain was guilty of the wholesale bloodshed of the world war, and that now nothing really stood in the way of moving for a peace by agreement.

These comments were so sharp on both sides that Herr von Jagow was soon moved to write another article defending his reply to Prince Lichnowsky and arguing that his statements regarding the Triple Alliance could by no means be interpreted as meaning that he would have been willing to abandon Austria-Hungary in favor of Great Britain. In this article, which was first printed in the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, von Jagow says he cannot understand how these statements can be taken to mean that he was an opponent of the alliance with Austria and was considering a choice between Austria and England. He proceeds to defend his own policy by reference to the fact that Bismarck was not content with the Triple Alliance on the one hand, and the famous "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia on the other hand, but in 1887 deliberately promoted agreements between Austria-Hungary, Italy, and England, with the object of "bringing England into a closer relationship to the Central European league and making her share its burdens." Bismarck's policy relieved Germany of some of her obligations, because "Austria-Hungary, supported by Italy and England, held the balance against Russia."

Then, as *The London Times* points out, carefully avoiding the history of the present Kaiser's reversal of Bismarck's policy and abandonment of the "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia, von Jagow defends his attempts to make British policy serve Germany's purposes. It was "because of the isolation of the Triple Alliance, which had come about in the course of years," that von Jagow "pursued a rapprochement with England." He did so, "not with any idea of putting England in the place of Austria-Hungary, but in order, by disposing of the Anglo-German antagonism, to move England to a different orientation of her policy." Germany "could not count upon Italy," and wanted other assistance in upholding Austria-Hungary in the Balkans against Russia. Herr von Jagow proceeds:

"The combination of England would have relieved us of the necessity of taking our stand alone, when the case arose, for Austria-Hungary against Russia. As was ef-

fectured by the agreements of 1887, a part of our obligations would have been laid upon other shoulders. It is in this sense that I spoke of the possibility of the loosening and the dissolution of old unions which no longer satisfy all the conditions.

"The alliance with Austria-Hungary was the cornerstone of Bismarckian policy, and that it had to remain. The expansion of the alliance into the Triple Alliance, by taking in Italy, was a means of supplementing the Central European grouping of the powers; it was an 'auxiliary structure,' by means of which Bismarck aimed at a further guarantee of peace, especially as he intended thereby to check Italy's Irredentist policy. Threads then ran to England via Italy. These threads gave way later, and this caused a considerable change in the attitude of Italy.

Friendly to England

"A friendly attitude on the part of England toward the Triple Alliance—what Professor Hermann Oncken calls the moral extension of the Triple Alliance over the Channel—was the aim of our policy, and in this we were sure of the complete accord of our allies. I never thought that the agreements about Bagdad and the colonies would mean an immediate alteration of England's course in European policy. These agreements were to prepare the way for this change of course. I was under no illusions about the difficulties which would still have to be overcome. But difficulties, and even resistance on the part of public opinion in one's own country, cannot prevent us from following a road that is seen to be right. The league between Germany and Austria-Hungary, supported by friendship with England, would have created a peace bloc of unassailable strength. The increasing Irredentism of Italy, her friction with Austria on the Adriatic, and the Russo-ophile and also Irredentist tendencies of Rumania, would have lost their importance. Then, in given circumstances, the Triple Alliance treaty might have been modified. The union with England would also have secured us against Russian aggression, and the obligations imposed upon us by our alliance would thereby have been diminished.

"The road to this goal was long. The calm development was crossed by the Serajevo murders, and in the fateful hour of August, 1914, the English Government—instead of keeping peace—preferred to join in the war against us. The English Government has probably since then been assailed by serious doubts as to whether its choice was right. In any case, it assumed a considerable share of the guilt for the bloodshed in Europe."

Herr von Jagow then denies that his scheme was inevitably doomed to failure, saying that the policy of England is more liable to adaptation and alteration than the policy of any other country, and that "more far-seeing

statesmen than those who were intrusted with the fortunes of the Island Empire in 1914—think only of the Pitts, Disraelis, and Salisburys—held other views about the orientation of England toward Germany and Russia.”

“As matters stand today, attempts to arrive at clearness about the respective parts

played by our enemies at the outbreak of the war, and about the greater or less degrees of guilt belonging to each of them, can have only a historical value. England has made the cause of our enemies her own, and so she also shall be made to feel how Germany defends herself against her enemies.”

Full Text of von Jagow's First Reply

[Copyrighted]

Herr von Jagow's first reply to Prince Lichnowsky, which was printed in the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung March 23, 1918, follows:

SO far as it is possible, in general, I shall refrain from taking up the statements concerning the policy obtaining before my administration of the Foreign Office.

“I should like to make the following remarks about the individual points in the article:

“When I was named State Secretary in January, 1913, I regarded a German-English rapprochement as desirable and also believed an agreement attainable on the points where our interests touched or crossed each other. At all events, I wanted to try to work in this sense. A principal point for us was the Mesopotamia-Asia Minor question—the so-called Bagdad policy—as this had become for us a question of prestige. If England wanted to force us out there it certainly appeared to me that a conflict could hardly be avoided. In Berlin I began, as soon as it was possible to do so, to negotiate over the Bagdad Railroad. We found a favorable disposition on the part of the English Government, and the result was the agreement that was almost complete when the world war broke out.

Colonial Questions

“At the same time the negotiations over the Portuguese colonies that had been begun by Count Metternich, (as German Ambassador at London,) continued by Baron Marschall, and reopened by Prince Lichnowsky were under way. I intended to carve the way later for further negotiations regarding other—for example, East Asiatic—problems, when what was in my opinion the most important problem, that of the Bagdad Railroad, should be settled, and an atmosphere of more confidence thus created. I also left the naval problem aside, as it would have been difficult to reach an early agreement over that matter, after past experiences.

“I can pass over the development of the Albanian problem, as it occurred before my term of office began. In general, however, I would like to remark that such far-reaching disinterestedness in Balkan questions as

Prince Lichnowsky proposes does not seem possible to me. It would have contradicted the essential part of the alliance if we had completely ignored really vital interests of our ally. We, too, had demanded that Austria stand by us at Algecirras, and at that time Italy's attitude had caused serious resentment among us. Russia, although she had no interest at all in Morocco, also stood by France. Finally, it was our task, as the third member of the alliance, to support such measures as would render possible a settlement of the divergent interests of our allies and avoid a conflict between them.

“It further appeared impossible to me not to pursue a ‘triple alliance policy’ in matters where the interests of the allied powers touched each other. Then Italy would have been driven entirely into line with the Entente in questions of the Orient, and Austria handed over to the mercy of Russia, and the Triple Alliance would thus have really gone to pieces. And we, too, would not have been able to look after our interests in the Orient, if we did not have some support. And even Prince Lichnowsky does not deny that we had to represent great economic interests right there. But today economic interests are no longer to be separated from political interests.

“That the people ‘in Petrograd wanted to see the Sultan independent’ is an assertion that Prince Lichnowsky will hardly be able to prove; it would contradict every tradition of Russian policy. If we, furthermore, had not had at our command the influence at Constantinople founded by Baron Marschall, it would hardly have been possible for us to defend our economic interests in Turkey in the desired way.

Russia and Germany

“When Prince Lichnowsky further asserts that we only ‘drove Russia, our natural friend and best neighbor, into the arms of France and England through our Oriental and Balkan policy’ he is in conflict with the historical facts. Only because Prince Gortschakoff [Russian Premier] was guiding Russian policy toward a rapprochement with a France lusting for revenge was Prince Bismarck induced to enter into the alliance with Austria-Hungary; through the alliance with

Rumania he barred an advance of Russia toward the south. Prince Lichnowsky condemns the basic principles of Bismarck's policy. Our attempts to draw closer to Russia went to pieces—Björkl proves it—or remained ineffective, like the so-called Potsdam agreement. Also, Russia was not always our 'best neighbor.' Under Queen Elizabeth, as at present, she strove for possession of East Prussia to extend her Baltic coasts and to insure her domination of the Baltic. The Petrograd 'window' has gradually widened, so as to take in Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, and Finland and reach after Aland. Poland was arranged to be a field over which to send troops against us. Pan-Slavism, which was dominating the Russian policy to an ever greater degree, had positive anti-German tendencies.

"And we did not force Russia to drop 'her policy of Asiatic expansion,' but only tried to defend ourselves against her encroachments in European policy and her encircling of our Austro-Hungarian ally.

Grey Conciliatory

"Just as little as Sir Edward Grey [British Foreign Secretary] did we want war to come over Albania. Therefore, in spite of our unhappy experience at Algeciras, we agreed to a conference. The credit of an 'attitude of mediation' at the conference should not be denied Sir Edward Grey; but that he 'by no means placed himself on the side of the Entente' is, however, surely saying rather too much. Certainly he often advised yielding in Petrograd (as we did in Vienna) and found 'formulas of agreement,' but in dealing with the other side he represented the Entente, because he, no less than ourselves, neither would, nor could, abandon his associates. That we, on the other hand, 'without exception, represented the standpoint dictated to us from Vienna' is absolutely false. We, like England, played a mediatory rôle, and also in Vienna counseled far more yielding and moderation than Prince Lichnowsky appears to know about, or even to suggest. And then Vienna made several far-reaching concessions, (Dibra, Djakowa.) If Prince Lichnowsky, who always wanted to be wiser than the Foreign Office, and who apparently allowed himself to be strongly influenced by the Entente statesmen, did not know this, he surely ought not to make any false assertions now! If, to be sure, the degree of yielding that was necessary was reached in Vienna, we also naturally had to represent the Austrian standpoint at the conference. Ambassador Szögyeni himself was not one of the extremists; in Vienna they were by no means always satisfied with his attitude. That the Ambassador, with whom I was negotiating almost every day, constantly sounded the refrain of *cassus foederis* is entirely unknown to me. It certainly is true that Prince Lichnowsky for

some time past had not been counted as a friend of Austria in Vienna. Still complaints about him came to my ears oftener from the side of Marquis San Giuliano [Italian Foreign Minister] than from the side of Count Berchtold, [Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister.]

"King Nicholas's seizure of Scutari constituted a mockery of the entire conference and a snub to all the powers taking part in it.

"Russia was by no means obliged 'to give way to us all along the line'; on the contrary, she 'advanced the wishes of Serbia' in several ways, Serbia even receiving some cities and strips of territory that could have been regarded as purely Albanian or preponderatingly so. Prince Lichnowsky says that 'the course of the conference was a fresh humiliation for the self-consciousness of Russia' and that there was a feeling of resentment in Russia on that account. It cannot be the task of our policy to satisfy all the unjustified demands of the exaggerated self-consciousness of a power by no means friendly to us, at the cost of our ally. Russia has no vital interests on the Adriatic, but our ally certainly has. If we, as Prince Lichnowsky seems to wish, had flatly taken the same stand as Russia, the result would have been a humiliation for Austria-Hungary and thus a weakening of our group. Prince Lichnowsky seems only anxious that Russia be not humiliated; a humiliation of Austria is apparently a matter of indifference to him.

The "Wily" Venizelos

"When Prince Lichnowsky says that our 'Austrophilie' was not adapted to 'promote Russia's interests in Asia,' I don't exactly understand what this means. Following a disastrous diversion toward East Asia—in the Japanese war we had favored Russia without even being thanked for it!—Russia again took up her policy directed toward the European Orient (the Balkans and Constantinople) with renewed impulse, (the Balkan Alliance, Buchlau, Iswolsky, &c.) [Iswolsky retired as Russian Foreign Minister after Germany forced the Czar to repudiate his Serbian policy in 1909.]

"Venizelos, the cunning Cretan with the 'Ribbon of the Order of the Red Eagle,' evidently knew how to throw a little sand into the eyes of our Ambassador. He, in contrast to King Constantine and Theototy, always was pro-Entente. His present attitude reveals his feelings as clearly as can be. Herr Danef, however, was entirely inclined toward Petrograd.

"That Count Berchtold displayed certain inclinations toward Bulgaria also in its differences with Rumania is true; that we 'naturally went with him' is, however, entirely false. With our support, King Carol had the satisfaction of the Bucharest peace. [Ended second Balkan war.] If, therefore, in the case of the Bucharest peace, in which we favored the wishes and interests of Rumania,

which was allied to us, our policy deviated somewhat from that of Vienna, the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet certainly did not believe—as Prince Lichnowsky asserts—that it ‘could count upon our support in case of its revision.’ That Marquis San Giuliano ‘is said to have warned us already in the Summer of 1913 from becoming involved in a world war,’ because at that time in Austria ‘the thought of a campaign against Serbia’ had found entrance, is entirely unknown to me. Just as little do I know that Herr von Tschirschky—who certainly was rather pessimistic by nature—is said to have declared in the Spring of 1914 that there soon would be war. Therefore, I was just as ignorant of the ‘important happenings’ that Prince Lichnowsky here suspects as he was himself! Such events as the English visit to Paris—Sir Edward Grey’s first to the Continent—surely must have been known to the Ambassador, and we informed him about the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement; to be sure, he did not want to believe it!

“In the matter of Liman von Sander, [German reorganizer of the Turkish Army,] we made a far-reaching concession to Russia by renouncing the General’s power of command over Constantinople. I will admit that this point of the agreement over the military mission was not opportune politically.

“When Prince Lichnowsky boasts of having succeeded in giving the treaty a form corresponding to our wishes, this credit must not be denied him, although it certainly required strong pressure on several occasions to induce him to represent some of our desires with more emphasis.

“When Prince Lichnowsky says that he received the authorization definitely to conclude the treaty, after he previously asserts that ‘the treaty was consequently dropped,’ this contains a contradiction which we may let the Prince straighten out. Lichnowsky’s assertion, however, that we delayed publication because the treaty would have been ‘a public success’ for him that we begrudged him, is an unheard-of insinuation that can only be explained through his self-centred conception of things. The treaty would have lost its practical and moral effect—one of its main objects was to create a good atmosphere between us and England—if its publication had been greeted with violent attacks upon ‘perfidious Albion’ in our Anglophobe press and in our Parliament. And there is no doubt that, in view of our internal position at that time, this is what the simultaneous publication of the so-called Windsor Treaty would have caused. And the howl about English perfidy that the internal contradiction between the text of the Windsor Treaty and our treaty would doubtless have called forth would hardly have been stilled in the minds of our public through the assurance of English bona fides.

“With justified precaution, we intended to allow the publication to be made only at the proper moment, when the danger of disap-

proving criticism was no longer so acute, if possible simultaneously with the announcement of the Bagdad Treaty, which also was on the point of being concluded. The fact that two great agreements had been concluded between us and England would doubtless have materially favored their reception and made it easier to overlook the aesthetic defects of the Portuguese agreement. It was consideration for the effect of the agreement—with which we wanted to improve our relations with England, not to generate more trouble—that caused our hesitation.

“It is correct that—although in a secondary degree—consideration was also taken of the efforts just then being made to obtain economic interests in the Portuguese colonies, which the publication of the agreement would naturally have made more difficult to realize. These conditions Prince Lichnowsky may not have been able to perceive fully from London, but he should have trusted in our objective judgment and acquiesced in it, instead of replacing his lack of understanding with suspicions and the interjection of personal motives. He certainly would have found our arguments understood by the English statesmen themselves.

“The Ambassador’s speeches aroused considerable adverse sentiment in this country. It was necessary for the creation of a better atmosphere, in which alone the rapprochement being worked for could flourish, that confidence in our English policy and in our London Ambassador be spread also among our people at home. Prince Lichnowsky, otherwise so susceptible to public opinion, did not take this motive sufficiently into account, for he saw everything only through his London spectacles. The charges against the attitude of the Foreign Office are too untenable to be bothered with. I would only like to point out that Prince Lichnowsky was not left in ignorance regarding the ‘most important things,’ in so far as they were of value to his mission. On the contrary, I gave the Ambassador much more general information than used to be the custom. My own experiences as Ambassador induced me to do so. But with Lichnowsky there was the inclination to rely more upon his own impressions and judgment than upon the information and advice of the Central Office. To be sure, I did not always have either the motive or the authority to impart the sources of our news. Here there were quite definite considerations, particularly anxiety regarding the compromising of our sources. The Prince’s memorandum furnishes the best justification for the caution exercised in this regard.

Defense of Archduke

“It is not true that in the Foreign Office the reports that England would protect France under all circumstances were not believed.

“At Knopisch, on the occasion of the

visit of his Majesty the Kaiser to the Archduke heir apparent, no plan of an active policy against Serbia was laid down. Archduke Franz Ferdinand was not at all the champion of a policy leading to war for which he has often been taken. During the London conference he advised moderation and the avoidance of war.

"Prince Lichnowsky's 'optimism' was hardly justified, as he has probably convinced himself since through the revelations of the Sukhomlinoff trial. Besides, the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement (of which, as said before, he was informed) should have made him more skeptical. Unfortunately, the suspicion voiced by the Imperial Chancellor and the Under Secretary of State was well grounded. How does this agree with the assertion that we, relying upon the reports of Count Pourtales that 'Russia would not move under any circumstances,' had not thought of the possibility of a war? Furthermore, so far as I can recollect, Count Pourtales [German Ambassador at St. Petersburg] never made such reports.

Blame for Russia

"That Austria-Hungary wished to proceed against the constant provocations stirred up by Russia, (Herr von Hartwig,) which reached their climax in the outrage of Sarajevo, we had to recognize as justified. In spite of all the former settlements and avoidances of menacing conflicts, Russia did not abandon her policy, which aimed at the complete exclusion of the Austrian influence (and naturally ours also) from the Balkans. The Russian agents, inspired by Petrograd, continued their incitement. It was a question of the prestige and the existence of the Danube Monarchy. It must either put up with the Russo-Serbian machinations, or command a quos ego, even at the risk of war. We could not leave our ally in the lurch. Had the intention been to exclude the ultima ratio of the war in general, the alliance should not have been concluded. Besides, it was plain that the Russian military preparations, (for instance, the extension of the railroads and forts in Poland,) for which a France lusting for revenge had lent the money and which would have been completed in a few years, were directed principally against us. But despite all this, despite the fact that the aggressive tendency of the Russian policy was becoming more evident from day to day, the idea of a preventive war was far removed from us. We only decided to declare war on Russia in the face of the Russian mobilization and to prevent a Russian invasion.

"I have not the letters exchanged with the Prince at hand—it was a matter of private letters. Lichnowsky pleaded for the abandonment of Austria. I replied, so far as I remember, that we, aside from our treaty obligation, could not sacrifice our ally for the uncertain friendship of England. If we abandoned our only reliable ally later we would stand entirely isolated, face to face

with the Entente. It is likely that I also wrote that 'Russia was constantly becoming more anti-German' and that we must 'just risk it.' Furthermore, it is possible that I, in order to steel Lichnowsky's nerves a little and to prevent him from exposing his views also in London, may also have written that there would probably be some 'bluster'; that 'the more firmly we stood by Austria the sooner Russia would yield.' I have said already that our policy was not based upon alleged reports excluding war; certainly at that time I still thought war could be avoided, but, like all of us, I was fully aware of the very serious danger.

"We could not agree to the English proposal of a conference of Ambassadors, for it would doubtless have led to a serious diplomatic defeat. For Italy, too, was pro-Serb and, with her Balkan interests, stood rather opposed to Austria. The 'intimacy of the Russo-Italian relations' is admitted by Prince Lichnowsky himself. The best and only feasible way of escape was a localization of the conflict and an understanding between Vienna and Petrograd. We worked toward that end with all our energy. That we 'insisted upon' the war is an unheard-of assertion which is sufficiently invalidated by the telegrams of his Majesty the Kaiser to the Czar and to King George, published in the White Books—Prince Lichnowsky only cares to tell about 'the really humble telegram of the Czar'—as well as the instruction we sent to Vienna. The worst caricature is formed by the sentence:

"'When Count Berchtold finally decided to come around we answered the Russian mobilization, after Russia had vainly negotiated and waited a whole week, with the ultimatum and the declaration of war.'

[In quoting Lichnowsky, Herr von Jagow omits the former's statement that Count Berchtold "hitherto had played the strong man on instructions from Berlin."]

"Wrong" Conclusions

"Should we, perhaps, have waited until the mobilized Russian Army was streaming over our borders? The reading of the Sukhomlinov trial has probably given even Prince Lichnowsky a feeling of 'Oh si tacuisses!' On July 5 I was absent from Berlin. The declaration that I was 'shortly thereafter in Vienna' 'in order to talk everything over with Count Berchtold' is false. I returned to Berlin on July 6 from my honeymoon trip and did not leave there until Aug. 15, on the occasion of the shifting of the Great Headquarters. As Secretary of State I was only once in Vienna before the war, in the Spring of 1913.

"Prince Lichnowsky lightly passed over the matter of the confusing dispatch that he sent us on Aug. 1—at present I am not in possession of the exact wording—as a 'misunderstanding' and even seems to want to reproach us because 'in Berlin the news, without first waiting for the conversation,

was made the basis of a far-reaching action.' The question of war with England was a matter of minutes, and immediately after the arrival of the dispatch it was decided to make an eleventh-hour attempt to avoid war with France and England. His Majesty sent the well-known telegram to King George. The contents of the Lichnowsky dispatch could not have been understood any other way than we understood it.

"Objectively taken, the statement of Prince Lichnowsky presents such an abundance of inaccuracies and distortions that it is hardly a wonder that his conclusions are also entirely wrong. The reproach that we sent an ultimatum on July 30, to Petrograd merely because of the mobilization of Russia and on July 31 declared war upon the Russians, although the Czar had pledged his word that not a man should march so long as negotiations were under way, thus willfully destroying the possibility of a peaceful adjustment, has really a grotesque effect. In concluding, the statement seems almost to identify itself with the standpoint of our enemies.

"When the Ambassador makes the accusation that our policy identified itself 'with Turks and Austro-Magyars' and 'subjected itself to the viewpoints of Vienna and Budapest,' he may be suitably answered that he saw things only through London spectacles and from the narrow point of view of his desired rapprochement with England à tout prix. He also appears to have forgotten completely that the Entente was formed much more against us than against Austria.

"I, too, pursued a policy which aimed at an understanding with England, because I was of the opinion that this was the only way for us to escape from the unfavorable position in which we were placed by the unequal division of strength and the weakness of the Triple Alliance. But Russia and France insisted upon war. We were obligated through our treaty with Austria, and our position as a great power was also threatened—*hic Rhodus, hic salta*. But England, that was not allied in the same way with Russia and that had received far-reaching assurances from us regarding the sparing of France and Belgium, seized the sword.

"In saying this, I by no means share the opinion prevalent among us today that England laid all the mines for the outbreak of

the war; on the contrary, I believe in Sir Edward Grey's love of peace and in his earnest wish to arrive at an agreement with us. But he had allowed himself to become entangled too far in the net of the Franco-Russian policy; he no longer found the way out, and he did not prevent the world war—something that he could have done. Neither was the war popular with the English people; Belgium had to serve as a battle cry.

"Political marriages for life and death' are, as Prince Lichnowsky says, not possible in international unions. But neither is isolation, under the present condition of affairs in Europe. The history of Europe consists of coalitions that sometimes have led to the avoidance of warlike outbreaks and sometimes to violent clashes. A loosening and dissolving of old alliances that no longer correspond to all conditions is only in order when new constellations are attainable. This was the object of the policy of a rapprochement with England. So long as this policy did not offer reliable guarantees we could not abandon the old guarantees—even with their obligations.

"The Morocco policy had led to a political defeat. In the Bosnian crisis this had been luckily avoided, the same as at the London Conference. A fresh diminution of our prestige was not endurable for our position in Europe and in the world. The prosperity of States, their political and economic successes, are based upon the prestige that they enjoy in the world.

"The personal attacks contained in the work, the unheard-of calumnies and slanders of others, condemn themselves. The ever-recurring suspicion that everything happened only because it was not desired to allow him, Lichnowsky, any successes speaks of wounded self-love, of disappointed hopes for personal successes, and has a painful effect.

"In closing, let us draw attention here to what Hermann Oncken has also quoted in his work, 'The Old and New Central Europe,' the memorandum of Prince Bismarck of the year 1879, in which the idea is developed that the German Empire must never dare allow a situation in which it would remain isolated on the European Continent between Russia and France, side by side with a defeated Austria-Hungary that had been left in the lurch by Germany."

German Comments on von Jagow's Views

IN commenting upon Herr von Jagow's reply to Prince Lichnowsky, Georg Bernhard, editor in chief of the *Vossische Zeitung*, took occasion to re-emphasize his favorite theory of a rapprochement with Russia so as to enable Germany to reduce Great Britain to the level of a second-class power. In a long article, printed on March

31, Herr Bernhard asserted that Prince Lichnowsky had been by no means alone in his policy of seeking agreement with England as Herr von Jagow himself had admitted, and that the German Foreign Office had seemed obsessed with the idea that it was a question of a choice between Austria and England, when, in reality, if the diplomats had

wanted to pursue a good German policy and at the same time be of service to Austria, they should have made it a question of Russia or England and tried to establish good relations with the former under all circumstances. After quoting von Jagow's remark about the inadvisability of abandoning old alliances until new constellations were attainable, Herr Bernhard said:

"We shall not go into the question here if, during this war, which strains all the forces of the alliance to the utmost, a former German Secretary of State should have written such sentences. It is incomprehensible how they came from the pen of a sensible man—and Herr von Jagow is such a one. And it is still more incomprehensible how they were able to escape the attention of the Foreign Office. Fortunately, they can no longer do any harm now, as through our deeds we have demonstrated our loyalty to the Austrians and Hungarians better than it can be done by any amount of talk."

In an earlier editorial Herr Bernhard referred as follows to von Jagow's admission that he did not believe that England had laid all the mines leading to the world war:

"In spite of all experiences, therefore, here is another—almost official—attempt made to represent the war as merely the result of the aggressive desires of France and Russia. As if France (through whose population went a shudder of fear as it saw itself on the edge of the abyss of war) would ever have dared to go to war without knowing that England stood back of her! And were Edward's trips to Paris without any effect upon our diplomats? Has it not also finally become sufficiently well known through the reports of the Belgian Ambassador how France repeatedly tried to escape from the alliance, but was always again forced into the net by Nicolson, [former British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs,] through Edward? The Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, himself admitted in the Reichstag the harmful rôle of King Edward. Only he, as probably did Herr von Jagow also, thought that Edward's death put an end to the policy of encircling. But this policy of encircling—and here is where the mistake entailing serious consequences is made by our diplomats—was not at all merely a personal favorite idea of Edward VII., but the continuation of the traditional English policy toward the strongest Continental power."

Thanks for Hindenburg

Herr Bernhard then asserted that England desired the publication of the proposed Anglo-German treaty regarding the division of the Portuguese colonies into spheres of economic interests so as to make Portugal's eventual support of the Entente all the surer, and continued:

"And Lichnowsky wanted to fall into this trap set by England. It was avoided by the

Foreign Office more through instinct than sagacity. And these diplomats have guided Germany's destiny before and during the war! Let us give the warmest thanks to Hindenburg because his sword has now, it is to be hoped, put an end once for all to the continued spinning of plans by such and similar diplomats even during the war."

Theodor Wolff, editor in chief of the Berliner Tageblatt, probably the leading organ of the German business elements and liberal politicians who were opposed to the war from the beginning, and who still hope for a negotiated peace that will facilitate an early resumption of trade relations with Great Britain and the rest of the allies, expressed the hope that the "battle of minds will finally create a clearer atmosphere," and then remarked:

"Only quite incidentally would I like to allow myself to direct the attention of Herr von Jagow to an erroneous expression that appears twice in his reply. Herr von Jagow writes: 'We informed him [Lichnowsky] of the secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement,' and in another place: 'The secret Anglo-Russian naval agreement might also have made him a little more skeptical.' Only the day before, on Saturday, it was said in an article of the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, also directed against Lichnowsky: 'Negotiations were pending with Russia over a naval agreement that the Prince characteristically passes over in silence.' In reality, although hasty historians also speak without further ceremony of a treaty, it is manifest that no Anglo-Russian agreement existed; there was merely a Russian proposal, and the most that can be said is that 'negotiations were pending.' * * *

"His [von Jagow's] remark, 'It is not true that the Foreign Office did not believe the reports that England would protect France under all circumstances,' is in contradiction with the well-known report of the then English Ambassador, Goschen, which describes into what surprise and consternation Herr von Bethmann and Herr von Jagow were thrown by the news of the English declaration of war."

In beginning his comment upon von Jagow, Herr Wolff threw a little more light upon the way in which Prince Lichnowsky's memorandum "for the family archives" got into more or less general secret circulation in Germany before it was printed by the Swedish Socialist paper Politiken last March, and also described the character of Captain Beerfelde, the member of the German General Staff who, according to some cabled reports, is to be tried for his part in distributing copies of the memorandum.

Herr Wolff said that Prince Lichnowsky had had five or six copies made, of which he had sent one to Wolff, one to Albert Ballin, head of the Hamburg-American line, and another to Arthur von Gwinner, head of the Deutsche Bank. All of these persons

carefully hid the "dangerous gift" in the deepest recesses of their writing desks, but a fourth copy went astray and got into hands for which it had not been intended, and from these hands passed into those of still another individual. Then the editor wrote:

How Manuscript Became Public

"I made the acquaintance some years before the war of the officer who obtained the memorandum 'on loan,' and sent copies of it to State officials and politicians. He belongs to an old noble family, was treated with sympathy by General von Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff, occupied himself enthusiastically with religious philosophy or theosophy, and was a thoroughly manly but mystic person. * * * After hard war experiences, he felt the longing to serve the dictates of peace with complete devotion, and he surrendered himself to a pacifism which is absolutely incompatible with the uniform.

"Late one evening he visited me in a state of great excitement, and told me that he had manifolded a memorandum by Prince Lichnowsky which had been lent to him, and that, without asking the author, he had sent it to the 'leading men.' It was impossible to convince him by any logic or on any grounds of reason that his action was wrong, senseless, and harmful. He was a Marquis Posa, or, still more, a Horatius Cocles, who, out of love for Rome or for mankind, sprang into the abyss."

The Berlin Vorwärts, the leading organ of the pro-Government Socialists, began its editorial on the von Jagow reply by remarking that the article of the former State Secretary for Foreign Affairs was hardly calculated to convince the reader that Prince Lichnowsky's self-esteem was the only thing that had had a "painful effect" upon the German people in July, 1914, and since that time. It then said that "Herr von Jagow agrees with Lichnowsky upon the decisive point!" quoted what von Jagow had said about his desire for an Anglo-German rapprochement, and continued:

"These words show that, in 1913, the Wilhelmstrasse and the London Embassy were in the complete harmony of common beliefs and intentions. Herr von Jagow, exactly like Lichnowsky, exactly like Bethmann, and exactly like Wilhelm II., believed in the possibility of creating 'an atmosphere of confidence,' as Jagow says, between Germany and England, through a series of agreements, of which those regarding the Bagdad Railroad and Africa were to have been the first."

Vorwärts then proceeded to point out that the Albanian crisis had strengthened this faith instead of weakening it, took up von Jagow's reasons for Germany's refusal to have the proposed Anglo-German agreement on the Portuguese African colonies published, and exclaimed:

"What a fear of Tirpitz! A disturbing of the new relations through his intrigues and

the howling of his jingo press was to be avoided through an affectation of secrecy. But three weeks later the war with England was here and the Pan-German sheets welcomed 'the longed-for day!' What had happened in the meantime? Of course, 'perfidious Albion' (even Jagow puts quotation marks on these words) had in the meantime thrown off the mask and revealed her perfidy! Let's hear what—after Lichnowsky—Herr von Jagow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in July, 1914, has to say about it!"

Then Vorwärts quoted Jagow's description of how the war began, and went on:

"All that remains of the accusations against the English Government is that it did not prevent the world war, 'although it could have done so.' Now Herr von Jagow also did not prevent the world war, but he must certainly be acquitted of the charge that he could have prevented it. He really could not, and so an emphatic statement of inability is the best excuse for him and his fellow-disputants.

"Let us establish the facts. England did not desire the war; she merely did not prevent it. The war was not popular in England; it also was not popular in Russia and France. But it has become popular. The whole world—right away across the Atlantic and the Pacific—is united in hatred against us. We, however, have for almost four years been inoculated with the view that 'England laid all the mines which caused the war'—a view which the Secretary of State, in accordance with the evidence of the Ambassador, has now declared to be false! It is, however, by this false view that the whole war policy of the German Empire has been directed—from the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, which brought us war with America, down to those Chancellor speeches which say that Belgium must not again become England's area of military concentration.

"If all the parties concerned were convinced that the belief in England's guilt is a fiction, why did they feed this belief, and why did they pursue a policy which was based upon it? They ought rather to have appointed to the Chancellorship Tirpitz, who, perhaps, believes what he says. Instead of that, a policy of fear of Tirpitz has been pursued. Sometimes a policy against Tirpitz has been attempted, but it has always been reversed at decisive moments, out of fear of the nationalistic terror.

"This fear was, perhaps, not entirely unfounded, for agitation is unscrupulous. The older ones among us still remember very well 'an Englishwoman' who was very unpopular in many circles, but this Englishwoman was the mother of the German Kaiser. No doubt there was no more convenient method for the Government to guard the dynasty than for it to take part in, or at least to tolerate, the agitation against

the English. This was the only way of preventing the agitation from turning ultimately against the wearer of the German imperial crown. But ought such intimate considerations to have been permitted to play a part when the fate of the nations was at stake?

"Let us put an end to this! At this moment we are in a battle which may be decisive and which is going in favor of the empire. But even after this battle we shall possess neither the possibility nor the moral right to treat our opponent according to the principle of 'With thumbs in his eyes and knee on his breast.' Even after the greatest military successes there exists the necessity for political negotiation. It will be easier for us to enter into this negotiation after the poisonous fog of the war lies shall have lifted. Now that Herr von Jagow has cleared up the rôle played by England at the

beginning of the war, there is nothing in the way of the fulfillment of the promise made by Bethmann to 'make good the wrong committed against Belgium'!

"If it is perhaps true that everything Wilhelm II., Bethmann, von Jagow, and Lichnowsky thought was true up to three weeks before the outbreak of the war was false, then let the mistake be acknowledged and the conservative Pan-Germans be put openly in the Government, so that they, both within and without, may complete the work of a peace by force. But if this is neither desirable nor possible, then there is nothing left to do but to take a decided step ahead. For the German people cannot be satisfied with the methods of governing exercised before and during the war. * * * The German people can only endure after the war as a peace-loving nation that governs itself."

Lichnowsky's Testimony as to Germany's Long Plotting for Domination

By H. Charles Woods, F. R. G. S.

TO a Britisher who has followed the trend of events in the Near East, and who has witnessed the gradual development of German intrigues in that area, there has never been published a document so important and so condemnatory of Germany as the disclosures of Prince Lichnowsky.

On the one hand, the memorandum of the Kaiser's ex-Ambassador in London proves from an authoritative enemy pen that, practically ever since the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, and particularly from the time of the accession of the present Emperor to the throne in 1888, the Germans have carefully prepared the way for the present war, and that during this period they have consistently turned their attention toward the East and toward the development of the Mitteleuropa scheme. And on the other side it indicates, if indeed any indication were still required, that the so-called rivalry existing between England and Germany prior to the war arose not from any desire on the part of Great Britain to stand in the way of the development of legitimate German interests in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, but from the unwillingness of the Government of Berlin to agree to any reasonable settlement of the many all-important questions connected with these regions.

Although for years the Germans had been intriguing against the Triple Entente, Prince Lichnowsky, a man possessed of personally friendly feelings for England, was sent to London in order to camouflage the real designs of the enemy and to secure representation by a diplomatist who was intended

to make good, and who, in fact, did make a high position for himself in British official and social circles. The appointment itself raises two interesting questions. In the first place, while this is not stated in the memorandum, it is clear that, whereas Baron Marschall von Bieberstein was definitely instructed to endeavor to make friends with England and to detach her from France and Russia, or, if this were impossible, to bring about war at a convenient time for Germany, Prince Lichnowsky's task was somewhat different. Kept at least more or less in the dark as to German objects, the Ambassador, who arrived in London when the Morocco crisis of 1911 was considered at an end, instead of being intrusted with the dual objects of his predecessor, was clearly told to do, and did in fact do, his utmost to establish friendly relations with England. The Berlin Government, on the other hand, this time maintained in its own hands the larger question of the making of war at what it believed, happily wrongly, to be a convenient time for the Central Empires. In the second place, although this, too, is not explained, various references made by Prince Lichnowsky leave little doubt in the mind of the reader who knows the situation existing at the German Embassy prior to the outbreak of war that the Ambassador himself was aware that von Kühlmann—the Councilor of Embassy—was, in fact, the representative of Pan-Germanism in England, and that to this very able and expert intriguer was left the work of trying to develop a situation which, in peace or in war, would be favorable to

the ruler and to the class whose views he voiced.

Phases of German Policy

To come down to the real subject of this article—the proof provided by Prince Lichnowsky's disclosures of the long existence of the German Mitteleuropa scheme and of the fact that Germany, and not Austria, made this war, largely with the object of pushing through her designs in the East—I propose to divide my remarks in such a way as to show that the development of this scheme passed through three phases and in each case to take what may be called a text from the document under discussion.

The first phase lasted from the Congress of Berlin of 1878, when Prince Lichnowsky says that Germany began the Triple Alliance policy, and more definitely from the accession of the present Emperor to the throne in 1888 until the Balkan wars. While in using these expressions the ex-Ambassador does not refer only to this period, he says: "The goal of our political ambition was to dominate in the Bosphorus," and "instead of encouraging a powerful development in the Balkan States, we placed ourselves on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors."

These words contain in essence and in tabulated form an explanation (from the pen of a German whose personal and official positions enabled him to know the truth) of the events which were in progress during this period—events the full importance of which has often been refuted and denied by those who refused to see that from the first the Kaiser was obsessed by a desire for domination from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf. Indeed, from the moment of his accession the sentiments and views of the German ruler became markedly apparent, for one year later his Majesty paid the first of his carpet-bagging visits to Constantinople—a visit more or less connected with the then recent grabbing of Haidar Pasha-Ismid railway—now the first section of the Bagdad line—by the Germans, and with the prolongation of that line to Angora as a German concern, concessions secured by Mr. Kaula, acting on behalf of German interests in 1888.

Preparing for Pan-German Project

Before and particularly after the appointment of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who had then been a personal friend of the Kaiser for many years, the enemy had been carefully preparing the way for the realization of his Pan-German dreams in the Near and Middle East. Although so far as the Balkan States were concerned, up to the outbreak of the war the Kaiser endeavored to screen his intentions behind a nominally Austrian program, for years he had really been making ready his ground for the present occasion by military, political, and economic penetration and by diplomatic intrigues destined to bring about a favorable situation

for Germany when the propitious moment for action arrived. The power of von der Goltz Pasha, who introduced the present military system into Turkey in 1886, and of his pupils was gradually increased until the Ottoman Army was finally placed completely under Germanic control.

The Young Turkish revolution of 1908, which at first seemed destined greatly to minimize German power at Constantinople, really resulted in an opposite effect. Thus in spite of the effective support of England for Turkey during the Bosnian and Bulgarian crises of 1908 and 1909, a gradual reaction subsequently set in. This was due in part to the cleverness and regardlessness of von Bieberstein, and in part to the circumstances arising out of the policy adopted by the Young Turks. For instance, while the Germans ignored the necessity for reforms in the Ottoman Empire so long as the Turks favored a Teutonic program, it was impossible for the British Government or the British public to look with favor upon a régime which worked to maintain the privileged position of Moslems throughout the empire, which did nothing to punish those who instigated the massacre of the Armenians of Cilicia in 1909, and which was intent upon disturbing the status quo in the Persian Gulf, and upon changing the status of Egypt to the Turkish advantage.

The Turco-German Entente

Such indeed became the position that even the Turco-Italian war, which might have been expected to shake the confidence of the Ottoman Government in the bona fides of Italy's then ally, did not seriously disturb the intimate relations which were gradually developing between Berlin and Constantinople. Here again enemy intrigues were to the fore, for in addition to Austria's objecting to the inauguration of any Italian operations in the Balkans, the German Government, when the position of its representative in Constantinople had become seriously compromised as a result of the Italian annexation of Tripoli, which he could not prevent, suddenly found it convenient to transfer von Bieberstein to London and to replace him by another, perhaps less able, but certainly none the less successful in retaining a grasp over everything which took place in the Ottoman capital.

Before and particularly after the accession of the Kaiser to the throne, the Germans gradually furthered their program by a system of railway penetration in the East. In the late '60s Baron Hirsch secured a concession for the construction of lines from Constantinople to what was then the north-western frontier of Eastern Rumelia, and from Saloniki to Mitrovitza, with a branch to Ristovatz on the then Serbian frontier. At first these lines were under French influence, but they subsequently became largely an Austrian undertaking, and considerably later the Deutsche Bank secured a predom-

inating proportion of the capital, thus turning them practically into a German concern. In Asia Minor the British, who were originally responsible for the construction of railways, were gradually ousted, until, with the signature of the Bagdad Railway agreement in 1903, the Germans dominated not only that line, but also occupied a position in which, on the one hand, they had secured control of many of its feeders, and, on the other, they had jeopardized the future development and even the actual prosperity of those not already in their possession.

Fruits of the Balkan Wars

This brings us up to the second phase in the development of Pan-Germanism in the East—the period of the Balkan wars—toward two aspects of which, as Prince Lichnowsky says, the Central Powers devoted their attention. "Two possibilities for settling the question remained." Either Germany left the Near Eastern problem to the peoples themselves or she supported her allies "and carried out a Triple Alliance policy in the East, thereby giving up the rôle of mediator." Once more, in the words of the Prince himself, "The German Foreign Office very much preferred the latter," and as a result supported Austria on the one hand in her desire for the establishment of an independent Albania, and on the other in her successful attempts to draw Bulgaria into the second war and to prevent that country from providing the concessions which at that time would have satisfied Rumania.

So far as the first of these questions—that connected with Albania—is concerned, while the ex-Ambassador admits the policy of Austria was actuated by the fact that she "would not allow Serbia to reach the Adriatic," the actual creation of Albania was justified by the existence of the Albanians as a nationality and by their desire for independent government. Indeed, that the régime inaugurated by the great powers on the east of the Adriatic, and particularly the Government of William of Wied, proved an utter failure, was due not so much to what Prince Lichnowsky describes as the "incapacity of existence" of Albania as to the attitude of the Central Powers, and especially to that of Austria, who, having brought the new State into being, at once worked for unrest and for discord in the hope of being able to step in to put the house in order when the propitious moment arrived.

Promoting Balkan Discord

The second direction in which the enemy devoted his energy was an even larger, more German and more far-reaching one. "The first Balkan war led to the collapse of Turkey and with it the defeat of our policy, which has been identified with Turkey for many years," says the memorandum. This at one time seemed destined to carry with

it results entirely disadvantageous to Germany. Thus, if the four States, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, who fought in the first war had continued on good terms with one another, the whole balance of power in Europe would almost certainly have been changed. Instead of the Ottoman Empire, which prior to the outbreak of these hostilities was held by competent authorities to be able to provide a vast army, then calculated to number approximately 1,225,000 men, there would have sprung up a friendly group of countries which in the near future could easily have placed in the field a combined army approximately amounting to at least 1,000,000, all told. As the interests of such a confederation, which would probably have been joined by Rumania, would have been on the side of the Triple Entente, the Central Powers at once realized that its formation or its continued existence would mean for them not only the loss of the whole of Turkey, but also the gain for their enemies of four or five allies, most of whom had already proved their power in war.

German Power in Turkey

Between the Balkan wars and the outbreak of the European conflagration, but as part of the former period, there occurred two events of far-reaching significance. The first, which is mentioned by Prince Lichnowsky, was the appointment of General Liman von Sanders practically as Commander in Chief of the Turkish Army—an appointment which Mr. Morgenthau rightly tells us constituted a diplomatic triumph for Germany. When coupled with the fact that Enver Pasha—an out-and-out pro-German—became Minister of War about the same time, the military result of this appointment was an enormous improvement in the efficiency of the Ottoman Army. Its political significance, on the other hand, was due to the fact that it carried with it a far-reaching increase of Pan-German influence at Constantinople.

The second event in progress during the interval of peace was connected with the Aegean Islands question. Germany, having first utilized her diplomatic influence in favor of Turkey, later on encouraged the Government of that country in its continued protests against the decision upon that question arrived at by the great powers. Not content, however, with this, the Kaiser, who has now adopted the policy of deportation in Belgium, in Poland, and in Serbia, definitely encouraged the Turks in a like measure in regard to the Greeks of Asia Minor in order to be rid of a hostile and Christian population when the time for action arrived. That this encouragement was given was always apparent to those who followed the course of events in 1914, but that it was admitted by a German Admiral to Mr. Morgenthau constitutes a condemnation the damning nature of which it is difficult to exaggerate.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Dutch Cartoon]

Gott Mit Uns



—Raemackers in "Kultur in Cartoons."

[French Cartoon]

Signing the Russian Peace



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

[Spanish Cartoon]

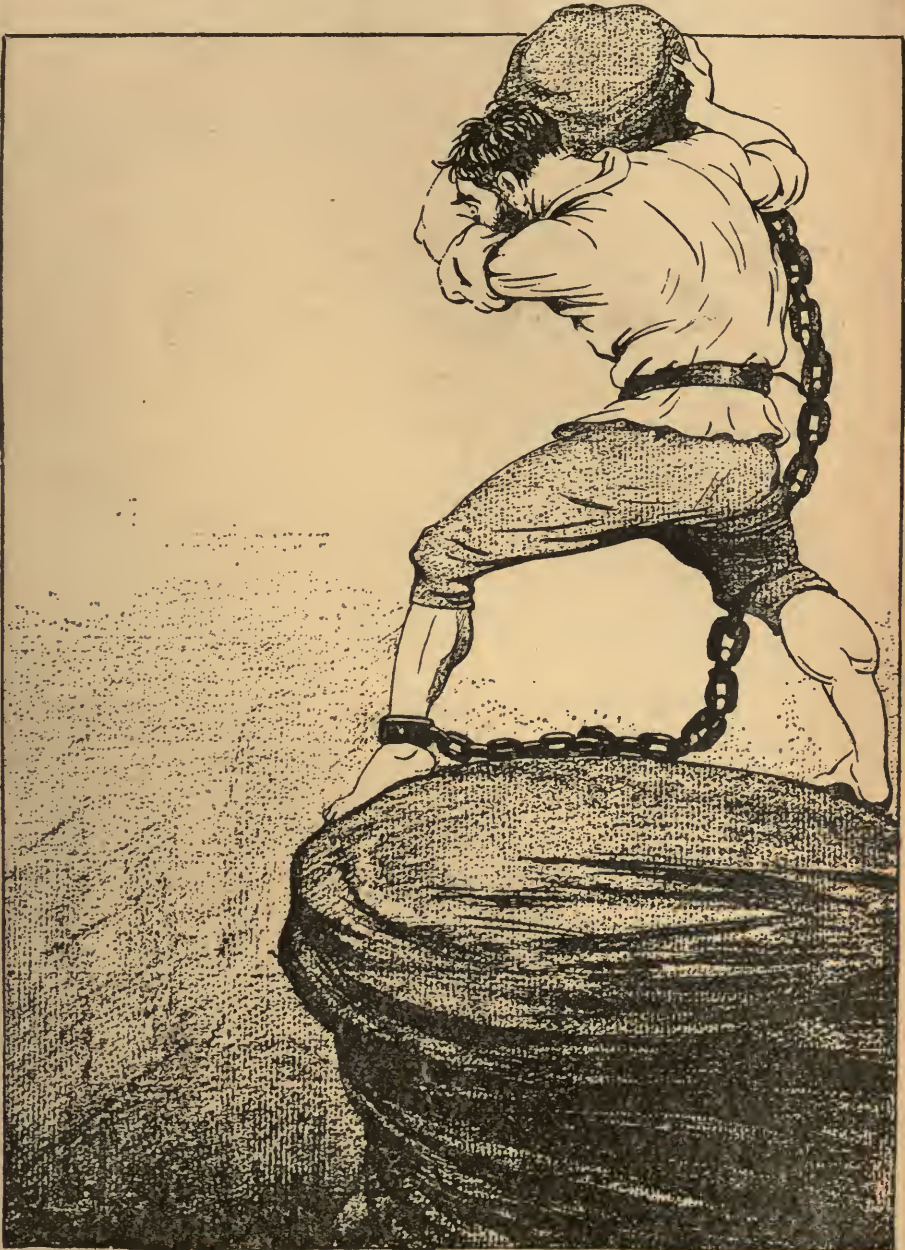
Peace in Russia



—From *Esquella*, Barcelona.

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Russian Revolution



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

Bolshevist statesmanship.

[English Cartoon]

A Threat from the Orient



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

“Fancy meeting you!”

[Italian Cartoon]

The Yellow Peril



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

GERMANY: "After I have gathered all these eggs into one basket, this fellow threatens to upset everything."

[American Cartoon]

Camouflage



—From The Indianapolis News.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Kaiser's "Alte Gott"



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

"In thee I trust, confound me not."

[French Cartoon]



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

"We have done all this: We will try to do better."—General Foch.

[American Cartoon]

Prussianism



—From The Columbus Dispatch.

How can the world make peace with this thing?

[American Cartoon]

Enough to Make a Dead Man Laugh



—From The New York Herald.

WILHELM: "What have I not done to preserve the world from these horrors?"

[English Cartoon]

The End of Their Perfect Day



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[American Cartoon]

The Price



—G. M. Amato in *Mid-Week Pictorial*.

[English Cartoon]

Postponed



"Papa, ven are ve going to Calais?"
 "Ach! Go and ask your grandpa!"

—From Cassell's Saturday Journal, London.

[American Cartoons]

Rough Going



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Now You're Shoutin', Newton!



—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

[American Cartoons]

Hohenzollern "Victory"



—From The New York Times.

GERMANY: "How many will be left to enjoy the fruits of your 'victory'?"

The Follies of 1918



—Buffalo News.

WAR BULLETIN: "The Kaiser's six sons have suffered no casualties."

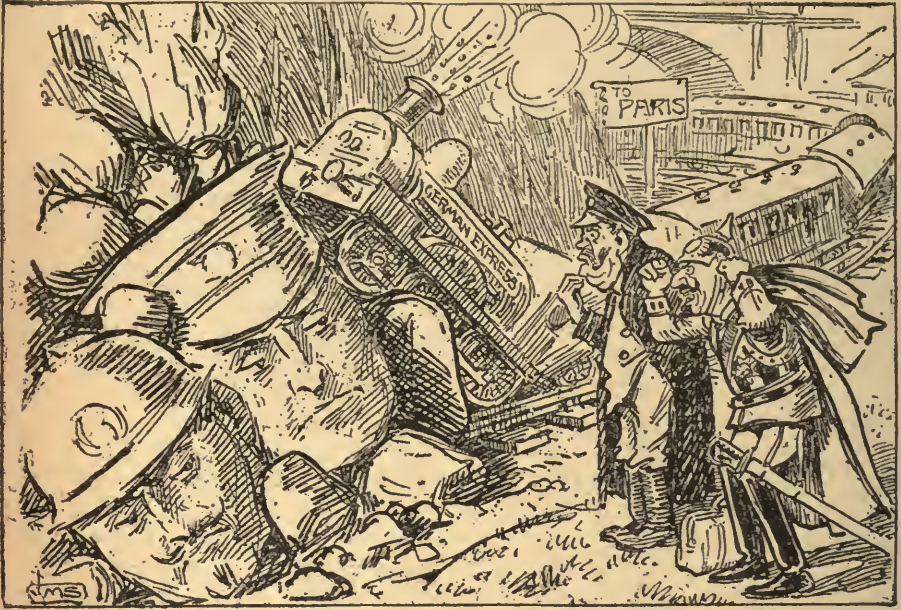
So Far and No Further!



—Central Press Association.

[English Cartoon]

The Line Blocked



—From News of the World, London.

THE ALL-HIGHEST: "Gott in Himmel! Hindenburg! What shall we do? I promised to be in Paris on the 1st of April!"

[Italian Cartoon]

German Peace Methods



—From Il 420, Florence.

First disarm the people by false talk of no annexations, then, with a dagger at their back, force them to sign peace on your own terms.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

On the Field of Honor



—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

MARIANNE (France): "Wilson, my friend and protector, defend me!"

[Italian Cartoon]

A French Counterattack



—Il 420, Florence.

WAR BULLETIN: "The French violently attacked the weakest point on the German front."

[German Cartoon]

The Fate of Holland's Ships



—Lustige Blätter, Berlin.

PROUD ALBION: "Here, give me that boat; I need it in my fight for the 'freedom of the seas'!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

In Paris on Good Friday



—Esquella, Barcelona.

JOAN OF ARC: "Father; forgive them; they know not what they do."

[English Cartoon]

Germany's Lost Colonies



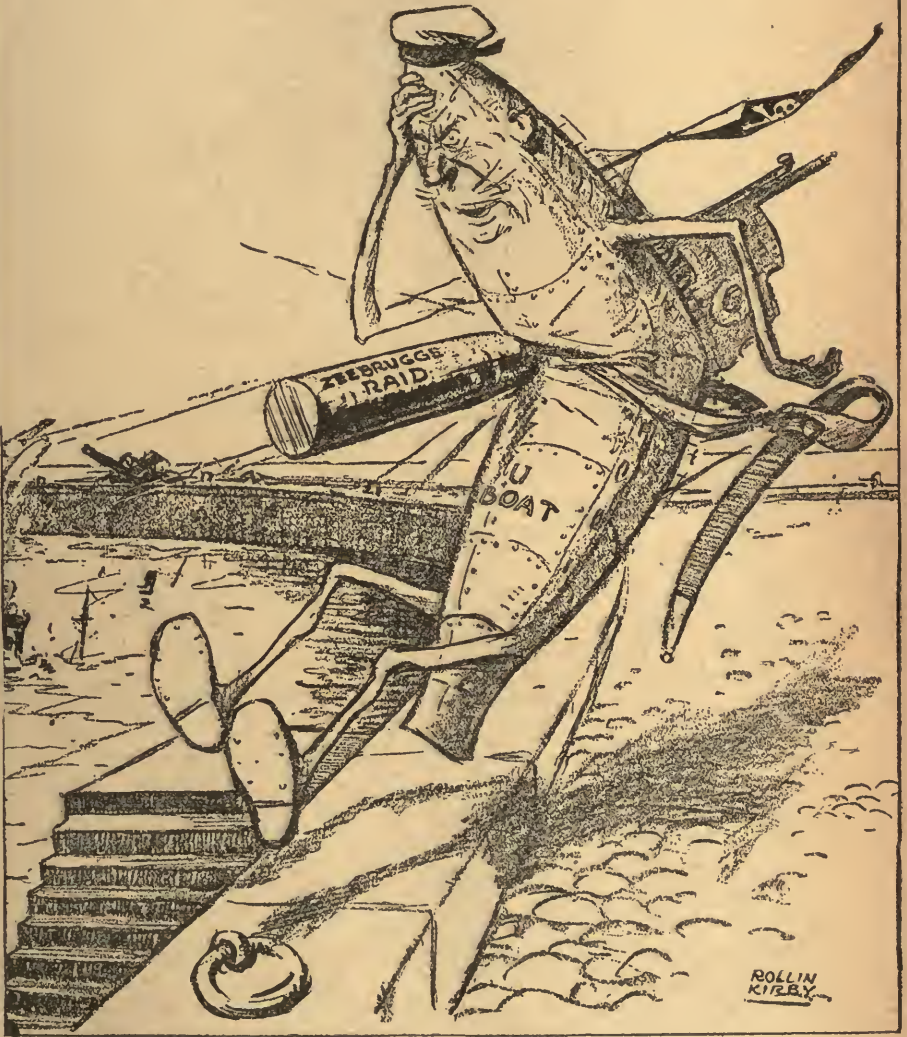
—From *The Passing Show*, London.

PACIFIST: "Here! All that bag of yours must be handed over to a league of nations for disposal."

JOHN BULL: "Oh, must it? And did your friend behind the hedge send you to say that?"

[American Cartoon]

Hitting Him Where He Lives



—From The New York World.

[American Cartoon]

On the Western Front



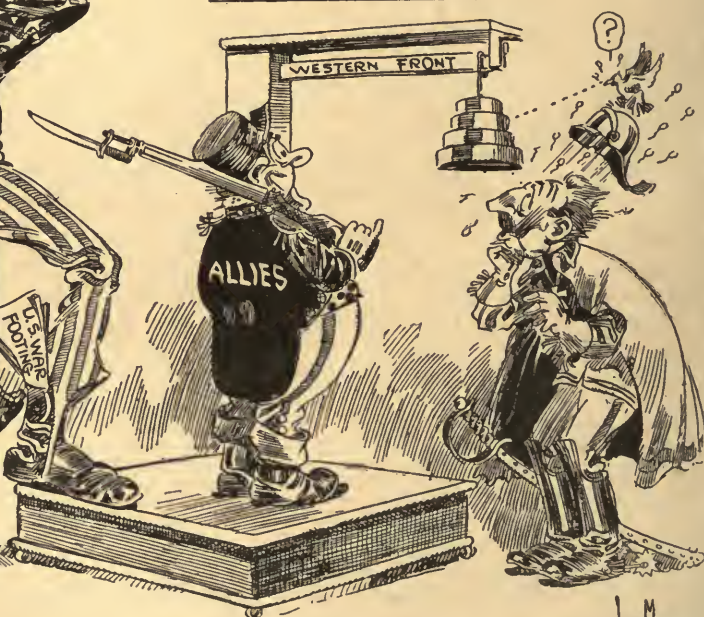
[Italian Cartoon]

The Battle of Picardy



—Il 420, Florence.

A second Verdun, with the same results for Germany.



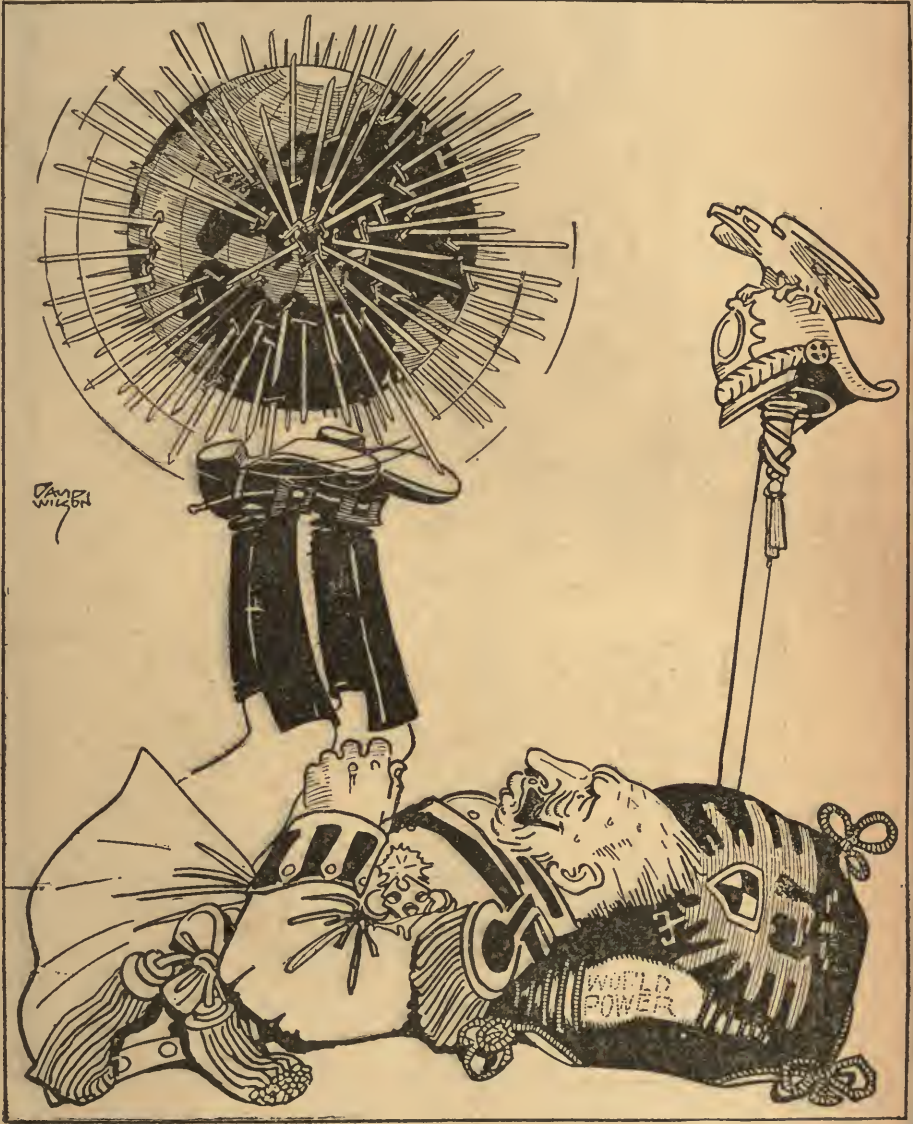
—J.E. MURPHY

—From The San Francisco Call-Post.

"Ach! How he iss gaining!"

[English Cartoon]

A Test of Endurance



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

How much longer?

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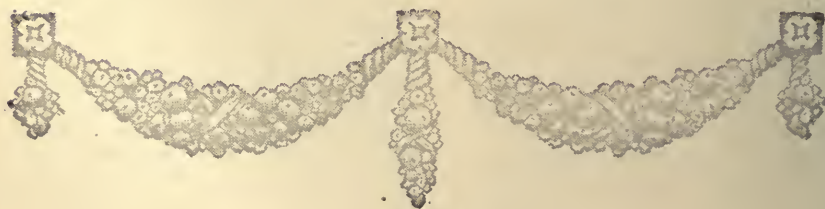
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French Chasseurs Alps, during a visit to New York City, visiting
the Statue of Liberty on Bedlow's Island
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Opening of Second Red Cross Campaign, May 18, 1918. The parade in New York City, which was led and reviewed by President Wilson, passing down Fifth Avenue at Twenty-fifth Street

(Times Photo Service)

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1918]

A MONTH OF BATTLES

MILITARY activity superseded everything else during the month under review. Europe shook with the roar of battle. From May 27 to June 15 fully 3,000,000 men were engaged in deadly conflict along the battlefronts of France, with a ghastly toll of blood, while in Italy along a front of 100 miles more than 2,000,000 joined battle on June 15 and were furiously fighting when this issue went to press. The third German offensive, which continued for three weeks, did not break the front, nor did it divide the Allies, nor were the Channel ports reached, nor was Paris invested. In all these respects the drive failed, but important new territory was won by the Germans, and they claimed over 85,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of booty; the Allies declared that the failure of the Germans to obtain any of their objectives, coupled with the frightful price they had paid in killed and wounded, the shock to the army morale, and the disappointment in the enemy leadership, operated practically as a German defeat almost approaching disaster.

American co-operation in the war became profoundly significant during the month. The announcement was authorized early in June that more than 800,000 Americans were in France and that American soldiers were occupying important sectors on the front. Their brilliant stand on the Marne and at Belleau Wood, where they were victorious over crack Prussian divisions, created great enthusiasm throughout this country and evoked warmest encomiums from all the Allies. It was announced that American forces were holding a sector on German soil in the Vosges. It was understood that United States troops were crossing the Atlantic at the rate of nearly 40,000 a week, and that with the steady gain in shipping facilities an American Army in France of 1,500,000 was assured by Oct.

15, 1918. There was evidence that the Germans had realized the gravity of American intervention, and that their great offensive was based on the fear that ultimate defeat awaited them unless they could obtain immediate victory.

The offensive launched by the Austrians in Italy on June 15 was their most ambitious undertaking during the war. It was reported that they had 1,000,000 men engaged and 7,500 guns. At the end of the fourth day it was generally felt that the offensive had failed, as none of the objectives was obtained.

There were no important military activities on any of the other fronts.

German submarines invaded American waters late in May and within three weeks torpedoed twenty vessels, among them several steamships. There was no panic; the only effect was a fuller realization that the country was at war, with a marked speeding up of recruiting and a deepened determination that the war should be waged until victory was won. The raid caused no pause in the steady flow of troops to Europe. The submarine sinkings materially diminished in European waters, and the completion of new tonnage by the Allies during the month outstripped the losses by thousands of tons. It was clear during this period that the United States had attained its full stride in building ships, airplanes, and ordnance.

The growing importance of aerial warfare was universally recognized during the month, and the deadly efficiency of air squadrons in battle was demonstrated as never before.

The Russian situation became no clearer, though there was a growing impression that the Bolsheviki were steadily declining in power, while the forces of order and moderation were strengthening. The movement for intervention by Japan in Siberia gained momentum, but Washington gave no indication of giving its assent. The German progress into Russia continued, yet there were signs that

the Ukrainians were resenting German methods and were becoming a troublesome factor to the invaders. The Germanization of Finland and the other Russian border provinces proceeded apace. In the Caucasus the Turks continued to acquire new power over former Russian territory, and the spread of Turanian dominion was advanced.

Austria-Hungary was in a ferment during the month, and there was every indication that the Poles, Czechs, and Slavs were working in harmony and were threatening the existence of the Dual Empire.

In Great Britain, Italy, and France political matters were quieter, and a better feeling prevailed than for many months, while in our own country there was more war enthusiasm and less political discord than at any previous time in the nation's history.

* * *

THE TRANSPORTATION OF TROOPS IN GREAT WARS

THE announcement on June 15 that the United States had successfully carried over three-quarters of a million troops to France, a distance of more than 3,000 miles by sea, with the statement, made at the same time, that the Allies had successfully transported the enormous number of 17,000,000 to and from the various battle zones, both with absolutely negligible losses, serves to bring up the interesting question of the movements of vast bodies of men in earlier wars. Leaving out the primitive wars, in which troops were moved only by land, and almost wholly on foot, to begin with the great Persian invasion of Europe, in the fifth century before our era: Xerxes transported an enormous army, fabled to number five millions, and certainly reaching nearly half a million combatants, across the water-barrier of Europe by building a pontoon bridge over the Hellespont, between three and four miles wide; but the Persians had also, at Salamis, between 1,000 and 1,200 ships, which was a sufficiently great achievement in transportation. On the return invasion of Asia by the Greeks, Alexander the Great likewise crossed the Hellespont, at the site of the Gallipoli fighting,

by a bridge of boats; the latest crossing of a great army on pontoons being that of the Russians at the Danube, when they invaded Turkey in 1877. A feat in transportation of another kind was that of Hannibal, who carried his mixed army of Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls across the Alps, probably at Mont Genevre, in the Summer of 218; an achievement later repeated by Napoleon and the Russian General Suvoroff. A more recent feat in transportation was the bringing of British and French troops to America, in the days of Washington. But the closest analogy to the present achievement of the American Army and Navy is probably that of the transportation of British troops to South Africa, twenty years ago, the distance being over 6,000 miles, or about twice the distance of our Atlantic port from the landing place of our troops in France. The total British losses in South Africa have more than once been equaled by one week's British casualties in the present struggle in France, the ratio of killed to wounded being about the same, namely, one to five.

* * *

ARMIES UNDER FOREIGN GENERALS

THE brigading of American troops with French and English commands and the fact that the entire forces of England and Italy, as well as America, on the Continent, are commanded by a French soldier recall that in many past wars large forces of one nation served under leaders of another nation. In the Napoleonic wars there were numberless instances of these armies of composite nationality, the most striking example being, probably, the Grand Army which invaded Russia in 1811, in which there was only a minority of French soldiers, nearly all Western Europe contributing the majority. But these foreign troops served by compulsion, not of good-will. A better analogy is the war of the Spanish succession, in which both the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene commanded composite armies, voluntarily united; this war transferred Newfoundland and Nova Scotia from France to England. In the wars in India, English commanders have almost invariably had a majority of native troops in their

forces, and this was conspicuously the case in the second half of the eighteenth century, as in Clive's decisive victory at Plassey.

Considerable numbers of French troops served under an American Commander in Chief at an eventful period in this country's history; of the 16,000 who forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, about half were French troops, under Lafayette and Rochambeau. A generation later, when Napoleon was trying to subdue Spain, mixed forces of English, Portuguese, and Spanish troops fought, under the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues, against the invaders. At Waterloo also the Duke of Wellington had an army of several different nationalities under his command, though the Dutch and Belgian troops played no great part in the later stages of the battle. In the war of 1877, considerable Russian and Rumanian armies fought under a single commander who was, for a considerable period, Prince Charles (later King) of Rumania.

* * *

THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SLAVS

THE conference at Rome, April 10, 1918, to settle outstanding questions between the Italians and the Slavs of the Adriatic, has once more drawn attention to those Slavonic peoples in Europe who are under non-Slavonic rule. At the beginning of the war there were three great Slavonic groups in Europe: First, the Russians with the Little Russians, speaking languages not more different than the dialect of Yorkshire is from the dialect of Devonshire; second, a central group, including the Poles, the Czechs or Bohemians, the Moravians, and Slovaks, this group thus being separated under the four crowns of Russia, Germany, Austria, and Hungary; the third, the southern group, included the Sclavonians, the Croatians, the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, the Slavs, generally called Slovenes, in the western portion of Austria, down to Goritzia, and also the two independent kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia.

Like the central group, this southern group of Slavs was divided under four

crowns, Hungary, Austria, Montenegro, and Serbia; but, in spite of the fact that half belong to the Western and half to the Eastern Church, they are all essentially the same people, though with considerable infusion of non-Slavonic blood, there being a good deal of Turkish blood in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The languages, however, are practically identical, formed largely of pure Slavonic materials, and, curiously, much more closely connected with the eastern Slav group—Russia and Little Russia—than with the central group, Polish and Bohemian. A Russian of Moscow will find it much easier to understand a Slovene from Goritzia than a Pole from Warsaw. The Ruthenians, in Southern Galicia and Bukowina, are identical in race and speech with the Little Russians of Ukrainia.

Of the central group, the Poles have generally inclined to Austria, which has always supported the Polish landlords of Galicia against the Ruthenian peasantry; while the Czechs have been not so much anti-Austrian as anti-German. Indeed, the Hapsburg rulers have again and again played these Slavs off against their German subjects. It was the Southern Slav question, as affecting Serbia and Austria, that gave the pretext for the present war. At this moment, the central Slav question—the future destiny of the Poles—is a bone of contention between Austria and Germany. It is the custom to call these Southern Slavs "Jugoslavs," from the Slav word Yugo, "south," but as this is a concession to German transliteration, many prefer to write the word "Yugoslav," which represents its pronunciation. The South Slav question was created by the incursions of three Asiatic peoples—Huns, Magyars, Turks—who broke up the originally continuous Slav territory that ran from the White Sea to the confines of Greece and the Adriatic.

* * *

DRUNKENNESS REDUCED IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE result of the control of the liquor traffic in Great Britain is shown by the following figures of convictions for drunkenness in the years named, the

upper line of figures referring to males, the lower line to females:

Greater London—Population, (1911.)
7,486,964

1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
48,535	49,077	35,866	19,478	10,931
16,953	18,577	15,970	9,975	5,736
65,488	67,654	51,836	29,453	16,667
Boroughs, (36,) England and Wales— Population, (1911,) 8,406,372				
41,380	38,577	27,041	17,233	9,870
11,399	11,258	9,959	6,097	3,679
52,779	49,835	37,000	23,330	13,549
89,915	87,654	62,907	36,711	20,801
28,352	29,835	25,929	16,072	9,415
118,267	117,489	88,836	52,783	30,216

In England and Wales the deaths due to or connected with alcoholism (excluding cirrhosis of the liver) fell from 1,112 (males) and 719 (females) in 1913 to 358 (males) and 222 (females) in 1917; deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver, from 2,215 (males) and 1,665 (females) to 1,475 (males) and 808 (females); cases of attempted suicide, from 1,458 (males) and 968 (females) to 483 (males) and 452 (females); deaths from suffocation of infants under one year declined from 1,226 to 704.

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GERMANY'S POPULATION DECLINING

A CAREFUL study of the vital statistics of Germany and Great Britain reveals the fact that the population of Germany is declining, while that of Great Britain is increasing. The German Empire, which in June, 1919, at the previous rate of increase should have had 72,000,000 people, will have no more than 64,500,000. Germany as a whole will have 5 per cent. less population than when the war began. Of those who have been killed the greater number were men in the prime of life and energy, whom Germany could least spare. By deaths in the battle zone the empire has lost at least 3,000,000 men.

The birth rate has sunk to such a figure that by next year the number of births will have fallen short of what they would have been had there been no war by 3,333,000. In the same period the annual number of deaths among the

German civilian population, owing to the stress and anxiety of the war, and sickness, which has been aggravated by hardships and food troubles, has increased by 1,000,000 over the normal.

While by next year the German Empire will be 7,500,000 lower in population than it would have been had the war not taken place, the vitality of the peoples of Austria and Hungary has suffered even more. The peoples of Austria will be 11 per cent. poorer in numbers next year than if the war had not taken place. They will be 8 per cent. lower in numbers than they were in 1914. Hungary will be still worse off. It will have a population 9 per cent. lower than before the war, and 13 per cent. lower than it would have been if there had been no war.

Meanwhile, despite the losses suffered in the war zone, the British population has been growing. By the middle of 1919 this population will be only 3 per cent. lower than it would have been without war. Great Britain in 1919 will have a larger population than in 1914.

* * *

CAIRO TO JERUSALEM BY RAIL

IT was officially announced May 11 that the swing bridge over the Suez Canal at Kantara was completed, and that on May 15, 1918, there was direct railway service from Cairo to Jerusalem. When the war broke out there were no railways between the Suez Canal and the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, a distance of some 200 miles, mainly desert.

At that time a line ran along the western bank of the canal from Suez to Port Said. It was linked up with the main



lines of the Egyptian State railways by a single track from Ismailia to Zagazig.

A few miles to the north of that track another line from Zagazig stopped some eighteen miles short of the canal at El Salhia. At the beginning of the war, to facilitate the transport of troops and supplies to the canal and beyond, the track from Zagazig to Ismailia was doubled, and a new line was pushed out from the dead end at El Salhia to the canal opposite Kantara, a village on the eastern, or Sinai, side of the canal. Later, when the British troops entered the Sinai Peninsula, a railway was begun from Kantara eastward, and as the British troops advanced so did the railway. It followed the northern track across Sinai, and had been taken within a few miles of Gaza when that town was captured last November. Meantime the Turks had built a branch from the Jaffa-Jerusalem line to a point only five miles north of Gaza, and by February General Allenby had joined the two systems, so that there was direct railway connection between Kantara and Jerusalem.

* * *

KINDLING THE HOLY FIRE

THE annual ceremony of the Kindling of the Holy Fire took place May 4 in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In Turkish days it was the custom to provide a guard of not less than 600 soldiers in order to keep the peace between the Greeks and Armenians, as disorders almost invariably occurred. On this occasion there was no guard of any kind other than the ordinary police, and the ceremony took place without any sign of disturbance.

The ceremony of the Holy Fire—at which, it is held, flame comes by a miracle from heaven to kindle the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre—apparently began in the ninth century, and was formerly attended by leading representatives of all the churches. These have long ago withdrawn from it, and it is now attended by members of the Greek and Armenian Churches, mostly ignorant pilgrims of Eastern Christendom. Many enlightened members of the Greek Church discouraged the ceremony, as the vast crowds of frenzied people attending it had to be kept in some sort of order by Turkish sol-

diers. At the appointed time a bright flame of burning wood appears through a hole in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre; the rush to obtain this new fire is overwhelming, and it is handed on from taper to taper until thousands of lights appear. A mounted horseman takes a lighted torch to convey the sacred fire to the lamp of the Greek Church in the convent at Bethlehem. In 1834 hundreds of lives were lost in the violent pressure of the unruly crowd.

* * *

BUILDING THE CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY

NOTWITHSTANDING the war, 200 miles of the Cape to Cairo Railway in Africa were laid in the last four years, and a total of 450 miles in the last eight years from the Rhodesian frontier to the navigable waterway of the Congo. The latest section of the Katanga Railway reached Bukama, on the Congo River, May 22.

The railway starts from Cape Town and crosses Bechuanaland and Rhodesia; it reached the Congo frontier in 1909. The first section (158 miles) reached the copper mines of the Star of the Congo in November, 1910, where Elizabethville, a populous town, inhabited by 1,400 white men, has since developed. The railway was pushed in 1913 as far as Kambové, another important mining district, (99 miles.) In spite of the difficulties caused by the war, a third section was open to traffic north of Kambové, reaching Djilongo (68 miles) in July, 1915. It was through this road that the two English monitors, under the direction of Commander G. B. Spicer Simson, reached the waters of Lake Tanganyika, which they cleared of enemy craft. Understanding the advantages which the line would afford, the Belgian Colonial Government opened new credits for the completion of the railway as far as Bukama, (125 miles.) The building started from Djilongo and Bukama at the same time, and, in spite of the difficulties of the ground and the scarcity of labor in the region traversed, has now been successfully completed. More than 30,000 tons of copper are annually transported from the Congo copper mines.

COMPIEGNE AND ITS FOREST

COMPIEGNE, the northern support of the French battlefield during the early part of June, goes back to Roman days. Its name is a modernization of *Compendium*, which seems to have meant the "short cut" between Soissons and Beauvais. The castle, which was founded by Charles the Bald, was rebuilt by Charles V. and Louis XV. It is now practically a historical museum of pictures, sculpture, vases, beautiful French furniture. The Hôtel de Ville, the Town Hall, was built under Louis XII., and is now adorned by a recent statue of Jeanne d'Arc, whose cult has been so widely revived in the last few years in France. And the old churches of Saint James and Saint Antony go back to the France of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. The magnificent forest of Compiègne, with its century-old oaks and beeches, covers some 36,000 acres, or almost sixty square miles, and has nearly ninety miles of parkways under its shady boughs. Within it, near Champlieu, are old Roman ruins, and the huge, many-towered Château of Pierrefonds, which was a favorite hunting lodge of the Kings of France. Built in the fourteenth century, it was rebuilt by Viollet-le-Duc. It is curious that the modern use of airplanes in military scouting, in conjunction with our powerful artillery, has given these forests a significance in battle which takes us back not merely to the days of mediaeval warfare with its forest ambushes but to the earlier fighting of primitive tribes.

* * *

THE FOREST OF VILLERS-COTTERETS

THE immense importance of forests in the present battle is only one among many returns to the machinery of mediaeval war, like the revival of helmets, bombs, mortars, the use of a trench knife, which is simply an adapted Roman broadsword. And, in exactly the same way, the pressure of races in the present war has brought the fighting back to the old, famous battle areas, on which the Latin races have fought against the barbarians any time these two thousand years. This is particularly true of the area of the

fighting in the first half of June. Much of the history here goes back to old Roman times, much to the earliest Kings of France. Villers-Cotterets, in the old feudal territory of Valois, has developed from a sixth century hamlet, first named Villers-Saint-Georges. The great forest, which has been so strong a buttress for the French and American line, was then known as Col-de-Retz, and was a favorite hunting ground of the early Kings. The Château Malmaison, rebuilt by Francis I. in 1530, was really a magnificent hunting lodge; his son, Henry II., and Francis II. often sojourned there. Charles V. halted there during his campaign in Champagne. Charles IX. spent his honeymoon there with his young Queen Elizabeth. The castle was restored by the Duke of Orleans in 1750, at a cost of 2,000,000 francs, when the great walls of the park were built. He was the father of Philippe-Egalité and the grandfather of King Louis Philippe. Alexandre Dumas, who was born at Villers-Cotterets, described the castle as being "as big as the whole town." Later it became an orphanage, sheltering 800 children. In the forest is the "enchanted butte," 752 feet above sea level, which is dimly visible from Laon, forty-four miles away; here the fairies were traditionally believed to dance in the moonlight. Finally, in the last martial act of Napoleon's Hundred Days—on June 27, 1815, a week after Waterloo—Marshal Grouchy fought the Prussians under Pirch within sight of Villers-Cotterets.

* * *

CHATEAU-THIERRY

CHATEAU-THIERRY, which has added a splendid page to the martial history of the American Army, is another of the ancient strongholds whose strategic position has given it equal significance in the recent fighting. It was originally a Roman camp, *Castrum Theodoricum*. The castle, built in 730 by Charles Martel, was given in 877 by Louis II., "the Stammerer," to Herbert, Count of Vermandois, from whose family it passed in the tenth century to the Counts of Troyes. At the end of the eleventh century the town, which had grown up under the shelter of the

fortress, was surrounded by a wall, and the Burgesses of the town, in 1520, received permission from Francis I. to found a leather and cloth fair, which was long famous. Often a battleground, Château-Thierry was captured by the English in 1421. It was sacked by the Spanish in 1591. It was a centre of French resistance in the invasion of 1814, and Napoleon with 24,000 veterans decisively beat Blücher with 50,000 men under the historic walls of the ancient fortress. The fabulist La Fontaine was born here on July 8, 1621.

* * *

INFANT WELFARE IN GERMANY

THE British Local Government Board issued a report on infant welfare in Germany, May 17, 1918, from which the following facts are taken:

During the war there has been a heavy fall in the number of births in Germany. The first three years alone of the war reduced by over 2,000,000 the number of babies who would have been born had peace prevailed. Some 40 per cent. fewer babies were born in 1916 than in 1913. The infantile death rate has been kept well down, but is 50 per cent. higher than in Great Britain.

The birth rate, which had risen from 36.1 per 1,000 inhabitants in the decade 1841-1850 to 39.1 per 1,000 in the period 1871-1880, fell in the succeeding decades to 36.8, 36.1, and 31.9. The rate for the last year of the period 1901-1910 was under 30 per 1,000, and the continuance of the fall brought the rate as low as 28.3 in 1912.

In 1913 there were 1,839,000 live births in Germany; in 1916 there were only 1,103,000—a decrease of 40 per cent. as compared with 1913. The corresponding figures for England and Wales (785,520 live births in 1916 against 881,890 in 1913) show a decrease of 10.9 per cent.

In 1913 the infant mortality rate for Germany was 151 per 1,000, as compared with 108 in England and Wales. The rates in 1914 for Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria (comprising nearly 80 per cent. of the total population of Germany) were 164, 173, and 193 per 1,000 respectively. The abnormal increase in infant mortality during the first months of the war is shown by the fact that in Prussia in the third quarter of 1914 the rate rose from 128 to 143; in Saxony from 140 to 242; and in Bavaria from 170 to 239.

The principal measure adopted in Germany to promote infant welfare during the war has been the distribution of the

imperial maternity grants. "Necessity" must first be proved, but instructions have been given that the term "necessity" is to be liberally interpreted. There was a general demand that some further provision should be made for soldiers' wives who could not meet the extra expenses connected with the birth of a child, and by a Federal Order, published on Dec. 3, 1914, provision was made for the payment (partly from imperial funds and partly from the funds of the sickness insurance societies) of the following allowances:

(a) A single payment of \$6.25 toward the expenses of confinement.

(b) An allowance of 25 cents daily, including Sundays and holidays, for eight weeks, at least six of which must be after the confinement.

(d) A grant up to \$2.50 for medical attendance during pregnancy if needed.

(d) An allowance for breast-feeding at the rate of 12½ cents a day, including Sundays and holidays, for 12 weeks after confinement.

These grants were afterward extended to women whose husbands were employed on patriotic auxiliary service and women who were themselves employed on such service. In addition to this special measure, steps were taken to encourage the formation of local societies for promoting infant welfare and the establishment by the societies of infant welfare centres. Steps were taken to protect illegitimate children by assisting unmarried mothers from municipal funds and to give expectant and nursing mothers additional rations of food.

* * *

AS a result of intensive farming propaganda, the acreage of cereals and potatoes in England and Wales in 1917 was 8,302,000, an increase of 2,042,000 over 1916. It is estimated that the tillage in 1917 in Scotland increased 300,000 acres over 1916, and in Ireland the figures showed an increase of 1,500,000 acres, making a total of about 4,000,000 acres increase in the United Kingdom in the year. This was accomplished in the face of the fact that in England and Wales alone there were 200,000 fewer male laborers on the land in 1917 than before the war. It is estimated that the United Kingdom in 1918-19 will produce 80 per cent. of the total breadstuff requirements for the year, whereas in 1916-17 the production was but 20 per cent. of the needs.

THE volunteers furnished by Ireland, divided between Ulster and the rest of the country, were as follows:

Year.	Ulster.	Rest of Ireland.	Total.
1914.....	26,283	17,851	44,134
1915.....	19,020	27,351	46,371
1916.....	7,305	11,752	19,057
1917.....	5,830	8,193	14,023
	58,438	65,147	123,585
* * *			

THE Parliamentary Under Secretary to the British War Office, Mr. Macpherson, in a statement in Parliament, May 3, 1918, gave the following figures of Chaplains in the war, killed, died of wounds, or died of disease while on service in the war. The figures do not include colonial Chaplains or the Chaplains of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment:

Church of England.....	57
Roman Catholic.....	19
Presbyterian	4
Methodist	3
United Board.....	3
—	
Total.....	86
* * *	

THE Government of Costa Rica declared war on Germany May 23, 1918, bringing the number of nations aligned against the Central Powers to a total of twenty-one. Of the other Central American States Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala had issued declarations of war. Honduras severed diplomatic relations, and San Salvador proclaimed neutrality, but explained that it was friendly to the United States. The Government of Peru seized 50,000 tons of interned German ships, and the Government of Chile is negotiating with the United States for the seizure, by appropriation or sale to this country, of 200,000 tons interned in its ports.

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THE Second American Red Cross drive was begun on May 20. The final subscriptions, as announced on May 28, were \$148,833,367, an oversubscription of more than \$48,000,000. The subscriptions in New York City exceeded \$33,000,000; in the rest of New York State

they were about \$9,000,000. The oversubscription maintained a similar average in all parts of the country.

* * *

WHEN the Germans came in possession of Helsingfors there were seven British submarines in the Baltic with stores, workshops, and barges for floating mechanics, which had been moved into the harbor from different parts of the Baltic as the Germans advanced into Russia. The British naval contingent was in charge of Lieut. Commander Downie, and when it was apparent that the Germans would come in possession of the harbor the entire property was destroyed, including all the submarines, repair shops, and supplies, estimated in value at \$15,000,000.

* * *

ANDREW BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, in introducing a new vote of credit in Parliament June 18, announced that it was felt that the German offensive in France had wholly failed and that the Austrian offensive in Italy was the war's worst initial failure. He extolled America's aid in the war and the brilliant part taken already by American troops. He moved a vote of credit of \$2,500,000,000, which was promptly given. The vote brought the total British war credits to \$36,500,000,000. It will cover expenditures to Sept. 1, 1918. Bonar Law stated that the daily cost of the war to Great Britain was \$34,240,000. The debt due Great Britain from her allies was stated to be \$6,850,000,000, and from the Dominions \$1,030,000,000.

* * *

IT was announced June 16 that an American contingent had been assigned to the Vosges Mountains in Alsace in territory which belonged to Germany prior to the war. Private W. J. Gwyton of Evart, Mich., of this force was the first American killed on former German soil, having met his death by machine-gun fire on the day after the unit entered the line, (May 27, 1918.) He was awarded the Croix de Guerre.

Battles in France and Italy

Military Review From May 18 to June 18, 1918—Fighting on the Marne and Oise—The Austrian Offensive

THE third month of the great German offensive may be considered the complement of the second; it has been an attempt to accomplish south of the great Picardy salient what north of it had been tried and had failed. In the second month the Lys salient had been developed, but the barrier ridges of Ypres and Arras still held. At the end of the third month the southern barriers—the Chemin-des-Dames and the watershed of the Oise-Aisne—had been carried by the enemy, but the terrain of occupation was so constricted, the enemy troops so distributed, that neither of his ambitious objectives had been brought nearer attainment. These objectives were the reaching of the sea by the Somme via Amiens, with its corollaries, the isolation of the allied armies north of that river and the occupation of the Channel ports; the decisive defeat of the French armies in the field, with whatever moral and political corollary that eventuality might produce; the occupation of Paris, and the demoralization of the French body politic. [See map on Page 19.]

But the German failure of the third month is far more significant, has a far greater bearing on the war, than the failure of the second. The enemy has not only failed to broaden the Picardy front so as to permit a further advance down the Somme, to inflict vital losses on the Allies, to force the French back on the defenses of Paris, but, in attempting to do these things he has transformed all his potential resources into active resources, and these give evidence of approaching exhaustion.

Only one conclusion is possible: Ludendorff with an initial preponderance of men and war material, with the tactical advantage of being able to manoeuvre from the centre outward, has been outgeneraled both in tactics and in strategy by Foch, so that the former's gains of

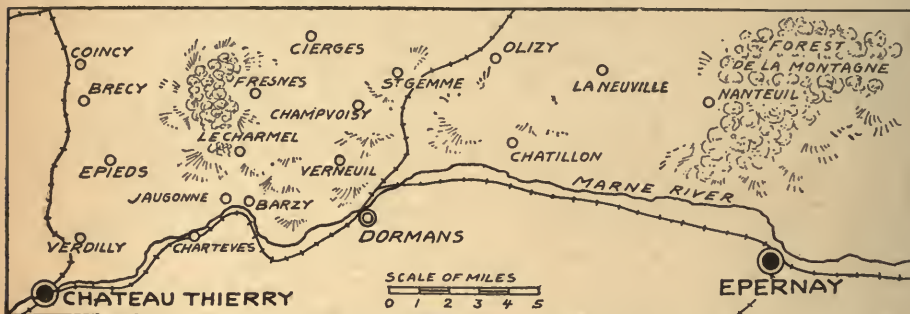
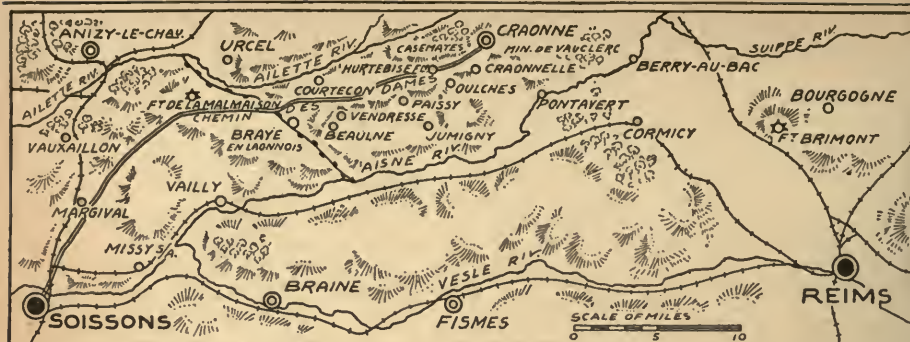
terrain, while being of no advantage whatever—even a danger in certain sectors—have been purchased at an expenditure of men and material utterly incommensurate with their area and position.

FORCING THE AISNE

Ludendorff, on May 27, with a simultaneous diversion on the Lys salient and another at the southwest angle of the Picardy salient, northwest of Montdidier, began, with the most stupendous preparations ever concentrated, an attack on the southern barriers over a forty-mile front. He forced the Aisne the next day on an eighteen-mile front, and on May 31 he brought up at the Marne on a six-mile front, having made a penetration of thirty miles to the south. There he attempted to deploy both east and west, and was held.

Meanwhile his baseline had been extended twenty miles to the west—to near Noyon. He had occupied about 650 square miles of new territory and had reduced his nearest approach to Paris from sixty-two to forty-four miles.

Then, on June 9, with even a greater array of men and material, he attempted to invert the western bow-like side of the salient already formed by turning it outward. He made a fierce attack from a twenty-mile front between Montdidier and Noyon in the direction of Compiègne. With this objective attained, his Picardy front would have been sufficiently broadened to enable him to resume his journey down the Somme. Moreover, he would have been within striking distance of Paris. He gained seven miles, which was later reduced to less than six by French counterattacks. French counterattacks and a thrust of American marines on his flanks in the three succeeding days not only held him in a vise, but revealed his tremendous



UPPER MAP: WHERE THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE BEGAN ON MAY 27, 1918
 LOWER MAP: WHERE IT WAS STOPPED, MAY 31

losses and the extraordinary means he had expended in preparations. By June 12 his failure, the ramifications of which actually demonstrated his defeat, was an established fact. Then, on the following Saturday, June 15, this failure was acknowledged by the sudden launching of an Austrian offensive in Italy. How this was an acknowledgment we shall see in the proper place.

SECOND MARNE BATTLE

Held at the Ypres and Arras barriers in the north it was inevitable that Ludendorff's next move would be in the south. The railways freed by the expansion of the Picardy salient in March, the unhampered concentrations made possible at Péronne, St. Quentin, La Fère, and Hirson, and the admirable surface of the Laon Plateau for purposes of manoeuvring large bodies of troops—all pointed to the line northwest of Rheims as the probable point of attack. Then, when it came on May 27, consternation reigned among military critics as they observed the apparent ease with which the Germans carried, first, the mighty Chemin

des Dames, protected on the east by Craonne and its three plateaux and on the west by the Ailette and the Oise, and then the south bank of the Aisne, with its formidable prepared fortifications at Soissons. The German feints in the Lys salient and before Amiens in the preceding week were said to have distracted Foch, who had thus been outgeneraled. And when the Marne was reached between Dormans and Château-Thierry, it was remembered how the Third German Army under General von Hausen had swept across the river at that identical spot on Aug. 25, 1914.

In the first three days of the drive the Germans with the greatest auxiliary force of tanks, machine guns, and poison gas projectors they had ever mobilized employed twenty-five divisions, or 325,000 men. When they doubled their base line and had reached the Marne and were trying to deploy they were using forty divisions containing over 400,000 of their best troops. When the offensive quieted down in the first days of June it was estimated that they had lost fully 30 per cent. of the total in casualties. On

the other hand, they claimed to have captured over 45,000 prisoners and taken 400 guns. They had come thirty miles and had occupied 650 square miles of territory. But they were held.

What is the explanation of this seeming paradox? Foch could be calling on a certain number of reserves easily have held the Chemin des Dames until—he had been flanked and enfiladed out, between Neufchatel and Rheims on the east and from the Oise where it enters the Aisne on the west. He might have held out longer on the southern bank of the Aisne, but the result would have been the same—losses equaling if not surpassing those of the enemy and the surrender of thousands of guns and large quantities of war material. Finally, he would have gained nothing and might even have been unable to hold the Marne.

It is obvious that he did none of these things. But what did he do? He left his front protected by only sufficient men and guns to produce the greatest possible losses among the enemy as he slowly advanced south and concentrated heavily on the enemy's flanks. It was he and not Ludendorff who decreed that the Germans should reach the Marne between Dormans and Château-Thierry, and nowhere else. But it was Pétain who executed the plans of Foch.

THE FIGHT IN DETAIL

The German attack under the personal command of the Crown Prince launched on the morning of May 27 was mainly directed against the British 8th, 50th, 25th, and 21st Divisions and the French 6th Army, which occupied the front from Vauxaillon eastward to the Brimont region—from north of Soissons to the north and a little west of Rheims. Certain sectors at once gave way under the strong pressure—particularly in the Chambrettes. There was no mistaking this for the main offensive, although in the Lys salient, between Ypres and Arras in the north, and on both sides of the Somme and the Ardre in the centre, there were simultaneous artillery preparations of great violence. Toward the end of the day the weight of the enemy's attacks carried his troops across both

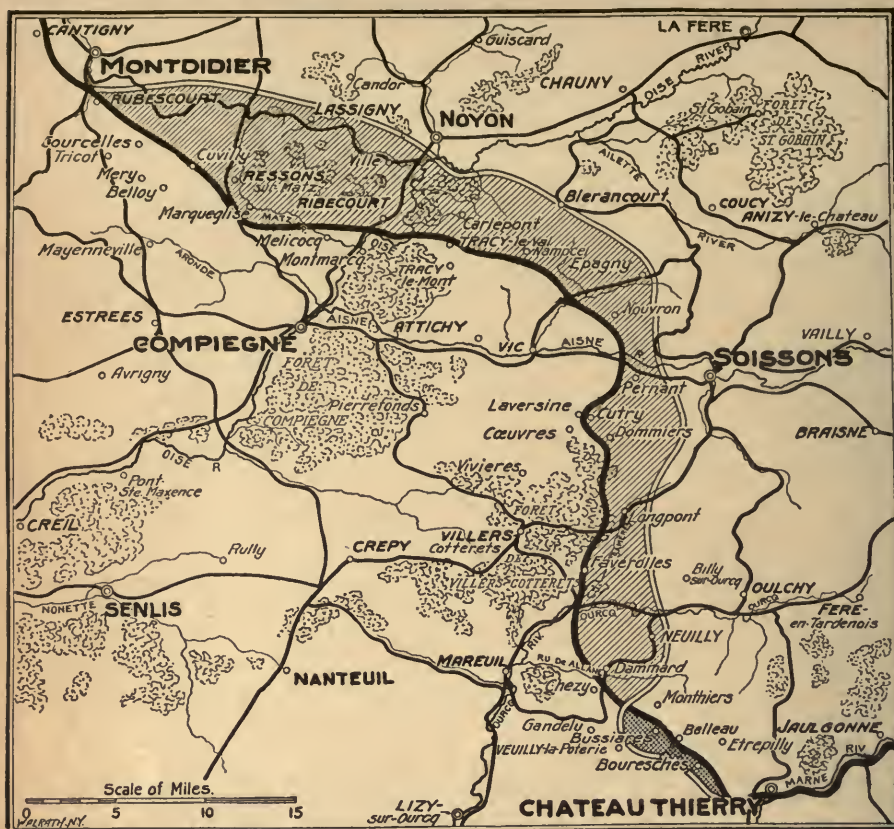
the River Aisne and the Chemin des Dames. The line, however, remained unbroken, as the Allies retreated across the Aisne between Vailly and Berry-aubac, which are eighteen miles apart, and then gave way across the Vesle near Fismes.

On the 28th Franco-British troops proved the assault in the north to be abortive by quickly re-establishing their lines east of Dickebusch Lake and capturing a few prisoners. On the main field of battle in the south the Franco-British right deployed to the east covering the Brouillet-Savigny-Thillois line protecting Rheims. On the west they did the same, but with more elasticity, while the centre continued to give. On the 29th the acute angle of the German penetration, with its vertex covering Fismes, suddenly sprung to the shape of a bow. The line still held covering the Cathedral City, but on the west the defenders of Soissons were killing their last Germans, and in the south Savigny on the Ardre had been reached. At Savigny the line of advance was diverted westward until it embraced Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly. And still the retreating but unbroken Allies were deploying east and west as its pressure increased, or were taken prisoner when retreat became impossible.

On the 30th the enemy attempted to broaden his front northwest of Rheims and failed, but he succeeded in obliterating the salient south of Noyon, from the Oise Canal to Soissons, and on the 31st by an advance from a twenty-five-mile curved front he reached the Marne between Château-Thierry and Dormans on a contracted six-mile front. Here he met on the south bank the prepared defenses, and has been kept on the north bank ever since.

AMERICAN MARINES

In the enemy's attempts to broaden his front on the Marne salient, June 1 and 2, he managed to rectify the eastern side by reaching Sarcy and Olizy and by working along up the Marne a couple of miles east of Dormans. He also measurably consolidated his positions between the Oise Canal and Soissons, and south of



OFFENSIVE OF JUNE 9, AIMED AT COMPIEGNE, AND BLOCKED BY THE FRENCH AFTER FIVE DAYS. LIGHT SHADED AREA WON BY GERMANS; DARK SHADED AREA AT BOTTOM WON BACK BY AMERICANS NEAR CHATEAU-THIERRY

the latter stretched the line into a segment with a five mile vertical as far south as, but not including, Château-Thierry on the Marne. This swing to the westward appears to have been a deliberate attempt to force Foch to meet shock with shock by throwing in his reserves, as the German advance had reached a point only forty miles from Paris.

This was unnecessary, however, for here, north of Château-Thierry, the enemy was to meet a new foe—the American marines. It is doubtful whether the extraordinary performance of this corps and its French supports between June 6 and June 12, when they bent back the lower part of the bow between La Feste-Milon and Château-Thierry—from Grandeles, Champillon, and Clerembant Wood to Bussiares and Bouresches—can be included in the second battle of the Marne

or serves as a diversion to the later battle of the Oise, directed against Compiègne. At any rate, the ardor of the marines had the desired effect, for on the very day they began their work the inspired Berlin Vossische Zeitung said: "The German Supreme Command cannot well proceed now against the newly consolidated French front, which is richly provided with reserves, and bear the great losses which experience shows are entailed by such operations." Thus ended the second battle of the Marne, sometimes called the Aisne-Marne battle.

BATTLE OF THE OISE

The flanking lines between which the Germans were directed to the Marne made the battle of the Oise inevitable as far as the Marne salient was concerned. For the salient, there was only this alter-

native, if its front could not be broadened: it must be "dug in" or be abandoned. But, being necessary, if it could be waged beyond a certain point, it would also become ambitious. It would supplement the Picardy front by continuing its line down to the Marne. Reaching the Oise at Montmacq, it would flank the French salient north of the Oise. Utilizing the Oise and Ourcq Valleys, it would envelop the defensive forests of Aigue, Compiègne, and Villers-Cotterets. This would mean Compiègne. From Compiègne the investment of Paris was possible.

The battle, as far as the Germans are concerned, was probably their most disastrous effort of the war within the given time. Between thirty and thirty-four divisions were completely used up—a cost of over 400,000 effectives. Not only did their advance lack the element of surprise, but it entered a veritable trap. Their front was enfiladed with a destructive fire from impregnable flanks.

The battle was also a revelation; it demonstrated as nothing else the waning man power of the enemy—the desperate mobilization of 16-year-old boys, of old men, of convicts, even.

The artillery preparation, rich in gas shells, began at midnight on June 8-9. On the following morning at 4:30 the attack was launched over the twenty miles from Montdidier to Noyon. And, as usual, there was the northern diversion—the pounding of the British lines by gunfire from Villers-Bretonneux to Arras. Even on the first day of the assault, when the German centre advanced two and a half miles, the French made a spirited counterattack near Hautebraye, between the Aisne and the Oise. On the second day the enemy took at tremendous cost the villages of Mery, Belloy, and St. Maur and debouched from Thiescourt Wood. On the third day, with the aid of four fresh divisions, he managed to reach the Aronde, on the west; to descend a mile astride the Matz and to occupy its northern bank almost to the Oise, in the centre; and to envelop the forest of Ourscamps, on the east. Before the sun set the French, by a counterattack, had entirely won back the gains on the west,

with over 1,000 prisoners captured. On the fourth and fifth days (June 13 and 14) the French heavily attacked on the flanks of the centre—at Courcelles and at Croix Ricard. Then came two final kicks from the foe; on June 16 he attempted to cross the Matz near its junction with the Oise and was driven back with heavy losses. The next day he drenched the south bank of the Marne with gas shells, but did not attempt to cross the stream.

All this time abortive diversions had been going on in the north, in the Lys salient, where on June 15 the British and Scottish troops took the initiative and captured two miles of enemy positions seven miles west of La Bassée and just north of Béthune.

THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE

Just as the German defeat on the Marne and Oise was beginning to be realized abroad—its losses calculated, its meaning interpreted—the Austrians, on June 15, suddenly launched an offensive in the mountain region of Veneto and from the left bank of the Piave. So far the enemy has been firmly held in the mountains, but has crossed the river at two places without, however, being able to bring over any effective artillery—on the middle reaches he has gained the Plateau of Montello, defended by the intrenchments prepared there by the British under Plumer last December, and near the mouth he has succeeded in establishing one or two bridgeheads in the vicinity of Capo Sile.

As a military proposition the offensive has lacked the so far inevitable successes of a prepared initiative; in the mountains the first attacks were almost instantly broken up by simultaneous counterattacks. Along the river, especially in the vicinity of the crossings, the battle is developing in scope and intensity.

Aside from the military paradox already noted, this offensive possesses several characteristics, some military, some political, which seem well worth while dwelling upon.

In the first place, the location of the active front east of the Lago di Garda, from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, offers

a certain indication of the German military situation in France. Its abortive character may also indicate the political situation in Austria-Hungary. With the lines in the mountains held, the operations on the Piave present no formidable danger to Italy.

It was well known by the Italian General Staff that the Austro-German High Command intended to make the attempt to confirm the Italian disaster of Caporetto as soon as the melting of the snows permitted the transportation of men and supplies through the Alps. In the first place, the material and man power lost by the Italians in the retreat to the Piave, which included the actual elimination of the 2d Army, were replaced. In the second, it was absolutely necessary to rectify, even in the Winter, the northern mountain line east of the Lago di Garda. West of the lake up to the Tonale Pass, over the great glacier of the Adamello, it was practically invulnerable, save through the Giudicaria Valley.

From west to east there were three doors, as it were, which had only been partly shut—the Vallarsa south of Rovereto, the path of the Frenzela Torrent and the angle it forms with the Brenta just above Valstagna, and the approach down the Piave in the region of Monte Monfenera from the Calcina Torrent. There were also other minor openings—the passes of Monte Asolone, between the Brenta and the Piave, covering the path south along the Val San Lorenzo, the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys between Asiago and the Brenta. All these were closed in December and January, with a total loss to the enemy of over 10,000 men and 100 guns, save the domination of the Vallarsa, that was taken from the Austrians by the capture of Monte Corno on May 15. Meanwhile, the British and French armies had been transferred, the former from Il Montello on the Piave to the Asiago Plateau, and the latter from the Monfenera region to that of Monte Grappa. Between 200,000 and 300,000 Italian troops had been sent to the aid of France.

Thus the Italian General Staff awaited the inevitable with confidence—a confidence fully seconded by people and

press, for if the mass of the Italians had fought in ignorance before the catastrophe of Caporetto, since then they had learned the objects of the war—national as well as allied.

But the General Staff had also learned something else. This was most important. If Ludendorff in France should be successful—if he should succeed in isolating the allied armies north of the Somme, or force the French back upon the defenses of Paris, or both—then the Austrian Commander in Chief with his million men would be aided by German generalship and German divisions, and, together, they would strike down the Giudicaria to the west of the Lago di Garda, with all strength and disregarding all sacrifices in order to reach the metallurgic centre of Italy in Lombardia and Emilia, thereby forcing Italy out of the war and gaining access to the back door of France. If, however, Ludendorff should be blocked in France, the offensive must still be made at the propitious moment, but its plan of attack would be to the east of the Lago di Garda, from the Astico to the sea. It would be entirely an Austrian affair, and would naturally be limited by the political and military situation in the Dual Monarchy.

It is of significance, therefore, that the offensive has been launched to the east and not to the west of the Lago di Garda. Its locality reveals Ludendorff's conviction that he is at least blocked in France, if nothing else, whatever light its development may later throw upon the parlous internal conditions of the Hapsburg Empire.

This admitted, the Austrian plan of campaign becomes a simple problem—simple because there could be no other. At the beginning of the war Italy attempted to neutralize the Trentino and the Carnic region by sealing the passes and then made her attack across the Isonzo. But she could never be certain that the passes had been effectually sealed. A successful Austrian invasion through them would jeopardize her armies on the Isonzo, isolate them by cutting their lines of communication. That was the danger which threatened

LEADING GENERALS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY



Major Gen. H. A. Greene
(Press Illus. Service)



Major Gen. Leonard Wood
(© Clinedinst)



Major Gen. H. S. Hale



Major Gen. J. T. Dickman
(© Clinedinst)

PROMINENT IN AMERICAN WAR LEGISLATION



Senator G. M. Hitchcock
Chairman Foreign Relations Committee
(Harris & Ewing)



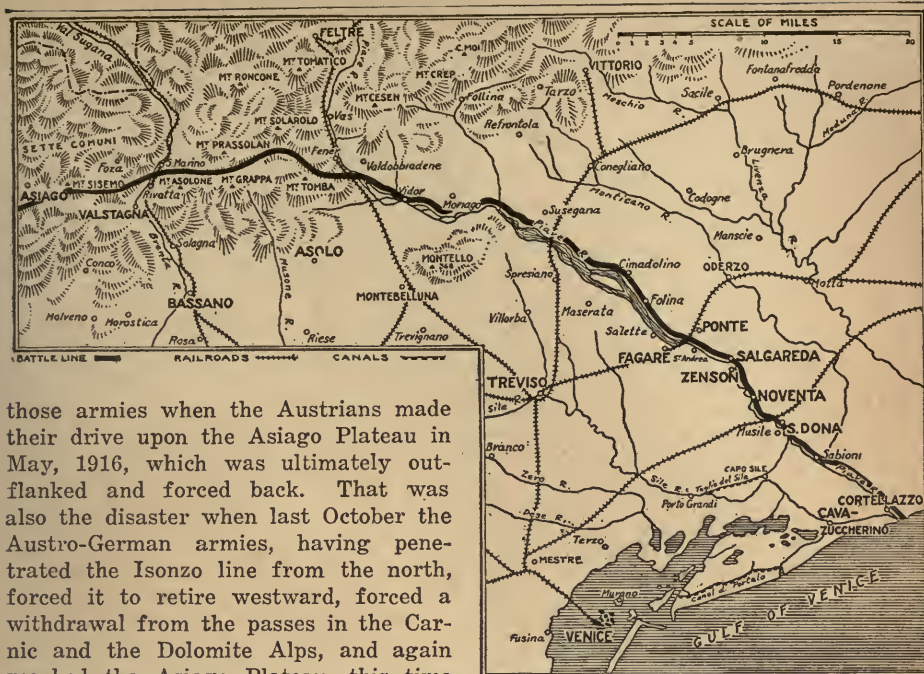
Congressman Claude Kitchin
Chairman House Ways and Means Committee
(Harris & Ewing)



Senator L. S. Overman



Senator F. M. Simmons



SCENE OF THE NEW AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE

those armies when the Austrians made their drive upon the Asiago Plateau in May, 1916, which was ultimately outflanked and forced back. That was also the disaster when last October the Austro-German armies, having penetrated the Isonzo line from the north, forced it to retire westward, forced a withdrawal from the passes in the Carnic and the Dolomite Alps, and again reached the Asiago Plateau, this time free from the danger of being flanked.

It is thus of most vital influence upon the operations going on along the Piave that the British on the Asiago Plateau, on June 15, and the French on Monte Grappa, the next day, and the Italians elsewhere even covering a diversion at the Tonale Pass, should have hurled back with severe losses the initial assaults of the enemy in the mountain regions. On June 18 the Austrians claimed to have taken 30,000 prisoners and 120 guns since the 15th; the Italians and their allies claimed 2,500 prisoners.

That the Greeks are certainly in the war was revealed on May 31, when the news was published that they had, with the aid of French artillery, captured some 1,500 Bulgar-German troops on the Struma front in Macedonia. Meanwhile, however, General Guillaumat, who succeeded General Sarraill as commander of the allied armies there in December, has returned to France to take charge of the defenses of Paris.

Advices from Constantinople, via Moscow and London, indicate that the Turks, having reached an agreement with the

Caucasus peoples, are assembling troops across the Armenian-Persian frontier, so as to block the advance of General Marshall with the Anglo-Indian forces up the Tigris. The left wing of the Turks, on June 14, reached Tabriz and Lake Urumiah, in Persia, 200 miles northeast of Mosul on the Tigris. Marshall is 60 miles south of that place.

Captain Rizzo of the Italian Navy, who on the night of Dec. 9-10 sank the Austrian dreadnought *Wien* in the Harbor of Trieste and put another ship of the 5,000-ton class, now known to be the *Budapest*, out of commission, again distinguished himself on June 10, when with two torpedo boats he cut through the destroyer convy of two dreadnoughts of the *Viribus Unitis* class (20,000 tons) and sent certainly one and probably both to the bottom off Dalmatia—one being seen to sink before his eyes and the wreckage of the other being subsequently picked up. This exploit leaves only one of these mighty ships afloat, the first having been torpedoed in the Harbor of Pola on May 15.

Trying to Corrupt Italy's Troops

The Astounding German Order for Fraternization and Penetration on the Italian Front

THE April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained the text of a German order for undermining the morale of Russian troops by fraternization. Early in May a similar order was found on a German prisoner captured by French troops on the Italian front. The order is as follows:

281ST DIVISION, FIRST SECTION, No. 226.—
CONFIDENTIAL.

Not to be communicated to troops in the first line.

First—Following the telephone order, Geroch No. 2,080, you are asked to intensify with efficacy the propaganda with the enemy army.

Second—The object of this propaganda is to disorganize the enemy army and to obtain information regarding it. The propaganda must be carried out in the following manner: (a) By throwing into the enemy's trenches newspapers and proclamations destined for the more intelligent elements; (b) by persuading the troops by oral propaganda. For that it will be necessary to utilize officers, under-officers, and soldiers who appear to be most adapted. The posts for making contacts with the enemy must be placed under the direction of the company commander, who must be in the first-line positions. These officers must ascertain the points where it will be the easiest to throw into the enemy trenches newspapers, proclamations, &c. At these points you must seek to gain contact with the enemy by means of our interpreters, and if the enemy consents then fix an hour for future conversations. You must then advise immediately by telephone the chief of the Information Bureau of the division of every contact with the enemy.

Only the chief of the Information Bureau will have the right to direct the conversations according to the instructions he has received. It is rigorously prohibited for any of our soldiers to enter into relation with the enemy except those who have received the mission to do so, for fear that the enemy may seek to profit by their ingenuousness. All letters and printed matter which the enemy may have on his person must be taken from him, and transmitted to the chief of the In-

formation Bureau. Company commanders, above all, must seek to establish the points where the enemy's soldiers have received newspapers, the points where the newspapers were taken openly, and without precaution. There are posts of observation for the artillery, as it may happen that French officers or foreign army instructors are in these posts.

In these enterprises for obtaining contact with the enemy, success depends on the ability with which you operate. Good results can be obtained by calling in a friendly tone and indicating sentiments of comradeship or by reiterated promises not to fire and offers of tobacco. The tobacco for this purpose will be furnished by the company commanders.

Every evening, at 8 o'clock, the company commander must transmit directly to the information officer a report of the propaganda accomplished during the day. This report must contain the following indications: (a) Has the enemy picked up our newspapers and proclamations? (b) Have you endeavored to enter into relations with the enemy? (c) With whom have you had contact—officers, underofficers, soldiers? (d) Where and when were our newspapers and proclamations thrown into the enemy's trenches? (e) All other information of the enemy's conduct. At the same time, our interpreters will send to the chief of the Information Bureau a detailed report on all conversations they have had with the enemy. The enemy's positions where propaganda is under way must not be shelled by our artillery; they must indicate to the batteries the positions of these points to be spared. The enemy is perfidious and without honor, and it is necessary as a consequence to be careful that they neither take our propagandists prisoners nor kill them. Those of our soldiers who leave our lines for the purpose of carrying newspapers and pamphlets to the enemy must be advised. To protect them it will be necessary to constitute with care special detachments, who will mount guard in the trenches, and who will fire only on the order of the company commander who is directing relations with the enemy.—Signed, on behalf of the temporary commander of the division, the Major General commanding the 62d Brigade.

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE

Third Month of Desperate Effort to Break the French and British Lines in France

By GEORGE H. PERRIS

Special Correspondent with the French Armies

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The May and June issue of Current History Magazine contained detailed descriptions of the first and second months of the great German offensive in France, which began with a terrific blow in Picardy, apparently with the object of driving a wedge between the French and British, and then shifted to a deadly attack on the British in Flanders, aiming to break through to the Channel ports. These phases of the great battle were described by Philip Gibbs. The new phases, sometimes called the third and fourth offensives, began May 27 and June 9, respectively, and are known as the battle for Paris and the battle of the Oise. The blow of May 27 was delivered between Rheims and Montdidier, with the evident purpose of breaking the French lines and clearing the way for a drive to Paris. The descriptions which follow are written by George H. Perris, a special correspondent with the French armies.

[This dispatch was written before the drive toward Paris was launched, and indicates that Mr. Perris had a clear and correct idea of the German plan]

MAY 26, 1918.—The delay of the third act of the German offensive was abnormal. The first was perhaps, in design and execution, the most powerful operation in the history of warfare. The second, the attack in Flanders in the middle week of April, almost certainly began as a diversion intended to draw the British reserves from the Amiens front and to fill the interval needed for the reorganization of forces.

Up to the middle of April the German armies not occupied in fighting could do little but commence the strengthening of their new fronts, as lines of defense and departure. Their staffs, high and low, must, however, have been already engaged upon plans for the next push. Six or seven weeks then have passed in constituting a new mass of attack, with its armament and transport, in constructing roads and railways, dumps and supply centres, in bringing forward batteries, airdromes, hospitals, and so on.

True, this is not as long as the time of preparation for the first phase of the battle, which may be broadly counted as

from New Year's to March 21. But there should be a vast difference between the mounting of a wholly fresh offensive and its pursuit into the later stages. A relentless continuity of pressure is evidently of very great importance after the advantage of the initial surprise. It is the thing which a commander will most aim at.

If the Germans did not keep going on the main line of their attack north and south of the Somme after the middle of April, it was because they could not do so; and the partial success of their extemporized campaign in Flanders should not disguise from us this significant fact.

It would be useless at this period of the war, when all Germany demands a decision and nothing less, if the new offensive did not lead to the capture at least of some place of symbolic importance, such as Rheims, Verdun, or Nancy. But that would require a force so large as to cripple the major effort in the northwest. All the military virtue of the German strategy is against such a dispersal of effort.

CHEMIN DES DAMES LOST

May 28—The opening of the attack and the first day's results are thus described by Mr. Perris:

Hindenburg has scored another spectacular success. At dawn yesterday, after three hours' bombardment, composed largely of gas shells, a new German mass attack was thrown upon a twenty-five-mile front, extending from the Ailette near Vauxaillon to the Aisne-Marne Canal near Brimont.

It was four or five times as numerous as the defenders, and in other regards correspondingly stronger. In these circumstances, an attempt to retain the line of the Chemin des Dames would have meant that the French troops would have been massacred before reserves could reach them, and there was nothing for it but to fall back steadily and in good order, using successive lines of trenches and deep folds of ground to punish the enemy for every forward step he made.

As I anticipated in my last message, the method of the first phase of the German offensive was again employed with some improvements. This method rests upon two main elements—the prodigal expenditure of the large reserves obtained by the collapse of Russia and Rumania, and the skillful use of the great advantage of what are called interior lines of communication to throw a mass attack suddenly upon the chosen sector, and so to gain the further advantage of surprise.

The front now chosen was held till a day or two ago by parts of two armies belonging to the group of which the Prussian Crown Prince is the titular chief. General von Boehm's army, extending from the Oise at Noyon to east of Craonne, numbered nine divisions. In the sector of General Fritz von Below, extending across the Rheims front to Suippe, near Auberive, there were eight divisions. The whole twenty-five miles attacked yesterday had therefore been held till the eve of battle by only seven or eight divisions. The exact number of divisions engaged yesterday is not yet known, but it seems to have been about twenty-five, or over a quarter of a million combatants.

There is here a curious difference and likeness as compared with the first phase of the offensive on March 21. To the seventeen divisions already holding the sector of attack there were added another seventeen. This time the same number has been added where there were only eight. Two months ago the front of attack was about forty miles long. This time a rather denser force was employed, perhaps because the Aisne height constituted a formidable position, and it was intended to carry it at a single rush.

While the front keeps its present shape the German staff has necessarily a great advantage over that of the Allies in that it is acting from the centre of a crescent, and they are around and outside of it. If enough time can be given to preparations—and as my last message showed the pause had been abnormal—they must gain a certain benefit of surprise, and with this benefit such a mass of shock must win a certain depth of ground.

Our only notions of the Chemin des Dames were obtained in a time very different from the present emergency, the time of fixed fronts and of methods defensive and offensive that are already old-fashioned to those of us who have watched these blood-soaked hills and gullies for nearly four years through heartrending vicissitudes, who remember Haig's and Smith-Dorrien's first attempts to scale what seemed an impregnable fortress, who saw the French blue-coats rush forward last Summer till at length they stood firm on the cliffs of Craonne and Heurtebise, who explored the Dragon's Cave at Malmaison Fort and the vast Montparnasse quarry when they still stank from rotting flesh.

WITHDRAWAL NECESSARY

It is not a light thing that ground so full of tragic memories should be lost. It seems only the other day that I was adventuring along the Ailette by Anizy-le-Château, sleeping in a dugout in Pinon Forest, and examining the outposts that then held the northern edge of the hills.

War pays little regard to sentiment, and it is not any spectacular stroke or sentimental score that will restore the falling fortunes of the Hohenzollerns.

Total Gains of German Drive



SHADED PORTIONS SHOW TOTAL GAINS OF THE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE. THE NUMERALS INDICATE THE SEQUENCE OF THE FOUR BATTLES OR PHASES. THE DRIVE ON THE SOMME WAS LAUNCHED MARCH 21, THAT IN FLANDERS 'APRIL 9, THE CHAMPAGNE DRIVE MAY 27, AND THE OFFENSIVE ON THE OISE JUNE 9

No doubt the French command found it grievous yesterday to order a retreat to the Aisne. Feebler men might have temporized and lost in doing so many good lives which are, after all, more sacred than the most sacred earth.

The attack could not be anticipated. It was far beyond the powers of the small defending forces to ward it off. With sound tactical sense the heaviest assault was directed toward the eastern end of the Aisne Hills at Craonne as soon as it became evident that this corner could not be held, and that from here the whole line was in danger of being turned.

The German forces included some of the specially trained units that fought in von Hutier's army in the March attack—two divisions of the Prussian Guard and other crack formations. It was only at heavy cost that they got forward so quickly. The French retired from position to position without confusion, firing continuously. The fact that their losses are small in comparison with those of the enemy is an essential point.

THE SECOND DAY

May 29—There has been very severe fighting today, with results necessarily favorable on the whole to the enemy because the allied reserves are only just beginning to reach the front. A strong thrust toward Soissons and the road and railway from Soissons to Coucy-le-Château at the moment when the head of the columns of the offensive were striking south of the Vesle from Braisne, Bazoches, and Fismes suggests that the armies engaged have already been reinforced. [See maps in preceding pages.]

So far an almost insolent boldness has won through, but the French resistance is steadily increasing, and more prudence will soon be necessary. For instance, the River Aisne is a most awkward obstacle to have on your line of communications. The enemy was able to prevent the Allies from destroying all the bridges during the withdrawal, but it is not too late, and the bombarding squadrons of the Allies will doubtless find telling work to do in the early future.

Last evening when the enemy had got

across the Aisne near Pontavert part of the British brigade was falling back. A group of French territorials, firing continuously upon the swarming graycoats, were taking refuge in Germicourt Wood and being gradually surrounded. Some Englishmen and older Frenchmen decided to make their last stand, to die there together or to beat the enemy off. A handful of territorials got away to tell the tale. The Englishmen fell to a man.

The French officer who told me of this episode of the battle spoke also of the gallant work of a British cyclist battalion fighting with the French before Fismes, and of the fate of some British officers who lost their lives in blowing up Aisne bridges near Craonne. There was no time to take the usual precautions, but the thing had to be done, and they did it. My informant showed that he felt all the nobility and pathos of these sacrifices, and he wished, as much as I, that the folk at home should hear of them.

The first reports seemed to indicate that the success of the German assault on the British sector led the defenders by a threat of envelopment to retreat from the Aisne heights. This was not so. The Germans first crossed the river further west, and the British left was therefore obliged to fall back.

TERRIBLE BOMBARDMENT

It was the left, and particularly the 50th Division, that had to bear the heaviest of the shock. The bombardment, which lasted three hours, was of indescribable intensity, the chill night air being soon saturated with poison gas, and when at dawn the German infantry, hideous in their masks, broke like a tidal wave upon the thin British line it was overwhelmed. The 50th is a territorial division.

A counterattack toward Craonne failed under a flank fire from tanks and machine guns, and step by step the heroic line was withdrawn through wooded and marshy ground to the Aisne.

The French on the left were resisting like masses with the same bravery; contact was lost with them for a short time,

as also with the British 25th and 8th Divisions further east, and as the men fell back a front could be preserved only by a converging retreat toward the south by night. When the hills north of Vosle were reached the 50th Division had lost a number of its officers and other ranks.

The British centre, consisting of part of the 25th and 8th Divisions, was more fortunate. The 25th had been in reserve, and its support in the low and difficult ground at the east end of the Aisne Valley was most important. It and the 8th maintained their second positions till late in the afternoon.

On the right the 21st Division, together with the neighboring French division, had to defend the line of the canal from Berry-au-Bac to Bermericourt against the onset of four German divisions, aided by the strongest fleet of tanks the enemy has yet put into the field. This northwestern edge of the great plain of Champagne is very favorable ground for the use of cars of assault, and it was here that the French made their first experiments with indifferent results that have since been greatly bettered.

These two British and French divisions had the advantage of a line of heights with batteries and perfect observation behind them. They held out obstinately till the retreat of the left made it necessary to move southward.

DESTRUCTION OF SOISSONS

May 30.—During last night the enemy took Fère-en-Tardenois and drove the allied rearguards back to Vesilly, whence the line ran this morning northeast to the outskirts of Rheims. As the Marne is thus brought into the picture, it is pertinent to point out that in the famous battle of September, 1914, the Germans reached to more than thirty miles south of the river in this region.

This is at present their strongest push. The road from Soissons to Compiègne is closed to them, but further south they have got to the road Soissons-Hartennes.

Lest it be thought that the allied reserves are slow in coming into play, I may point out that the front of the offensive has been nearly doubled in length

in the last three days. At the outset it was about thirty-five miles. It is now sixty. Merely to make good losses and to provide a screen of troops along this greater extent, with everything in movement, has required effort.

At midnight on May 26 the battlefront was ten miles away from Soissons. The few civilian inhabitants and the many hospital patients had settled down to sleep, the usual hour for airplane raids having passed.

An hour later they and the few army bureaus in the neighborhood were aroused by a sudden outbreak of bombardment, such as they had never heard before, and soon afterward shells began to crash upon the town.

With the wounds of four years of war upon it, the northern quarter completely destroyed and the cathedral grievously damaged, Soissons still possessed something of its old-time grace and air of substantial well being. It would be an exaggeration to compare it with Richmond, for the Aisne is not the Thames and the French woods are not English parks; but after the victory of Malmaison had put the *boche* back beyond the Ailette we hoped to see the great mansions repaired and the happy life of the shopping quarters gradually revived. Today the Germans are camped in the smoking ruins of Soissons.

INCENDIARY SHELLS

On May 27 at least 1,200 explosive and incendiary shells were fired into the place. The hospitals, including a special hospital for poison gas cases, were hurriedly evacuated, American ambulance cars doing good service in carrying away the wounded.

On Tuesday, the 28th, the bombardment continued, its purpose being, no doubt, to put out of service the most important bridgehead of the Aisne Valley and one of the most important lines of communication between the regions to the south and north, the town being a railway centre of some local consequence. That afternoon a good many houses were in flames, and during the night a large part of the town was involved in fire.

The enemy had now shouldered his way on the north of the Aisne westward from Pinon, Laffaux, and Vregny, and had reached the highroad running from Coucy-le-Château to Soissons. Yesterday he pressed still further west, and the road being thus covered, as well as the roads from Laffaux and Vailly, made a powerful direct attack upon the town.

It looked at first like being an easy success. The French, wearied with thirty hours of unceasing combat and impossibly outnumbered, fell back, and the Germans reached the centre of the town. In the narrow streets, however, the effect of superior numbers largely disappeared. The French fought fiercely from corner to corner, and at last, gathering themselves together, swept the

enemy back to the northern and eastern suburbs. In the afternoon new German contingents were brought up and in a few hours gained complete possession of the place.

Soissons was, of course, in no sense fortified, and, the northern and eastern roads having been lost, it had no military value. The highway down the valley to Compiègne is bordered by the old French trench and wire systems and dominated by hills on either side of the river. The range on the south bank is covered for miles by the great forests of Villers-Cotterets and Compiègne.

[Another correspondent stated that 1,200 shells fell in Soissons on May 27. The Bishop of Soissons stated in Paris on June 7 that 100 churches had been razed to the ground by the Germans, and that at least 100 others had been pillaged and partially demolished. The famous cathedral in Soissons suffered severely. The Bishop added that the Germans knew neither faith nor law. They knew nothing but war and pillage. The Germans, he said, were stripping and carrying everything away methodically.

The Bishop also asserted that women, children, and old men had been brutally murdered by German aviators, who flew over and fired with their machine guns upon long lines of refugees on country roads.]

VON HUTIER'S METHOD

Something like forty divisions, most of them the best troops available, have now been thrown across the Aisne—400,000 men who might possibly have reached some vital part of the allied defenses in the north.

The von Hutier method is a prodigious invention, but it is as costly in fire and blood as it is impressive for force and speed. In the last week of March it was, in a purely military sense, properly employed, even though it failed, because the objective could be said to be of a vital or decisive character.

What vital objective is there in the present operation? The central part of the German line has been pressed a little further in the last twenty-four hours in the obscure region of scattered hamlets, large farms, and deep tortuous valleys, midway between the Aisne and the Marne. It now comes nearly down to the small market towns of Fère-en-Tardenois and Ville-en-Tardenois, thence running east-northeast to the Vesle just outside of Rheims.

The advance is meeting everincreasing resistance, and by the time the first week is out it will perhaps be definitely arrested. But suppose that it goes much further and reaches the Marne Valley, or even still further, to the Montmirail Valley. Two useful highroads, with some country towns, would be lost to the Allies in these altogether unlikely contingencies, but nothing vital would be lost. The German Army would be no nearer than it now is to winning the war. * * *

A TRAIN UNDER FIRE

In an evacuation station, where a number of British were waiting for the hospital train, the ragged fellows told me of adventures that only their scarlet, honest faces made credible. There was a young Lieutenant who was on a train that was sent up north yesterday toward Fismes. The exact whereabouts of the enemy was unknown. They ran right into the German lines.

The outposts received them with a volley of rifle shots and then came on with grenades. The engine driver stopped the train, jumped down, and took refuge in a ditch. While the fight waxed hotter he was induced to return, and they managed to steam backward just in time, carrying some wounded and three German prisoners with them. The Lieutenant's satisfaction in this last item seemed, however, to be marred by the impression that the Germans were not forcibly captured, but wished to surrender.

The civilian refugees are going south in processions of farm carts, high-ended wagons, and ancient traps, or footing it behind barrows and perambulators. I would not speak lightly of the temporary loss of their lands and homes, but in their ranks there was no sign of panic or fear for the final result.

Most of them were women and children, with a few gaffers, heading a family group or driving cows and big white oxen. Girls with umbrellas up against the hot sun and dust clouds, little children in their Sunday best, and old ladies in Scotch caps sat on piles of straw, amid bedding and furniture, on high wagons. Many of the younger folks had bicycles and many walked, with dogs and goats frisking about them.

EXTENSION OF THE BATTLE

On May 31 Mr. Perris described the extension of the battlefield during the preceding twenty-four hours. He wrote:

The battlefield now forms a vast triangle, the apex pointing markedly toward Château-Thierry and less markedly toward Dormans. The west side runs for about fifty miles from the Oise opposite Noyon to the Marne. The east side runs back thirty miles to Rheims.

The enemy goes on multiplying his objective and distending his lines. The military worth of this strategy is perhaps in inverse ratio to its shown appearance on the map.

On the opposite flanks of the battlefield the allied forces have here been drawn slightly back from the acute salient, marked by the two trivial points named in a previous message, Betheny and Laneuville. The ruins of Rheims thus become the corner of the allied defenses on this line. I have explained that the city lies exposed in a saucer at the southwestern corner of the Champagne and is completely dominated by the allied crescent

of high positions on the mountains of Rheims.

FIRM ON THE FLANKS

In contrast with the further advance of the German centre, the French and British forces on the wings are holding firm. The great highroad from Soissons to Château-Thierry marks broadly the western limit of the offensive.

On the northern stretch of it there was hard fighting yesterday. In the morning the enemy crossed the road at Hartennes and attacked westward with a number of tanks, but was checked near the hamlet of Tigny.

Further north a well-known French division made, with its traditional spirit, a thrust westward across the road and the little River Crise and reached the village of Noyant. It had to fall back, but here, too, the German advance was arrested. The Compiègne road is firmly held, and the disparity of forces is being rapidly reduced.

On the other flank of the battlefield the French and British divisions stand across the hills on the other bank of the Andre, a small tributary of the Vesle, from Brouillet to Thillois, on the northern foothills of the mountain of Rheims, whence the front runs around the ruined city.

This French division struck out from Le Neuville along the canal and captured two hummocks, called Castalliers and De Courcy. It was a bold effort, intended to check the enemy rather than in the hope of retaining the position. This indeed proved impossible, but the French were slow to retire, and the lesson will not be lost upon their adversaries.

FIGHT TO THE DEATH

The news is gradually coming in of what happened on the front, submerged by the assault of Monday morning, (May 27.) Its most northerly part was the low ground beside the Ailette called the Forest of Pinon, which I described fully last Christmas, when I spent several days with the outposts by which it was held, in conditions somewhat reminiscent of Wild West warfare. The nearest trenches were on the hills a mile or two behind, this ground being too marshy to dig in. In the forest blockhouses were then being built, and were laid out while each side raided the other across the frontier on the stream and canal. Nothing then seemed less likely than an attack across such ground, but preparations were being pushed forward with the idea that a few groups of defenders would gather in and around the blockhouses and fight a delaying action, and then, if possible, escape back to the hill trenches.

The event turned out otherwise. When the surviving groups and outposts, amounting in all to three battalions, got together on Monday morning they decided to intrench themselves and to fight to the death. Carrier

pigeons brought notes from them to this effect. The last note received was dated 2 P. M. on Tuesday. The best that can be hoped is that some survive as prisoners.

I think it may be said that there is now no danger of a break through toward any vital objective.

STRONGER RESISTANCE

Mr. Perris on June 2 gave the first hint of improved aspects of the battle in the following dispatch:

On Friday afternoon, May 31, General von Boehm's troops opened a new pocket beyond Oulchy of a depth of about five miles and on either side of the Ourcq Valley yesterday. In the course of stubborn fighting this salient was slightly extended, and at the same time a narrow bend was added to their gains between the Oise about Pont Eveque and the Aisne west of Soissons.

The main line of pressure was thus changed from south to southwest, and while the rest of the new front is relatively quiet, there have developed two bulges, which represent the acutest stress of the battle.

The first of these is between the Oise and the Aisne, directed toward the angle of the two rivers at Compiègne; the second, midway between the Aisne and the Marne, points westward along the Ourcq, toward the ancient town of Laferte-Milon.

In both these fields there has been a series of violent struggles this morning, with a notable increase of the power of resistance of the Allies. North of the Aisne the German assaults have been nearly everywhere broken. A slight advance by the Germans on the Ourcq has been won at the cost of very heavy losses, and the French are standing with splendid resolution along its small tributary, the Savieres, which marks the border of the forest region of Villers-Cotterets.

As the enemy has reached the heights northwest of Château-Thierry, where we watch them from the south side of the river, an attempt to push westward along the north bank of the Marne is to be expected.

THE ADVANCE CHECKED

On June 3 Mr Perris was more optimistic than at any time since the battle began. He wrote as follows:

There is a slackening in the violence of the battle. Yesterday's fighting was the most equal I have seen in this stage of the offensive. We lost Faverolles again—this village has since been recaptured—but regained Hill 163, just west of the village of Passy, and broke attacks against Corcy, Troesnes, and Torcy. It is to be expected that the enemy will make new efforts to destroy the French bastion on the bare plateaus between the Aisne and the Ourcq.

Local currents of fortune are also in the nature of things, according as one side or the other decides to throw its local reserves

upon this or that point. So far as the intentions of the German command have been revealed, however, it may now be said that the position is in hand at the end of the first week of this third act of the German offensive.

What is the outlook? By lengthy preparation aimed at an unlikely sector the enemy gained ground to nearly as large an extent as in the first act. In the last week of March von Hutier pierced from St. Quentin to Montdidier, say, thirty-five miles. In the last week von Boehm advanced from the Ailette to Château-Thierry, about thirty miles, on a similar length of front. It is too early to attempt comparison of the cost of the two enterprises in losses and exhaustion.

The German staff seems to have counted on employing forty-five divisions in the Alsne offensive. Before the end of last week this figure had been exceeded. No essential objective has been attained, and none has been approached as nearly as in the two northern phases of the offensive. Concentration, not dispersal, of effort is the means to a quick decision. If Germany were not pressed for time and could be content with partial victories, she might be satisfied, but Germany is decidedly pressed for time, and only decisive actions now count.

The Americans are coming into the battle-front, and will presently be there in force. This front now extends over 200 miles. The superiority of aggressive force given by the collapse of Russia and Rumania is ebbing away.

FRENCH OUTNUMBERED

The question will have arisen in some minds why, if the defenses of the Chemin des Dames were as strong as I had represented them to be, last Monday's attack should have so quickly overcome them. Detailed narratives are being accumulated which throw light on this subject. I take the case of the division holding the French left a week ago. We all remember its front, which was naturally and artificially of the strongest. It had nearly twelve hours' notice of what was afoot.

In the first place, the German artillery preparation, though short, was of infernal violence. The rolling barrage was two miles deep. It destroyed the French telephone wires and filled the battery emplacements and machine-gun posts with various kinds of poison gas. Dust and artificial smoke clouds isolated groups of defenders and hid the waves of assault till they broke with a four-fold superiority of force. Many groups were thus surrounded, but fought on for a couple of hours, causing the enemy heavy losses. Many short counterattacks delayed advances and every line of trench wire was used.

But the next most important thing, since reinforcements could not arrive immediately, was that the mass of the division should be held together and drawn back gradually for

the defense of more essential positions. These lay beyond the Soissons bridgehead. Reinforced last Tuesday night, the division defended the plateau southeast of Soissons for four days with obstinate heroism.

AIR SUPREMACY OF ALLIES

It may now be said that the allied airmen have established decided supremacy in the new battlefield. The Germans had a week ago, in this as in other respects, the advantage of their preparations and initiative, and they used it boldly, flying low in numbers, and machine-gunning our retreating ranks.

The balance could not be instantly redressed. The airplane seems to be the very type of mobility, but it devours petrol, demands repairs, and, in brief, must carry its camp with it.

Every day of this critical week has seen a larger concentration between the Oise and the Marne, and an increasing number of combats and expeditions. The first essential was to have constant information of the enemy's movements; and this scouting work, though less sensational than some other parts of the air program, remains perhaps the most important of all.

Then followed with growing vigor the development of the aggressive functions of the air service in which it became a sort of extension of artillery and cavalry and even of infantry. A single group in one day brought down six boche planes and three sausages, dropped seventeen tons of bombs in the region of Rhelms, and tons on marching columns of the enemy in the neighborhood of Ville-en-Tardenois.

"Our pilots," said a group commander, "had orders not to come back with a single cartridge or bomb, and you may take it from me that they do not waste their munitions on clouds."

On Thursday another group commander, receiving news that an enemy column was stretched over three miles of a certain road, sent about fifty machines to deal with it. They charged as a squadron of cavalry would do, coming down to within twenty and even ten yards of the earth, and with bombs and machine guns effectually dispersing and demoralizing the graycoats.

Many enemy planes and sausage balloons have been brought down, but that is in the circumstances a secondary effort. Lines of communication and rear camps and centres of the enemy also have been harried. On Friday no less than seventy tons and on Saturday sixty-two tons of explosives were dropped by airmen on German bivouac troops.

IN THE MARNE VALLEY

I went down to the Marne Valley yesterday afternoon and from the edge of a wooded hill looked across over part of the north bank where the Germans are established.

Established is hardly the word, for everything is floating and provisional in this phase of the war, and it is more than ever invisible except where infantry actions are in course, because there are no fixed intrenched lines. I could not find any trace of the enemy on the opposite amphitheatre of hills, but an observer hanging above at the tail of a sausage balloon may have seen something, for from time to time the French guns blazed angrily over my head and buildings were on fire in the villages.

In this winding stretch of the valley crests rise 500 feet above the broad, strong stream, and there are five or six miles between the two ridges. The French have guns and machine guns in position, and any considerable attempt to cross will be very costly.

Two hundred Germans came over yesterday morning and are now more or less contented guests of the French Republic. But the enemy does not seem to contemplate an immediate passage, if at all. It would probably be tried further west at some point where the northern hills are more dominant. The section of the important objectives appears to lie in this direction.

Immediately behind the zone of mutual observation, all the humming activities of arms are proceeding with a freedom unknown in the days of trench warfare, partly because this is the nature of the war of movement and partly because, like other services, the air squadrons are dispersed and the German airmen cannot obtain more than local and momentary equality. And amid all the flow of troops and guns, the pitching of camps, the laying of field telegraphs, shifting of hospitals and hangars, bringing up of munitions and supplies, there is an air of calm over the whole scene that would astonish those who see the offensive only as it is concentrated in a newspaper sheet.

FIERCE FIGHTING JUNE 3

In his dispatch dated June 4 Mr. Perris described the fighting on the 3d, which was the last desperate attempt of the Germans to advance in that phase. He wrote:

The battle blazed out afresh last night along and south of the upper Ourcq, and the struggle is raging with violence, due, in part, to the fact that both sides have brought up many guns and in part to the desperation of the Germans as once more they see victory slipping out of their hands.

Tactically, the chief feature today is the attempt of the enemy to support the attack on the Ourcq by a thrust further south along its tributary, the Clignon, a small stream following a marshy valley westward to the middle course of the Ourcq. There the most bitter combats have taken place and continue about the villages of Bouresches, Torcy, and Veully-la-Poterie. At the latter point the Germans tried to get around to the southward, but were effectually stopped in the Veully Wood, a mile south of the village, by Americans.

In all this fighting the enemy's losses have been very severe, for in every case we had the best defensive positions, well supported by machine guns and 75s.

I spoke yesterday of the importance of the French stand to the southwest of Soissons, both as limiting the enemy's access to the Aisne Valley and as narrowing his approach to the Ourcq Valley. A slight withdrawal to the line of the villages of Pernant, Saconin, Missy, and Vaucastille yesterday did not materially weaken this buttress of the front. Nor is it seriously weakened by another short withdrawal this morning between Pernant and Missy, for which the enemy has had to pay dearly. We still hold Tresnes and Faverolles, and the prospects of von Boehm reaching Villers-Cotterets are not bright enough to cheer the drooping spirits of Berlin.

AMERICANS AT WORK

Another small warning of the rising power of American arms was given on the Marne yesterday morning, when a fresh band of machine gunners helped a French regiment to break an attempt to cross the river.

Between the Oise and the Aisne homeric conflicts are reported from the neighborhood of Carlepont Wood, in which the hill called Mont de Choisy, after having been lost and recaptured five times, remains in French hands.

In all fields, therefore, the equalization of forces produces a result more and more favorable. The defense of Mont de Choisy is the work of French colonials. These troops had already distinguished themselves, particularly at Douaumont, before Verdun.

Though the pressure upon the Franco-British line from Verneuil, on the Marne, to Rheims, has been much less severe than that on the western flank of the offensive, it is to be noted that the enemy has some of his best divisions in the former area.

French cavalry corps, generally dismounted, but sometimes playing their old part, have rendered excellent service during the battle. One of them after forming an essential element in the retreating line, had to meet Saturday and Sunday repeated attacks conducted by four—perhaps five—German divisions in the Malmaison and Trotte Woods, which crown the hills northeast of Verneuil, forming the buttress of the allied positions beyond the Marne. In the Ourcq Valley toward La Flerité-Milon another body of dismounted cavalry had to stand against some of the best Prussian troops, including the first division of the Guards.

ENEMY'S LONG PAUSE

In his dispatch dated June 5 Mr. Perris noted that a marked pause had fallen on the battlefield. His comment was this:

The pause in the enemy's adventure is a sign of weakness on his part and of advantage to us. Germany is fighting against

time. The superiority she gained from the east is passing. The power of surprise has been her greatest asset. After that everything depends for her on speed in the exploitation of her success, and every delay is loss.

The next thing to remark is the great skill with which General Foch has pursued what may be called his provisional Fabian strategy. With surprise and superior reserves in the hands of the enemy, he had to face a situation of extreme difficulty. To weaken other parts of the front prematurely in order to defend the Aisne would have invited a fresh blow in those other parts.

Two needs rose supreme—that of economizing men so as to hasten the day when the Allies should have the superiority of forces necessary to victory, and that of barring the road of the enemy toward every vital objective. These objects have been attained, and if it should turn out that the third act of the offensive is finished, this will mean that, with all the unquestionable ability and daring of the German General Staff, Foch has beaten them for the third time in the two and a half months of their maximum power.

In any case, nothing of first-class importance has been lost. The allied front has not been broken. The roads to Paris, toward which the offensive was turned on the third day, are blocked. The ruins of Rhelms are nearly indefensible, but the road to Châlons is barred. The plateaus between the Oise and the Aisne and between the Aisne and the Ourcq stand like bastions of a vast fortress. Château-Thierry is lost, and the eastern railway and the high road are locally interrupted, but the Marne and the Paris road beside it are covered.

Finally, the enemy has engaged fifty divisions of his reserves in this battle, and many of them have suffered very heavily.

AT CHATEAU-THIERRY

The attempt of part of the German 36th Division to cross the Marne at Jaulgonne was frustrated brilliantly by the Americans and French. It appears that a few men succeeded in getting across the river Thursday night [May 30] at this point, eight miles east of Château-Thierry, where the Marne makes a loop by the north.

They took shelter in the cutting and tunnel of the Paris-Châlons railway, which runs along the south bank, and though they lost seriously and their pontoons were destroyed, they got reinforcements over to the strength of a battalion.

An attack to clear them out was, therefore, organized, and this took place Sunday night, [June 2.] By that time the Germans had put twenty-two light bridges across the stream, of which four had been smashed by the French artillery, and had established a bridgehead with six machine guns and a

hundred men in the railway station on the south bank opposite Jaulgonne.

This post was frontally attacked by a section of dismounted cavalry who, however, were held up by machine-gun fire until American machine guns came into action. Two sections of French infantry simultaneously fell upon the bridgehead and the Germans broke before them.

The prisoners, of whom there are a hundred, declare that their officers abandoned them at the beginning of the attack. A few men escaped by swimming, and thirty or forty others gained the northern bank by the pontoon boats. The rest of the battalion was wiped out.

The German losses in the action at the bridge of Château-Thierry were severe. It is estimated that a thousand bodies lay by and near the bridge, and the American machine gunners fired tens of thousands of cartridges.

HOW THE BATTLE BEGAN

In his dispatches on June 2 and June 5 Mr. Perris gave these further details of how the battle began:

As further details which I have received of their part in the beginning of the battle clearly show, these divisions, the 50th, 8th, 21st, and 25th, were, it will be remembered, tired from bitter and repeated actions in the course of the northern offensive. They had been on the front only seventeen days when last Monday's attack was made, and therefore had hardly had time to become thoroughly acquainted with the sector. The main force of the enemy assault fell on the front of the 50th and 8th Divisions, against whom there were four German divisions in line and two more in immediate reserve. The odds against the British on this day were two and a half to one.

The 50th Division on the left was doing well on the Craonne Plateau, when in the course of the morning they suddenly found that the enemy was behind them. Owing to this surprise, the neighboring brigade of the 50th Division suffered badly.

By afternoon General Fritz von Below's men had got to the line of the river, and in the evening the British were back at Guyencourt. By Wednesday evening they held a large crescent around Fismes from Lopeigne on the west through Coulanges and Lagery back to the Vesle at Muizon. By this time the fighting strength of the British units was greatly reduced, but reinforcements were coming up and the worst of the crisis was over. The full story of the splendid episode can hardly yet be told, but some day it will shine among the greatest achievements of the war.

Some time must yet elapse ere we can know fully and exactly what occurred on the Chemin des Dames at and after 4 A. M. on May 27. Many of the combatants have died a martyr's death and been buried by

alien hands where they fell. Many more will long languish in prisoners' camps; but the remnants of some regiments have now come down from the front to rest, and by piecing together the narratives of these weary men it is possible to make the first outline of the story that will one day be told in all its pitifulness and terror.

One of them is the French infantry regiment which had long held the central sector of this front. For this last trial it had been prepared by months of trench raiding and strengthening its defenses. Submerged by a storm of fire and poison gas and by wave upon wave of assault, it went down in a single morning, fighting the hopeless fight to the bitter end. A small number lived to cross the Aisne in the afternoon, and these had to continue the struggle for four days and nights, practically without respite. Few are those, even in this war, who have survived such agony.

They were warned, and, so far as their local means allowed, were prepared for the attack. Gas masks, machine guns, grenade stores—everything was ready. The order was to hold ground between the second and third positions or to die in the effort, and it was carried out. It was to be expected that the telephone wires would be cut. There remained carrier pigeons. A rolling barrage two miles deep and of indescribable violence extinguished the poor efforts of the local batteries to reply. Thick clouds of artificial smoke, gas, and dust shrouded the assault, so that rocket signals were not seen at the rear and the enemy was invisible till he reached the parapets.

The line was almost immediately broken and the battle became a struggle of isolated groups, heavily outnumbered without the possibility of reinforcement, defending scraps of broken trench dugouts or quarries and still resisting long after the main tide of the conflict had passed south.

A copy lies before me of messages dated from 3:30 to 8:30 A. M. and sent back from these isolated groups by pigeon. No words could be so eloquent as their laconic brevity. When permission to retreat was given some officers refused to avail themselves of it.

The Colonel, with his staff papers, crossed the Aisne at 10 A. M. and organized the defense of the passage. The survivors of the regiment were re-formed on the south bank, and on the following day received a reinforcement of men, bringing it up to a quarter of its original strength. This handful had to meet the heavy attack southwest of Soissons on May 29, and a series of attacks on the following two days. No more was humanly possible, and they were withdrawn. They say that not a man had uttered a complaint.

BATTLE OF THE OISE

A fourth phase of the German offensive opened June 9 on a front of 20 miles between

Noyon and Montdidier, which Mr. Ferris describes thus:

A new phase of the German offensive opened this morning at 4:30 o'clock on a front of about twenty miles, extending from Montdidier to Noyon. The artillery preparation, which again was rich in gas shells, began at midnight, and covered not only the front, but a deep zone behind it, especially villages and roads where the enemy thought to catch the French local reserves.

There were evident reasons for the choice of this sector, and in particular for seeking control of part of it, for a successful push south along the line of the Roye-Compiègne railway would add another converging road to the four roads leading toward Paris by the Oise, Aisne, Ourcq, and Marne Valleys, which had already been tried. On the other hand, the enemy could not reasonably hope for any such surprise as was obtained in the first act of the offensive before St. Quentin and in the third act of that on the Chemin des Dames.

In general, the French are resisting with dogged courage in their covering positions, which are beyond range of the enemy mine throwers. Evidence accumulates of the heaviness of the German losses in the recent fighting and of the disappearance of the shallow enthusiasm with which the offensive was begun.

In describing the progress of this assault Mr. Ferris wrote on June 10:

The front of the attack was twenty miles in length, as compared with a front of thirty miles in the attack on the Chemin des Dames and fifty miles in the first phase of the offensive on March 21, and so far it is only on the central half of this smaller front that any considerable impression has been made on the French lines.

Whatever may have been the exact design, there had not been this time the same extreme scruple to conceal troop movements, and for some days past the exceptional traffic of convoys, the suspicious activity of the enemy batteries in the correction of ranges and other signs had given warning of what was afoot.

HEAVIER GERMAN LOSSES

One consequence was that, when the German infantry advanced yesterday morning, it had to meet a volume of fire very different from that which had answered the surprises of St. Quentin and the Aisne Heights. French gunners had thoroughly studied the ground before them and were all ready to deluge every path of approach directly that graycoat waves appeared. From the beginning, therefore, the German losses have been heavier than on the earlier occasions, and this must affect the development of the action.

In other respects the now familiar von Hutler manoeuvre appears to have been repeated, shock battalions carrying light

machine guns and machine rifles concentrating upon local breaches in our line and leaving the task of cleaning up islands of resistance to the support troops while they pressed on rapidly to exploit the first success. It will probably be found that the operation was begun with about fifteen divisions in the line, approximately 150,000 men, giving a density of one division to a mile and a third.

Faced with a force superior in all arms, long resistance of the first line is impossible, but it is significant that at 8 o'clock yesterday morning, that is after four hours of a terrible storm of gas and explosive shells, followed by four hours of hand-to-hand struggle, our allies were still in a large part of the field fighting within what is called the zone of advanced posts, and only the centre had fallen back on the zone of principal resistance. Plemont Hill, overlooking Lassigny, was still holding out at that hour, although the front had lain immediately beneath it. The villages of Le Fretoy and Courcelles were lost during the morning, but were recovered by counter-attacks, in which the French troops showed the highest spirit.

Up to late last night the only result that von Hutier could regard as in any degree justifying the effort made and the losses suffered was the capture of the villages of Resons-sur-Matz and Mareuil-la-Motte, whereas on the French left before Ribecourt, by Le Tretoy to Courcelles, and on the right from Belval to Cannettancourt, the advance varied from one to two miles. At the centre it rather exceeded three.

This is a poor gain, judged by precedent, and was bought at an exorbitant price, but it has a certain tactical and perhaps superior consequence.

Later on June 10 Mr. Perris gave this further description of the progress of the fighting:

"This is the real battle," said a French staff officer, meaning to contrast today's fierce fighting between forces unequal indeed, but not crushingly so, with the attack on the Chemin des Dames. Here the French had a stronger line, their reserves were nearer, and they had sufficient notice to bring their batteries at every point into effective action. Effective, do I say? At many points it was a massacre of the columns of assault, and there is unanimity as well among the prisoners as among our own combatants that the ranks of the enemy have been torn and plowed with shot and shell. Never, perhaps, has the German Army paid so dearly for an advance which nowhere exceeds five miles.

This is the essential fact which governs all that follows; for if, as the German official press says with a measure of truth, the German objective is not a city or a port, but the complete destruction of the allied armies, so our objective is not to hold a certain geographical area, but to punish the advance so that the enemy forces will be exhausted, while ours are being constantly recruited from overseas for the last stroke that will give us the victory.

The smallness of the enemy's gains in this fourth phase of the grand battle is merely the sign that von Hutier found across his path an adversary prepared as far as was humanly possible, determined and able to contest every yard of ground.

Thus the village of Courcelles, only two miles from the old front, was lost, retaken, lost again, recovered, and remains in the hands of the French. Thus Plemont, a position insignificant as compared with the Aisne Heights, although encircled and covered with fire, was being defended till last evening. Since then no carrier pigeon has come in, and it must be presumed that the heroic handful of men who held this point of the front have been overcome. Their countrymen will not forget them.

The Turning Point of the Battle

By WALTER DURANTY

[Copyrighted]

The turning point of the great battle came on June 11, when the French delivered a desperate counterblow south of Montdidier and drove the Germans back from the Aronde River, regaining important ground along a front of seven and one-half miles, and capturing 1,000 prisoners and many heavy guns. This phase of the struggle is described by Walter Duranty, another special correspondent, whose dispatch is copyrighted for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. It is dated June 11, 1918.

As the battle continues it seems that the second week of June will rank as one of the bloodiest and most decisive periods in the world's history.

It is the veritable climax of four years of struggle. In the last twenty-four hours the violence of the fighting has increased still further. The limit of human endurance has been forced yet another notch higher. Along

a front of nearly twenty miles the Germans are driving more than a quarter of a million men forward through a sea of blood. The defenders say that it is as though the whole of the German Army is engaged against them; no sooner is one battalion annihilated than another takes its place, and another and another.

Early yesterday morning a handful of dis-

mounted cavalry, greatly employed for liaison work, fought their way back to the French lines from the surrounded hill of Plemont. They reported that the survivors of the French battalion occupying the position were still holding out when they left, and that no less than fourteen attacks had already been repulsed.

CARPETED WITH DEAD

The grassy slopes of the hill bore a hideous carpet of thousands of German dead, over which new forces still advanced with the same madness of sacrifice as the Carthaginians of old, flinging their children, their possessions, and themselves into Moloch's furnace. The bloody religion of militarism that Germany has followed for forty years has led its votaries to culminating orgies of destruction.

But the defenders are not appalled by the fury of the struggle, nor by numbers. Each position is held until every foot of ground has been paid for by German blood. Again and again a swift counterattack, delivered at the right moment, has wrested from the assailant the fruits of the success he won so dearly and forced him to pay a toll of lives twice over. In the villages thus retaken, the poilus say, gray-clad corpses lay heaped up as though they had been collected for a gigantic funeral pyre, and more than once the advancing enemy was screened from the defenders' fire by a rampart of his own dead.

The general situation of the battle has changed little. In the centre the French have retired slightly. On the left also there is a southward bulge in the line. The right is still held by a wooded massif above Drelincourt. On the right the towers of Noyon Cathedral could just be distinguished. To the left smoke haze marked Lassigny, half hidden in a hollow. It was a natural fortress with an infinity of cover for guns, men, and machine guns against which no fury of sacrifice might prevail. Well may the Germans try to turn that grim salient by an advance further south in the centre—clearly their immediate objective. They held it once before last year's retreat and they know its strength.

As I returned from the observation post I passed through a great natural amphitheatre in a sort of mountain. At one side the Germans had carved a huge eagle, colored blood red, on a slab of rock above a grotto that had been their headquarters. Beneath it in Gothic letters was the Brandenburg motto, "On, Brandenburg, on!" The artist who designed the bird that is the symbol of German violence was well inspired. The Kaiser's eagles are red, indeed, clotted and stained from beak to claw with the crimson of countless slaughters.

The latest information from the battlefield emphasizes still more clearly the difference between the results of the new German method of attack when applied on a

weakly held sector and a front where the allied strength is normal. On two previous occasions Hindenburg's storm divisions gained sensational success right from the outset by literally swamping small forces by sheer weight after the defenders had been half-stunned by the terrific bombardment to which their inferiority of artillery permitted no adequate response.

Conditions are very different today. In the first place there was no strategic surprise—the German move in this sector had been foreseen. The utmost vigilance was everywhere maintained, and unmistakable signs, such as the movement of troops, convoys, and artillery registration, had been carefully noted. Precautions to meet the shock had been taken. Against attack in depth by successive waves a depth defense had been planned, with a front line of thinly held outposts to minimize loss, and successive lines of greater strength extending back for kilometers.

When the German artillery storm broke out it was answered by a perfect hurricane of French fire. Not only was every possible point where the enemy troops might advance or batteries be hidden thoroughly registered, but artillery held in reserve had its guns trained on targets offered further in the rear by each hill, wood, or valley that the enemy might assail as a vantage point or medium for infiltration.

The consequence has been that, in direct contradiction to the former drives, the enemy's initial losses have been enormous and his gains small; and the French losses were greatly decreased. Above all, there has been no penetration of the line of resistance. In places it bulged slightly under pressure, but only at the price of the most dogged fighting and heavy sacrifice, and withal very slowly. One fact marks the difference sufficiently:

HOW THEY WERE CHECKED

On May 27 the Germans had reached the Aisne—seven kilometers from the starting point, across difficult country—in four and one-half hours after the attack. In the first thirty hours of the present attack they had barely passed thinly held outposts. Along the whole thirty-kilometer front, from the Oise to Assainvillers—somewhat shorter than the area of bombardment—fifteen to twenty assaulting divisions were met by a galling machine-gun barrage and the terrible "75" fire curtain from quick-firers and batteries. Irreplaceable storm troops, whose training had taken months and whose existence was essential to the continuance of Hindenburg's new strategy, melted like snow beneath the August sun.

At Plemont—the scene of one of the most gallant actions in the checking of the March drive by the men of the same army—the Germans met a stubborn resistance, though their dead lay there thick as fresh-cut wheat but a few hundred yards beyond the line

of outposts. Even in the centre, where the enemy's progress was deepest, an unbroken line of defense was constituted by the same troops that had withstood the attack from

the beginning. Their spirit and numbers were still sufficient, though the Germans opposing them had sent forward fresh storm troops in wave after wave.

Mr. Perris's Description of the French Counterblow

The French counterblow described above by Mr. Duranty was of great importance in changing the entire aspect of affairs for the Allies. Mr. Perris, in a dispatch dated June 12, gave these further particulars:

Faces that wore a serious expression yesterday morning are decidedly cheerful today. The battle has, in fact, taken a better turn. It is a very dreadful struggle; no Frenchman can forget that fact, and in the fever of weighing and measuring results more distant observers should not for a moment overlook what they mean in flesh and blood. That being said, we may join in the satisfaction of our allies that on its third day the German onset has suffered a distinct check.

Following the front from west to east, the first thing to note is the series of French counterattacks on the left, carried to a considerable measure of success by skill in the direction and high spirit and fortitude in the ranks.

At 11 A. M. yesterday a movement began from a little east of the railway line between Domfront and Wacquemoulin. The infantry were supported by tanks, and along the whole line the Germans were swept back. A French contingent actually reached points which were within the German front. The French advance went well beyond Rubescourt and Le Fretoy, half way between Courcelles and Mortemer, and between Mery and Couvilly, beyond Belloy, and to the border of St. Maur.

Meanwhile the enemy had delivered a very powerful blow at the French centre and had driven a way, despite vigorous opposition, as far as the village of Antheuil, two miles south of the Matz. At 4 P. M. a further counterattack was therefore made from the French left centre, and the enemy advance was completely arrested. In these combats a certain amount of confusion was apparent in the German ranks, and the fact that 1,000 prisoners and some cannon were taken speaks eloquently. This was not the heaviest punishment. Eyewitnesses say that German corpses strew the battlefield in piles.

Three critical days of the offensive have then given the enemy at the cost of enormous losses a not very magnificent result. We now know that the program was to reach Compiègne on the second day. General von Hutier must be greatly disappointed.

The attack was begun with fourteen divisions, at full strength, in the line. They included at the centre divisions of the Prussian Guard and four other crack divisions. About twice as many divisions have now been thrown into this battle, ten already holding the sector and the rest being fresh reserves.

These figures may be measured by the fact that the total German forces in the west amount to 207 divisions, and that of these before the offensive only sixty-two were in the general reserve, the rest being engaged on the front. The more we consider in the light of material considerations like these what the German command essayed and what it has accomplished the more we shall appreciate the valor of the French armies and the qualities of their chiefs; and it is impossible to do justice to either without such reflection.

FRENCH HOLD GAINS

On June 12 Mr. Perris reported that the French were holding their gains and gave these further details of the counterattack the day before:

The French lines hold all the way round from the important position of Mery Plateau by the hamlets of St. Maur and Antheuil to Marest and Chevincourt. Time after time, last night and this morning, the gray-coated masses of General von Hutier came on, only to be mowed down by waves of fire from the 75s and machine guns, and their remnants dispersed with bayonet and grenade.

Yesterday's French counterattacks met great bodies of the enemy prepared to force another advance. Four divisions were found to be ranged in a space of two miles. Hence the frightful intensity of the combat and the abnormal slaughter.

The French tanks did very good service, and fleets of airplanes, British as well as French, swept down upon the battlefield before and behind our infantry, dropping bombs and raining down volleys of bullets wherever a group of enemy soldiers was seen. The numerical inferiority of the French was thus made good.

The block of wooded hills was very difficult to defend, even if the enemy had got no further than Mareuil. The woods prevented long views and open fields of fire; the deep ravines invited infiltrations; the Oise Valley at the back left supply and relief columns open to the German guns, and the Matz Valley, on the west, was the plain path of envelopment. These are the reasons why this corner was not held longer.

Among the wheat and beet fields of the gently rolling plateau further west, on the other hand, the defense had more advantage. There are folds of ground enough to hide



First parade of United States National Army men in London. The photograph shows them rounding the corner at Hyde Park

(© Central News Photo Service)



General Philipot of the French Army decorating American officers who distinguished themselves in opposing the German advance in Picardy
(French Pictorial Service.)

its batteries and reserves, but in every direction there are open lines of fire, room for manoeuvre and numerous railroads. Striking northeast from the Estrées Railway, the French threaten the German centre.

To continue the southward march, even if it were possible, before this pressure on the west had been disposed of would be reckless. Hutier has met his match.

THE COMPIEGNE THRUST

On June 13 General von Hutier made a threatening thrust toward Compiègne, which was parried by the French and was practically the termination of further serious efforts in this phase by the Germans. Mr. Perris tells the story of it as follows:

South of the Aisne the high, bare farmlands extending from Soissons to the borders of the forest of Compiègne are cut by a valley running up from the other great forest of Villers-Cotterets to the river at Ambleny. This valley, with the villages of Laversine, Coeuvre, Cutry, Dommiers, and St. Pierre-Aigle, has constituted the front for the last fortnight, with French outposts on the east side, but the real line of resistance on the west.

Von Hutier having met with trouble beyond his expectations on the west of the Oise, his colleague, von Boehm, was sent yesterday morning to create a diversion on this flank of the battlefield. Five divisions, two of them fresh ones, were thrown forward on both sides of Laversine, a front of four miles.

Though outnumbered, the French have given a fine account of themselves, breaking repeated assaults of the enemy, who is reported to have got into the villages of Coeuvre and St. Pierre, a feat more than counterbalanced by the French advance at Damard, further south on the border of Villers-Cotterets Forest, and the admirable action of the Americans on the ground recently taken by them in Clignon Valley.

This, however, is not the best sign for the fifth day of the offensive. Von Hutier's thrust from the north toward Compiègne was by far the most threatening of the numerous lines of attack the German command has now opened. It has been brought to a stop by reactions of the French left and centre, and was this morning contained, as we may hope definitely, from the Mery Plateau and along the course of the Matz.

ENEMY'S FEVERISH HASTE

The feverish haste with which the enemy's attacks are multiplied as the field of the offensive is enlarged, speaks eloquently of the conscious need to bring the grand adventure to a speedy climax. But this haste involves heavy moral as well as numerical usury. Instead of a full normal period for refilling and new equipment, including rest at the rear, or in a quiet sector, and a course of fresh training being given to a division withdrawn from the line owing to its losses,

it is hurriedly reconstituted and pushed back into the 'battlefront' after as few days as possible.

Up to now the German armies have been sustained, not only by reinforcements from Russia, but by the long rest of the Winter months; otherwise they could not have accomplished what they have done. These sources of strength are being rapidly exhausted. The human material—cannon food—is failing in quality. The field depots have been emptied of recruits. Men from the depots in Germany are rushed to the front. Cavalry officers are dismounted to fill gaps in the infantry. Men detached for special work are called back to their units, and still the war god is unsatisfied.

Incorporation of the 1920 class began in April and May. Miners and mechanics are again turned into the fighting ranks, ill as they can be spared from industry. It is probable that not a division has been left in the east that would be fit for the western front. Wounded men and invalids imperfectly cured are pressed back into service. And behind the armies thus replenished there is the nation, hungry, enfeebled, terrorized, uttering words of despair even in its letters to the front. Ludendorff may well hurry!

DEFENSE OF COURCELLES

A very brief diary of the battle at a single point will give an idea of its bitter violence. The small village of Courcelles lies across the chief road of the western wing of the offensive, only about two miles from its starting point with the Montdidier-Estrées railway, and the same distance behind it. For these reasons, and because it stands on a spur of the Mery Plateau, it was certain to be a hardly contested position.

On Sunday morning, June 9, taking advantage of the cover afforded by broad fields of well-grown wheat, the Germans came up the slope from Rollot and rushed the village. At 9:40 the French re-formed and retook it, capturing 200 men and four officers. Forty minutes later a new wave was brought up from the north, but was thrown back. Some storm troops, however, got around by the rear. These were in turn repulsed.

Several hours passed in which the three streets of broken houses were put in order for a siege. At 3 P. M. a fresh attack was repulsed. Later in the afternoon the German success at Mery and Belloy resulted in Courcelles being beset on three sides, only a narrow alley of communication to the west remaining open.

The defenders now had their blood up. The reserves would soon arrive. This western flank of the battle was of the utmost importance. It had become a point of honor that the village should not be lost.

At 4:40 A. M. on Monday, after a preparatory bombardment, the next blow fell. In ten minutes its failure was evident, though

the fighting about the barbed wire continued for an hour. Three more assaults followed in the afternoon and evening. In the last of these some Germans got into the village, but they were at last driven out.

On Tuesday the heroes of this splendid defense reaped the only reward they desired. The great French counterattack definitely freed their little fortress.

TABLES TURNED

This time it was the turn of the French to win the benefits of initiative and surprise. Only a quarter of an hour was given to the French artillery for its preparation work. Tanks and infantry then went forward in alternate lines. An officer describes the advance of the tanks rolling over the green

wheatfields, while shells burst around them, as having the appearance of a battle at sea.

The allied airmen, swooping above the moving line, not only sowed death in the enemy's ranks with their machine guns, but also raced forward and dropped bombs with effect on heavy batteries in the rear, killing their crews and putting the guns out of action.

In some enemy units during this battle the men fought well. In others there have been unmistakable signs of demoralization. Such inequalities are not surprising in this crisis. The total superiority of force which a few months ago was enough to have terrified us, and which is still sufficiently serious to require every effort that can be put forth, is ebbing away.

End of Fourth Phase—Two Expert Views

All correspondents on June 14 united in the conclusion that the counterblows of the Allies and the brilliant reaction of the French from Courcelles to Mery ended the fourth phase of the great German offensive. Mr. Perris summed up the situation as follows on June 14:

The front has subsided into actions of no more than local importance. The five days' battle west of the Oise has ended for the Germans, after an advance varying from two to six miles, in a very costly reverse, and for the Allies in a brilliant success of good generalship and indomitable spirit in the ranks.

Beside the losses of the enemy, the French loss of the Thiescourt hills and the wooded part of the valley opposite is of little importance. The offensive which was to give a decision against them is far from finished, but in relation to the resistance it encounters it shows a falling, not a rising, gamut of power.

The first push toward Amiens ended in ten days, having entailed upon the Allies the sacrifice of a tract forty miles deep and serious casualties. The following attack in the north lasted about as long, but with much slighter gains. The German success on the Chemin des Dames brought the Crown Prince's vanguard to the Marne, twenty-five miles from its starting point, but that it touched much less vital ground is proved by the transfer of its centre of pressure to the Ourcq Valley near Villers-Cotterets.

From these results to those of the present week's fighting there is a marked descent, and this failure occurs in what must be accounted one of the most critical directions the enemy can pursue. The ambitious character of his design is now clear. It is not merely to divide the British from the French army and then destroy one of them, but also by a single series of converging operations to destroy them both.

His approach to Amiens as the centre of their joint communications and to Hazebrouck as the door to the Channel ports has been followed by an approach along four con-

verging lines to the region of Paris, the centre of French administrative life. In fact, the attainment of all these objectives would not end the war, for I am sure there is in France, and there probably is in the other countries concerned, a deadly resolution that it shall not be ended in any such way; that, if Paris should be destroyed—which heaven forbid—another capital shall be found, and that there shall be no surrender while there is an army on its legs.

This offensive has had two aims—to reach the crescent north and east of Paris, whence a general attack could be launched, and to draw down, disperse, and harry the allied reserves preparatory to the final "Kaiserschlacht," the crowning blow along the whole line. Its relative failure is a great encouragement.

PETAIN'S MASTERLY TACTICS

Walter Duranty, in reviewing the fourth phase of the offensive, sent the following cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES on June 13:

It has been said that the secret of Pétain's rise in three years from the position of Colonel to Commander in Chief of the French armies is his knowledge of when to launch counterattacks. The ability to select the right place and time for a sudden stroke which nullifies the enemy's gains has been the attribute of great captains throughout history, and is one of the cardinal bases of successful strategy. In that one word, counterattacks, lies the explanation of the triumphant French resistance in the present battle against vastly superior numbers—that and the indomitable courage of the defenders.

The master tactician commanding the army whose sector has been assailed has so imbued his subordinates with his own princi-

ples that there is hardly a position in the whole range of operations that the Germans have not been forced to take two or three times over. For it is not only the counter-stroke on a grand scale, like that which has won back nearly all the Germans' gains on the left wing, which counts in a struggle of this kind, where the losses inflicted on the enemy are far more important than a hill or a village saved or abandoned. It is the unexpected change from defense to attack, at the psychological moment, that has maintained the spirit of the French troops and smashed their weakened assailants just as they were thinking their success was assured.

As the situation stands today [June 13] the Allies have won a great victory in one of the hardest fought battles of the war, and a

carefully planned move in Hindenburg's desperate struggle against time has been met and nullified. The Germans have also learned to their cost that the American troops are already to be counted with. The enemy, whose morale is daily weakening under the strain of non-successes and never-ending calls upon his strength, has received a bitter reminder of the American menace, which more than any other factor is responsible for his convulsive striving after a speedy decision.

[M. Tardieu, in a cablegram June 18 to the French High Commission at Washington, stated that 80,000 Germans had been put out of action in the Noyon-Montdidier offensive, and that General von Hutier had failed completely to realize his objective—the capture of Compiègne.]

Austrians at Grips With Italians

By AUSTIN WEST

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[SEE MAP OF ITALIAN FRONT, PAGE 15]

An offensive was launched June 15, 1918, by the Austrians against the Italians with an army estimated to number 1,000,000 men. The attack was on a front from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, a distance of ninety-seven miles. The course of the struggle in the first four days indicated the failure of the drive. The details of the earlier stages of the battle are given herewith.

ACCORDING to statements of prisoners, the Austrian objectives on the first day of the attack were Bassano, eight miles down the Brenta, and Treviso, eight miles west of the Piave. The attack along the Piave from the Venetian lagoons to Montello was aimed at possession of the main roads leading to Montebelluna, Treviso, and Mestre, five miles west of Venice, thereby cutting off Venice and thrusting toward the heart of the Venetian Plain.

In the meantime General Conrad von Hoetendorf's armies from Monte Grappa to Asiago were to sweep down upon Asolo and Bassano to prevent the retreat of the 3d Italian Army from the Piave and complete the march of invasion from the north.

Austria's hopes and aims are reflected very strikingly in an Order of the Day, dated June 14, compiled from Field Marshal Boroevic's proclamation and circulated among the troops of the 3d Regiment over Commander Mitteregger's signature. A copy has just fallen into Italian hands. It runs as follows:

From the Adige to the Adriatic the Austrian Army descends into the field against Italy. All the forces and all the material of the monarchy are for the first time massed against one single enemy as the outcome of preparations begun many months ago. Tomorrow the Italian command will learn this tremendous news from the mouths of our guns. The entire

Italian front will be attacked, and to free himself from our iron grip, which will encircle his whole front, the enemy would be obliged to engage reserves far vaster than those at his disposal.

From trench warfare we shall pass to that of movement and shall occupy a country abounding in victuals and stores of every sort. Let us therefore press forward resolutely toward the City of Verona, where a century ago the august founder of our regiment stood victor against the combined armies of France and Italy.

Today, (June 17,) nevertheless, after forty-eight hours of fighting, the enemy still is held upon his first lines.

The British forces regained all the positions they held on the eve of the battle. The French contingents southeast of Asiago on Turcio Road recaptured Pennar in a bayonet charge and drove the Austrians back far beyond their starting point. Counterattacking at Cornone, our allies stopped effectually the enemy's dash toward Valstagna and took 500 prisoners. Fenilon and Moschin Mountains, overlooking the Brenta Valley, which the enemy overwhelmed in his first onrush, have also been retaken at the point of the bayonet, with 200 prisoners and forty machine guns.

Along the Piave enemy masses concentrated, chiefly on the eastern slopes on Montello and west of San Dona. In both dis-

tricts passage across the river was facilitated by a heavy rain of tear shells and smoke bombs, and amid the smoke pontoons and rafts were taken down to the water's edge. Three divisions got across from Colfosco and Ilas, fronting Nervesa, but they were hemmed around at the foot of Montello, at Fagare and Zenson, where the Austrians had penetrated some way ahead. The Italians, after thrusting them from the latter place, encircled some detachments in the river bend.

Croce Village, west of San Dona, was rewon and lost twice over, and now rests in the possession of Italian bombardiers, Bersagliere, and cyclist corps. But the best stroke of luck on the Piave occurred in the Saletto sector. Taking advantage of numerous islets at this point, where the river is nearly two miles wide, one Hungarian battalion of the 96th Regiment had safely crossed, and was being quickly followed by another. Italian gunfire smashed its boats, flinging the occupants into the water. Many were carried away and drowned in the rapid currents, while over a thousand survivors, including a Lieutenant Colonel, a Major, and thirty other officers, out of the haul of 3,000 odd prisoners taken during the day, were made captives by the Italians at that spot.

The Austrians employed such a large amount of gases that the whole battleline was enveloped in dense, impenetrable clouds. Fortunately, a heavy rain fell in that region, which lessened to some extent the effects of the gases.

The Italians fought fiercely with great dash, glad to get at the enemy after so many months of forced inactivity and with an intense desire to regain the country desecrated by the enemy's invasion.

The Austrians kept the Italians under deadly fire, especially aiming at their second lines, to prevent the arrival of reinforcements. This bombardment has small effect in the mountains, as, owing to the limited number of men one can employ at one time, these are able to protect themselves in dugouts excavated in the solid rock.

Snow, which is still lying on the mountains, is heaped up into immense mounds by the bombardment. Italian troops, clothed in white overalls to prevent their being seen against the whiteness, slowly advanced to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting.

Despite the rain, the work accomplished by the English and Italian aviators was above praise. Flying low over the enemy troops, they brought confusion and terror into their midst, intrepidly engaging the Austrians in aerial combats, and bringing down in twelve hours many enemy planes, while also collecting invaluable military information. The English and French contingents co-operated with the Italians in perfect accord and a splendid spirit of camaraderie.

Except for lack of secrecy, the Austrians organized this supreme effort of theirs better than might have been expected. It was well

planned and resolutely delivered. The credit due the Italians is all the greater for repulsing it completely in many places, containing it in others, and nowhere allowing it to break through.

The sector on which the enemy gained most ground is on the Piave. There the Austrians made three principal crossings of the river and established three bridgeheads or salients into the original Italian line.

To make this possible they blinded the Italian artillery and airplanes by using great quantities of smoke shells which covered the river and the Italian trenches on its bank with a dense black fog. Thus hidden, the Austrian patrols hurried across the water in boats and on rafts under no more than a random fire from the defense.

Having reached the western bank they pulled pontoon bridges across and pushed reinforcements rapidly forward. The most notable of these crossings was the enemy's penetration in the Montello sector, the position which the British forces held all last Winter.

This sector is the hinge between the mountain and the Piave sectors; it stands at the angle where the Piave leaves the mountains and enters the Venetian Plain. It is an isolated hog's back, 700 feet high in the middle and seven and a half miles long, running almost east and west, with the foot of its northern and eastern slopes washed by the river, its surface undulating, dotted with farms and little woods—an unusual feature—crossed from north to south by no fewer than twenty-four roads. The value of Montello to the enemy would have been that it would dominate from the flank and rear all the Italian positions defending the line of the Piave in the dead flat plain to the south.

The British, after reconquering the advanced positions, momentarily abandoned on June 15 with a view of strengthening the line, not only resisted all Austrian attempts, but counterattacked in a fashion that caused an Italian superior officer to remark: "They are slamming the gates of Italy in the face of the invader."

In a dispatch on June 19 Mr. West recorded the fact that the enemy, while maintaining pressure on the mountain front and Montello district, was redoubling his efforts on the Piave especially west of San Dona. The dispatch continues:

The Austrian hold of the last-named vicinity, also in the Zenson bend and at Saint Andrea, southeast of Montello, is being considerably weakened by the Italian artillery fire and constant counterattacks.

Saint Andrea itself, with the adjacent villages of Giavera, Bavaria, and Sovilla, has changed hands ten times over. The railroad running thence toward Montebelluna is hidden under a litter of dead bodies for a length of several kilometers. The haul of prisoners has risen from 6,000 to 9,000, General Diaz announced last night—an almost unique fact in an offensive of this nature and undoubtedly

the fruit of Italy's immediate readiness for an energetic reaction.

Stupendous acts of heroism are recorded. Gunners of an Alpine regiment stationed at the foot of Montello Hill, after being twice driven from their batteries, united themselves to some storm troops, fought the foe in a hand-to-hand encounter with daggers, and, recovering the cannon, readjusted the breechlocks, which they had taken away with them, and then fired pointblank into the adversary's ranks.

At Fagare two Hungarian battalions were annihilated amid the ruins of houses where they had taken refuge. At Candelu an enemy machine-gun corps, which had transformed

the village into a fort, were killed by Italian mountain artillery, and in the neighboring sector of Salettuol the 3d Austrian Division lost 60 per cent. of its effectiveness.

Many of the prisoners at the moment of capture present the appearance of Bedouins, being clad merely in tattered shirts, with their rifles slung over their shoulders and a dagger in their hand. Nearly all carried postcard maps marking out their journey, with a program inscribed: "June 15, halt at Treviso. June 16, occupation of Venice." They also carried little packets of money coupons printed in Italian for spending in those cities.

A German View of Germany's Effort

The Recent Offensive

[BY THE COLOGNE GAZETTE EDITOR AT GERMAN HEADQUARTERS]

THE task confronting us before the offensive seemed monstrous. What the combined and many times superior armies of the Napoleonic School and Kitchener's Army, young indeed but drawing its supplies from the resources of a world empire, had failed to accomplish against a force of almost Frederickian inferiority in numbers, this task was to be performed by the German Army, which, even after the absorption of the eastern units, was scarcely equal in strength, much less superior to the enemy. The big hammer had failed to beat down the little hammer; it was now the turn of the little hammer to pit itself against the big hammer. The German hinterland, diminutive in comparison with the continents working for the coalition, was not only to hold its own, but also to help to conquer in battle against the raw materials and industries of half Europe, America, Africa, and Asia. The German victory at Cambrai, which in a sense represented a transition from the old to a new era in the history of the war in the west, had already illuminated the difficulties that a brave and numerically superior enemy could oppose to our attack.

In contrast with the victorious confidence of our veteran defense troops—a confidence that at times excited the amazement of their own leaders—the enemy continued to contemplate the

German undertaking with inveterate skepticism. British and French prisoners captured during the Winter months indeed held out to us the prospect of achieving an initial success similar to that which their own offensive had achieved. But nowhere in the world did any one reckon upon more than the customary initial success for our enterprise.

The German High Command decided from the very outset not to fight a "battle of matériel," but to build up success upon a more ideal foundation. Numerical inferiority was to be compensated by the warlike and moral qualities peculiar to the German Army organization. The same virtues that had proved the essential cause of the enemy's defeat were to form the surest guarantees of German victory. To the undeniable bravery of the English and French storming troops was to be opposed the utmost bravery of the German tribes; the good quality of the enemy leaders was to be met by better leading on the German side, and the thorough preparation of our adversaries by one still more thorough.

As the Supreme Command could confidently reckon upon the two first as given quantities, there remained as the chief task the preparation of the attack. Unity of command and of forces, the latter non-German only in respect of a

valuable group of Austrian batteries that had been placed in the line, facilitated the tremendous work. Frictions and impediments that are inherent even in the best organized coalition armies were spared us. It is impossible to picture what was accomplished in the map rooms of the German staffs by experienced specialists in defensive warfare, who worked in silence for months, at the highest nervous pressure, in the face of

the confident expectation of the homeland and growing tension and impatience abroad. But it is certain that an altogether enormous expenditure of organizing energy was required in order to impart the method of attack; to ascertain and control the situation of the enemy; to supply the striking force with munitions and provisions; and finally to produce that masterpiece, the veiled march into line.

Addresses by the Kaiser

He Extols Militarism and Defines the Issues of the War

THE German Kaiser in two telegrams acknowledging congratulations on the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne made announcements of historic interest regarding the issues of the war and the uses of militarism. On June 17 he telegraphed to the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling:

I express cordial thanks and kind good wishes to your Excellency and the State Ministry on the day on which, thirty years ago, I ascended the throne. When I celebrated my twenty-five-year jubilee as ruler I was able, with special gratitude, to point out that I had been able to do my work as a prince of peace. Since then the world picture has changed. For nearly four years, forced to it by our enemies, we have been engaged in the hardest struggle history records. God the Lord has laid a heavy burden upon my shoulders, but I carry it in the consciousness of our good right, with confidence in our ship, our sword, and our strength, and in the realization that I have the good fortune to stand at the head of the most capable people on earth. Just as our arms under strong leadership have proved themselves invincible, so also will the home land, exerting all its strength, bear with strong will the sufferings and privations which just now are keenly felt.

Thus, I have spent this day 'midst my armies, and it moved me to the depths of my heart, yet filled with the most profound gratitude to God's mercy.

I know that Prussian militarism, so much abused by our enemies, which my forefathers and I, in a spirit of dutifulness, loyalty, order, and obedience, have nurtured, has given Germany's sword and the German Nation strength to triumph, and that victory will bring a peace which will guarantee the German life.

It will then be my sacred duty, as well as that of the States, with all our power to see to healing the wounds caused by the war and to secure a happy future for the nation. In most faithful recognition of the work hitherto performed, I rely on your approved strength and the help of the State Ministry. God bless our land and people!

In an address at Main Headquarters on June 15 he said that the war was not a matter of strategic campaign, but a struggle of two world views wrestling with each other. "Either German 'principles of right, freedom, honor, and 'morality must be upheld,' he added, 'or Anglo-Saxon principles with their 'idolatry of mammon must be victorious.'"

The Anglo-Saxons, he asserted, aimed at making the peoples of the world work as slaves for the Anglo-Saxon ruling race, and such a matter could not be decided in days or weeks, or even in a year.

The Emperor emphasized the fact that from the first he had realized that the trials of war would be great. The first outbreak of enthusiasm had not deceived him. Great Britain's intervention had meant a world struggle, whether he desired it or not. He said he was thankful that Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff had been placed at his side as counselors. Drinking to the health of the army and its leaders, the Emperor said:

The German people and army indeed are now one and the same and look up to you with gratitude. Every man out there

knows what he is fighting for, the enemy himself admits that, and in consequence we shall gain victory—the victory of the German standpoint. That is what is in question.

The Emperor referred to the period of peace, which he described as “twenty-six years of profitable but hard work, though they could not always be regarded as successful in a political respect and had brought disappointments.”

His interests had been centred in the work connected with the development of the army and the effort to maintain it at the level at which it had been intrusted to him. Now, in time of war, he could not better celebrate the day than under the same roof with the Field Marshal and his faithful, highly gifted Generals and General Staff. The Emperor continued:

In peace time in the preparation of my army for war my grandfather's war comrades gradually passed away, and as the German horizon gradually darkened, many a German, and not the least I, hoped with assurance that God would in this danger place the right man at our side. Our hope has not been disappointed.

In your Excellency and in you, General Ludendorff, Heaven bestowed upon the German Empire and the German Army and staff men who are called upon in these great times to lead the German people in arms in its decisive struggle for existence and the right to live, and with its help to gain victory.

He sent the following telegram to the Crown Prince:

Under your leadership the armies of Generals von Boehm, von Below, and von Hutier have severely defeated the enemy and shattered the storm of his hurriedly brought-up army reserves. Eighty-five thousand prisoners and more than 1,000 guns are the outward signs of this tremendous battle success. To you and the participating commanders and troops I express my thanks and those of the Fatherland. The fighting spirit and fighting strength of my incomparable troops guarantee our final victory. God will further help.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in congratulating the Emperor on behalf of the army, extolled the Emperor's “wise care for peace” during the first twenty-six years of his reign and Germany's brilliant progress in all works of peace in that period. If the German Army and people had been able for nearly four years in the face of a world of enemies to show such proof of their strength and right to existence as never yet in history had been demanded and given in such measure, he added, they also owed this to their war lord, who had indefatigably watched over the fighting efficiency of his armies. The Field Marshal renewed the unswerving loyalty until death of Germany's sons at the front, and concluded:

“May our old motto, ‘Forward with God for King and Fatherland, for Kaiser and Empire,’ result in many years of peace being granted to your Majesty after our victorious return home.”

* Demoralization and Crime in Germany

Evidence that the war has brought a great increase of crime in Germany is forthcoming in many forms. At a conference held in Berlin early in 1918 to discuss “public insecurity” in all parts of Germany, it was stated that most of the burglaries and other crimes were committed during the nights between Friday and Monday. Statistics were given of the payments made by companies which issue insurance policies against burglary and theft. Payments on account of burglaries increased from \$400,000 in 1914 to \$1,100,000 in 1916, and to about \$5,000,000 in 1917. Compensation for stolen goods to the amount of nearly \$15,000,000 was paid by the Prussian railways in 1917, as compared with a total of only \$1,050,000 in 1914.

Owing to the constant thefts of food in Berlin an official order has been issued that no wheat or flour is to be moved through the streets after dark. The theft of letters is becoming more and more common. One night nineteen letter-boxes in Charlottenburg were broken open, and the letters were destroyed after the postage stamps had been torn off. Owing to frequent thefts of letters at a small town named Mittenwalde, the Postmaster laid a trap for the thief, with the result that his own wife has been sent to prison for six months.

The U-Boat Raid in American Waters

Twenty Vessels, Mostly in the Coastwise Trade, Sunk
Off the New Jersey and Virginia Coasts

ONE or more German submarines—the number was not definitely established—appeared off the coast of the United States on May 25, 1918, and began sinking merchant ships on a large scale. Up to June 20 more than twenty steamers and sailing vessels, mostly of American register, had been sent to the bottom.

This was the second visit of an armed German submarine to the American side of the Atlantic for hostile action. In October, 1916, before the United States entered the war, the U-53 held up coastwise traffic off Nantucket and sank four British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian ship. The U-53 had been preceded by the merchant submarine Deutschland, which arrived at Baltimore on July 9, 1916, from Bremen and returned with a cargo of nickel and rubber. The Deutschland made a second trip, arriving at New London, Conn., in October.

The appearance off the American coast of the unidentified submarine, or submarines, which made the raid on American and neutral shipping in May and June, 1918, was not altogether unexpected. For several weeks the American naval authorities had been searching for U-boats in home waters in consequence of a dispatch from the British Admiralty stating that two German submarines of the latest type, with a cruising capacity of 10,000 miles, had left the North Sea and were observed proceeding westward, probably in an attempt to cross the Atlantic.

The first information that German U-boats were conducting a transatlantic campaign was brought to New York City on June 4 by Captain Humphrey G. Newcombe and the ten members of the crew of the American four-masted schooner Edward H. Cole, which was sunk with bombs on the afternoon of June 2, fifty miles southeast of Barnegat, N. J. All were agreed that the U-boat was about

200 feet long, of more than 20 feet beam, and with 5 feet freeboard, that it carried a three-inch gun fore and aft, and a one-pounder quick-firer amidships, and that it had a speed of 17 knots. The mate of the Edward H. Cole told how he had noticed a submarine moving around the vessel at a high speed and believed that it was an American craft with Naval Reserve cadets on board, who were trying to have some fun with the sailors of the merchant ship.

"I thought," the mate continued, "that it would be a good idea to have a little fun with our skipper, who had turned in for a nap in his cabin, and I yelled down the skylight, 'Tumble up on deck lively, Cap! There's a big German submarine close astern, getting ready to attack us.' Then I took the marine glasses and looked through them at the stern of the U-boat, where her ensign was flapping limply against the short flagstaff. For a moment or two I could not make out her nationality, and then a gust of wind came and blew the ensign straight so that I could see that it was the German flag, and then I shouted in earnest to Captain Newcombe, 'It's no joke this time. By gosh, she is a German submarine!'"

The schooners Hattie Dunn and Edna were the first vessels sunk—on May 25. Their crews, as well as that of the schooner Hauppauge, which was sunk three days later, numbering twenty-three men, were taken on board the submarine and kept prisoner there for eight days. When the tank steamer Isabel Wiley was sunk, on June 2, the twenty-three prisoners were placed, with the crew of the Isabel Wiley, in the tanker's four boats and left to find their way to the shore. They were picked up by a coastwise steamer and brought safely back to land.

Captain Charles E. Holbrook of the Hattie Dunn, the first skipper to en-

counter the U-boat, thus described his experience:

We left New York for Charleston in ballast on May 23, and when, two days later, we were about fifteen miles south of Winter Quarter Lightship bowling along under an eight-knot breeze, I heard a shell pass near the vessel. Then another shell, which fell perhaps a quarter of a mile away. I was not taking much notice, because I believed the vessel which I saw about two miles away was an American submarine at target practice.

A third shell exploded close by us on the weather quarter, and I knew that, whoever it was, wanted us to stop. I brought the vessel up into the wind. The submarine, with her superstructure and conning tower showing plainly above the water, came within two hundred yards, and I saw that she was flying the two code letters "A B," meaning "stop immediately."

From a small staff at the rear end of the superstructure fluttered a small flag of the Imperial German Navy. An officer and three men came over in a small boat, not over twelve feet long. In perfect English the officer told us to get into our boats and that we had but ten minutes allotted to us to get clear of our vessel. They placed bombs along the sides of our vessel and blew her up immediately, in the meantime putting an armed German sailor on board the small boat in which were seven men and myself. This did not give me time to rescue my personal effects and nautical instruments. My men only saved what they stood in.

Perhaps I would have been given more time if the commander of the submarine had not seen the Hauppauge under full sail about four or five miles away. Like us the Hauppauge was light, and, I understand, was bound from Portland to Newport News. He destroyed Captain Sweeney's fine new schooner after ordering him and his crew to take to their boats, and within a half hour both crews were on board the submarine and both the small boats had been placed on the submarine's deck and lashed down.

ON BOARD THE U-BOAT

Captain C. M. Gilmore of the Edna said that when he was stopped by the U-boat an officer came aboard and told him he had ten minutes to abandon ship. During the week he was on board the submarine, Captain Gilmore said the Americans were treated with such extreme courtesy by the Germans that it

was evident that the whole matter was being done under orders with the hope of having an effect on American public opinion. Captain Gilmore added:

The officers of the submarine included a spare Captain who was apparently on hand to take charge of any prize that might be worth while turning into a raider, the commander of the U-boat itself, and two others. These gave up their berths to me and the master of the Hattie Dunn, and the Germans of the crew gave up their bunks to the sailors and slept in hammocks themselves. The officers gave us wines, cordials, and fine cigars, and in general treated us with such marked hospitality that it seemed apparent that they were carrying out a course that had been laid upon them. The commander said that he had fuel and supplies for a month in American waters and intended to stay here for that time before going back.

The Carolina, a 5,000-ton passenger steamship belonging to the New York and Porto Rico Steamship Line, which was sunk at 6 P. M. on June 2, had on board the largest number of persons of any of the ships destroyed. Passengers and crew numbered 331. All escaped except seven out of the twenty-six who were put on board on a motor launch. The launch encountered a heavy storm and overturned. Christian Nelson, Chief Engineer of the Carolina, who was in charge of the launch, after a great effort managed to right it, but in the meanwhile seven persons had disappeared in the sea. With the aid principally of a young Porto Rican girl, who did not understand English, but who behaved very intelligently and bravely, Nelson kept the launch afloat, although it was waterlogged and the engine would not work. The launch was finally picked up by a British freighter, which took the survivors into Lewes, Del. The rest of the passengers and crew of the Carolina were picked up by other vessels and safely landed. Some of the survivors were more than twenty hours at sea in open boats.

LIST OF VESSELS SUNK

The complete list of ships attacked up to June 20 is as follows:

Jacob H. Haskell, schooner, 1,362 tons.
Isabel B. Wiley, schooner, 611 tons.
Hattie Dunn schooner, 365 tons.

Edward H. Cole, schooner, 1,791 tons, subsequently raised and saved.

Herbert L. Pratt, tank steamer, 7,200 tons.

Carolina, passenger steamer, 5,093 tons.

Winneconne, freighter, 1,869 tons.

Hauppauge, auxiliary schooner, 1,500 tons.

Edna, schooner, 325 tons, subsequently towed in.

Texel, steamship, 3,210 tons.

Samuel M. Hathaway, schooner, 1,038 tons.

Samuel C. Mengel, schooner, 700 tons, unconfirmed.

Edward Baird, schooner, 279 tons.

Eidsvold, Norwegian steamship, 1,570 tons.

Harpathean, British steamship, 4,588 tons.

Vinland, Norwegian steamship, 1,143 tons.

Desauss, schooner, 500 tons.

Pinar del Rio, steamship, 2,504 tons.

Vindeggen, Norwegian steamship, 2,632 tons.

Henrik Lund, Norwegian steamship, 4,322 tons.

One seagoing and two coal barges, which struck mines.

All the ships mentioned were sunk except the Herbert L. Pratt and the Edna. Most of them were destroyed by bombs placed alongside after the crews had left. In some cases gunfire was used. The submarine also laid mines, which caused some damage. The commander of the submarine was reported as saying that he was saving his torpedoes for bigger

ships. With the exception of the British and Norwegian vessels all were American. The raid extended along the coast from within a couple of hundred miles of New York southward as far as the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

HUNTING THE RAIDER

As soon as the first news was received that a submarine campaign was being conducted off the American coast, prompt action was taken by the Navy Department. Destroyers, submarine chasers, and airplanes were sent out in large numbers to patrol the coast and search the neighboring waters, but the U-boat eluded detection. New York Harbor was temporarily closed, and, though there was no indication of the presence of hostile airplanes, the lighting of the city was for several nights diminished by darkening the main thoroughfares. There were rumors that the submarine either had a "mother ship" or was using a base on the Mexican coast. Marine insurance rates were not raised, but the officers of vessels in the coastwise trade were granted a bonus by the Shipping Board.

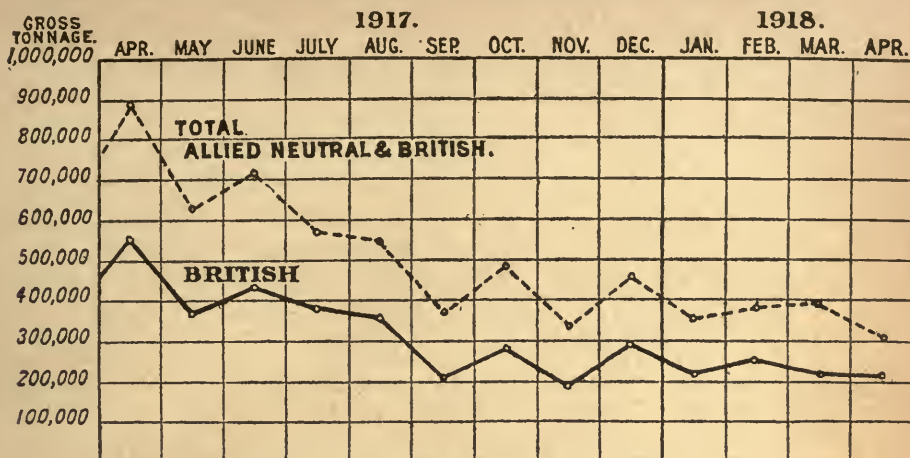
Other Submarine Activities of the Month

The British Admiralty's official statement of all losses of shipping during the month of April, 1918, shows that 220,709 tons of British and 84,393 tons of allied and neutral vessels, a total of 305,102 tons, were destroyed by submarines and lost by accident. The total for the preceding month was 381,631 tons. In April, 1917, the total losses amounted to 893,877. April, 1918, showed the lowest figures for any month since the beginning of 1917. Another satisfactory feature of the situation was that 40,000 tons more shipping was built by Great Britain and the United States than was lost during the month.

Georges Leygues, the French Minister of Marine, informed the Army and Navy War Committees of the Senate on May 25 that the means employed to rid the seas of submarines had become increasingly effective since January and had given decisive results. Tremendous

strides had recently been made by the Allies in repairing ships damaged by torpedoes or mines. The Minister added that co-ordination between the allied nations had become so smooth during the past four months that the tonnage restored to the sea exceeded 500,000 weekly. Great Britain had repaired 598,000 tons in one week recently, while France had effected repairs upon 260,000 tons in one month. The increased building and more efficient and speedier repair work were constantly bringing better results in the transport of troops and supplies.

Twelve German submarines were sunk or captured in British waters by the American and British destroyers during the month of April, which was a record. This means that twelve U-boats were officially reported and recognized as sunk and that evidence, either a cap



A YEAR'S DECLINE IN SHIPPING LOSSES

bearing the name of the submarine, a portion of the craft, or a live or dead German, was produced when each case was recorded.

In addition to this number, at least two other U-boats were destroyed during that period. One was sunk on April 8 in the North Sea while making an attack on a convoy to Holland. Another U-boat, making the total fourteen, was sunk on Friday, April 26, during the forenoon while attempting to attack a convoy of transports filled with American troops on the way to France. In the case of these two U-boats no debris or other direct evidence was recovered, and the British Admiralty accordingly withheld official recognition.

Senator Swanson of Virginia, a member of the Senate Naval Committee, made the statement on June 7 that the allied and American naval forces had destroyed 60 per cent. of all German submarines constructed. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts on June 15 said that since Jan. 1, 1918, the United States Navy had sunk twenty-eight German submarines.

The American troop transport President Lincoln, 18,168 gross tons, was sunk by a German submarine on May 31 while returning under convoy from Europe.

The ship was struck simultaneously by three torpedoes and sank in eighteen minutes. Three other vessels were in company with her at the same time. The crew and passengers abandoned the ship in excellent order. All passengers, including the sick, were saved. One of the American destroyers which went to the rescue saved 500 persons, and another destroyer the remainder of the survivors. The number missing was twenty-seven, comprising four officers and twenty-three enlisted men. One of the officers was taken prisoner by the submarine.

The British armed mercantile troopship Moldavia, with American troops on board, was torpedoed and sunk on May 23. Of the American soldiers fifty-six were reported by the British Admiralty as "unaccounted for." The British transport Ausonia was torpedoed and sunk on May 26. Forty of the officers and crew were reported missing. The British transport Leasowe Castle was torpedoed and sunk by an enemy submarine May 26 in the Mediterranean. Thirteen military officers and seventy-nine of other ranks, and of the ship's company the Captain, two wireless operators, and six of other ratings were drowned.

Out of the Sleep of Death

Rescue of a Submarine Crew Imprisoned Fathoms Deep for Three Days

BY an act which must stand among the most heroic in the records of the war, Commander Francis H. H. Goodhart sacrificed his life to save the crew of a British submarine, fast in the mud in thirty-eight feet of water. It was in the first week of May, 1918, that the commander's vessel found itself in this perilous plight. When the air supply of the imprisoned men was about exhausted, Goodhart entered the conning tower, giving instructions that he was to be blown upward in the hope of reaching the surface and bringing aid to the imperiled crew. As he entered the tower with the senior officer a small tin cylinder containing instructions for rescuers was fastened to his belt, and the commander's last words were: "If I don't get up, the cylinder will."

Air at high pressure had been forced into the conning tower, and the lid was opened. Taking a deep breath, Commander Goodhart was shot upward, but he struck a portion of the superstructure and was killed.

The senior officer, who had intended to remain in the submarine, was forced from the tower by the air pressure and reached the surface safely. The remainder of the crew was rescued soon afterward. A posthumous reward of the Albert Medal for gallantry in saving life at sea was conferred on Commander Goodhart.

The sufferings of the crew were thus described by one of the rescued sailors in a letter to *The London Telegraph*:

When the first night of imprisonment passed, and it appeared from our watches—we had artificial light enough to see the time—that the dawn of a new day had come with no sign of release, some of the company threatened to chuck hope. But others of us put as bright a face on a black outlook as we could, and gave them such cheer as a waterless and breadless situation would allow. Of course, too, we had to remember that our air supply was running out.

Speak of dropping sovereigns down a well! Every tick of my watch I knew was as a lost sovereign, so far as air was concerned. But those of us who were blessed with big batteries of optimism did our best to distribute the current, and so the time dragged on. Then a great thing happened. Two heroes came forward and offered to risk all in an attempt to win to the surface. All honor to them! How they did it and at what a cost may be told later on, but the thing was done, and the outer world was thus made aware of our terrible plight. That much we realized when we knew of the presence of divers about our craft. What a relief! We had been located, practical measures were being taken for our salvage, and that splendid prospect made us take in a draught of new life. Artificial light was fast failing, but hope was burning brightly, so what did it matter?

Our ordeal, as it turned out, was but a young thing as yet, however. We had still a long way to go. The day dragged through, and when we entered on the silence and uncertainty of the night we were a forlorn enough lot, I can assure you. The nerve of the toughest of us was wearing thin. My fear that it might snap suddenly all round was not realized, however, for we were given further indications, which our practical ears were not slow to catch, that the great work of rescue was well in hand. The constant tapping of the divers outside was a cheering sound, and brought hope to those of us who, in the steadily increasing stifle of the atmosphere, were now breathing hard to live.

But rescue was long delayed, and in the early hours of the following day most of us wrote our last farewell to our loved ones—short, tender messages scrawled in pencil—and some of us made our wills. Then, as if by a miracle, three strong strands in the ladder of escape came to us from above. Exactly in what manner this was made possible I cannot tell you. We got air, water, and food, in only the smallest quantities, but just enough to stir us into new life. That was a god-send as welcome as it was unexpected. And we had not to wait long for the opening of our prison door. When the details of that liberation are given it will cause surprise and congratulation everywhere. It verges on the miraculous. When we scrambled into freedom we were a dazed and shaken lot of men, but I

warrant you our hearts were full of gratitude to God for saving mercies.

It was left to others to give fuller details of the impression caused by the unexpected arrival of the three "strands" in the life ladder. The first was air—life-giving air—which was forced into the stifling compartment from above. The boon came just in time; the prisoners had had about fifty hours of captivity, their last light was burning dimly, and the atmosphere of their prison house was vile. More than one of the company had lost consciousness, but the effect of the tiny air current was instantaneous. The senseless men stirred as if in troubled sleep, and opened their eyes, breathing hard, while those of the company who had stood up to the ordeal with all their senses about them felt instantly the glorious effect of the air draught.

The second strand was water—fresh, cold water—also forced down by the splendid salvage party. The quantity was very small—only a sip to each—but, oh! the refreshment of it! "We were parched in lip and mouth and throat," said one of the prisoners, "and never was a drop of water more welcome." The third strand was food, pellets of compressed food. The salvage party had accomplished almost the impossible. And this was not their greatest achievement. It was the forcing of a way of escape for the entombed men that was the marvel. Ingenuity backed up by tireless tenacity, resourcefulness that absolutely refused

to own either defeat or despair, triumphed over difficulties that seemed insuperable.

What a picture for brush or pen is offered in the scene of rescue in the dead of night, when these dazed prisoners won once again their liberty. They came forth in single file from the prison house. Near the head of the procession was a bronzed sailor, one whose coolness in the dragging hours of extremity had done much to maintain the flickering life of his comrades. He thrust out at arm's length his oilskin, and followed with a wonderfully nimble step, thus providing the only touch of lightness in the grim tragedy.

Shelter was awaiting them, and from there they dispatched hurried messages to loved ones at home, to relieve hearts nearly broken by suspense. And a while later a grateful little company heard read to them by one of the survivors the metrical version of the 124th Psalm. They needed no preacher to interpret to them its beauty and its significance—for they had been there, and they knew:

And as fierce floods
Before them all things drown,
So had they brought
Our soul to death quite down.

* * * * *

Even as a bird
Out of the fowler's snare
Escapes away,
So is our soul set free.
Broke are their nets,
And thus escaped we.

New Records in Shipbuilding

Forty-four Ships in One Month

NEW records in the production of ships by the United States and the United Kingdom were established during the month of May, 1918. American shipyards completed and delivered to the Shipping Board forty-three steel ships and one wooden ship, representing, in the aggregate, 263,571 deadweight tons. These figures do not refer to launchings, but to ships fully equipped and ready for service. The month's work in the United States in comparison with

previous months is shown in the following table of tonnage produced:

1918.	Tons.	1918.	Tons.
January	88,507	April	160,286
February ...	123,625	May	263,571
March	172,611		

The May deliveries comprised thirty-nine requisitioned steel vessels, four contract steel and one contract wooden ship. In the last six days of the month there were delivered one wooden and fourteen steel ships, totaling 82,760 tons. The

best previous week was that ended May 4, when the deliveries totaled 80,180 tons.

Launchings kept pace with the number of ships completed. Among the vessels launched in May was the *Agawam*, the first "fabricated" ship in the world, "fabricated" being the technical term applied to ships built from numbered pieces made from patterns. Approximately 27 steel mills, 56 fabricating plants, and 200 foundries, machine, pipe, and equipment shops were engaged in the production of the parts.

On June 1 it was unofficially stated that there were in operation by the United States Government 2,200,000 deadweight tons of shipping engaged in the transportation of troops and supplies and in kindred work for the army. Reviewing the shipping situation as a whole, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, in an address on June 10, said:

On June 1 we had increased the American-built tonnage to over 3,500,000 deadweight tons of shipping. This gives us a total of more than 1,400 ships, with an approximate total deadweight tonnage of 7,000,000 now under the control of the United States Shipping Board.

In round numbers, and from all sources, we have added to the American flag since our war against Germany began nearly 4,500,000 tons of shipping.

Our program calls for the building of 1,856 passenger, cargo, and refrigerator ships and tankers, ranging from 5,000 to 12,000 tons each, with an aggregate deadweight of 13,000,000. Exclusive of these, we have 245 commandeered vessels, taken over from foreign and domestic owners, which are being completed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. These will aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 1,715,000.

This makes a total of 2,101 vessels, exclusive of tugs and barges, which are being built and will be put on the seas by the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the course of carrying out the present program, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 14,715,000.

Five billion dollars will be required to finish our program for 1918, 1919, and 1920, but the expenditure of this enormous sum will give to the American people the greatest merchant fleet ever assembled in the history of the world, aggregating 25,000,000 tons.

American workmen have made the expansion of recent months possible, and they will make possible the successful conclusion of the whole program. From

all present expectations it is likely that by 1920 we shall have close to 1,000,000 men working on American merchant ships and their equipment.

We have a total of 819 shipways in the United States. Of these, a total of 751, all of which except ninety are completed, are being utilized by the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the building of American merchant ships.

In 1919 the average tonnage of steel, wood, and concrete ships continuously building on each way should be about 6,000. If we are using 751 ways on cargo ships and can average three ships a year per way, we should turn out in one year 13,518,000 tons.

The total gross revenue of our fleet is very impressive. From the ships under the control of the Shipping Board a total gross revenue is derived of about \$360,000,000.

An appropriation of \$1,761,701,000 for the American merchant marine was provided in the Sundry Civil bill reported to the House on June 10 by the Appropriations Committee. The amount recommended for ships and shipping was \$1,282,694,000 less than the Shipping Board requested, but Chairman Sherley explained that receipts from the operation of ships could be devoted to building charges, and that no curtailment of the building program was contemplated. Of the Shipping Board total \$1,438,451,000 was for construction in this country, \$55,000,000 for building American ships abroad, \$87,000,000 for establishing shipyards, \$60,000,000 for operating ships heretofore acquired, and \$6,250,000 for recruiting and instructing ships' officers.

As the result of an agreement between the United States and Japanese Governments, twenty-three Japanese ships, aggregating 151,166 tons deadweight, have been chartered to the United States for the allied transport services. On June 4 it was announced that twelve Japanese ships, obtained either by purchase or charter, had arrived in Pacific ports and were being transferred to the Atlantic Coast.

More than 400,000 tons of ships were released to the United States and the Allies by Sweden under the terms of the commercial agreement signed at Stockholm by representatives of the two Governments. Under a *modus vivendi*, in effect for some months, the War Trade

Board had permitted exports to Sweden in sufficient quantities to meet immediate and urgent needs.

The shipbuilding situation in the United Kingdom has shown considerable improvement, as seen in the following table of merchant vessels, in gross tons, completed in British yards and entered for service:

BRITISH SHIPBUILDING

April, 1917...	69,711	November ..	158,826
May	69,773	December ...	112,486
June	109,847	January, 1918	58,568
July	83,073	February ...	100,038
August	102,060	March	161,674
September...	63,150	April	111,533
October	148,309	May	197,274

It should be noted that the British practice is to express merchant shipbuilding statistics in "gross tons," whereas in the United States and some other countries the figures are recorded in "deadweight" tons, which is a much higher figure.

The total ships completed in the shipyards of the United Kingdom during the twelve months ended May 31, 1918, were 1,406,838 gross tons. The corresponding

figures for the year ended April 30, 1917, were 1,270,337.

Raising torpedoed ships has become a considerable source of increased tonnage for the Allies. According to a report of the British Admiralty Salvage Department, made public June 17, no less than 407 ships sunk by Germans in British waters were salvaged in the years between January, 1915, and May, 1918. Up to December, 1917, 260 ships were recovered. In the first five months of 1918 the number salvaged was 147, the increased rate being due to improved methods.

Among the difficulties encountered was the danger of poisonous gases from the rotting cargoes of sunken ships, which sometimes caused the loss of lives. One salvage ship was torpedoed while working on a wreck, and sometimes the work of weeks is destroyed by one rough sea. Feats performed by the Salvage Department include the raising of a large collier sunk in twelve fathoms of water and involving a dead lift of 3,500 tons. Another vessel was raised fifteen fathoms by the use of compressed air.

American Exports Versus the U-Boats

By CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

NOTWITHSTANDING a net loss of the world's shipping, due to the usual perils of the sea as well as to enemy mines and submarines, of 2,632,279 tons from the beginning of the war to April 1, 1918, the vital trade route across the Atlantic has shown a steady increase in efficiency. Even more gratifying is the fact that in recent weeks the gain in efficiency has been accelerated.

All the essential requirements of our allies as well as of our own expeditionary forces abroad appear to be met, according to these official statistics from the Department of Commerce. For instance, exports of nitric, picric, sulphuric, and other acids, so essential in the manufacture of munitions, are going to Europe in a steadily increasing volume. Exports

of acids increased from a total value of \$10,003,647 in the calendar year 1915 to \$52,695,640 in 1917. Exports of copper, no less necessary for cartridges and other uses, to France, Italy, and Great Britain increased from 229,129,587 pounds in 1915 to 890,819,053 pounds in 1917.

The same three allies, which needed only 499,719 tons of steel billets, blooms, and ingots in the calendar year 1915, took 1,395,019 tons in 1916 and 1,847,201 tons in 1917. Exports of steel plates to the same three allies for ships, tanks, and other military uses increased similarly from 63,584,467 pounds in 1915 to 72,242,656 pounds in 1916 and 165,630,514 pounds in 1917. All Europe took but a negligible tonnage of steel rails in 1913, the last full year before the war.

France alone took 5,362 tons in 1915 and 122,858 tons in 1917. Exports of locomotives to France kept pace with the rails, increasing from 38 in 1915 to 570 in 1917, and 129 in the month of January, 1918. Exports of metal-working machinery to these three allies increased from a total value of \$29,229,683 in 1915 to \$47,666,606 in 1916 and \$54,906,405 in 1917.

Statistics on the exports of barbed wire epitomize the history of defensive works by our allies. Italy, for example, took only 2,000 pounds of that commodity in 1915. Next year her requirements jumped to 58,367,004 pounds, while last year the necessity of constructing an entirely new system of defenses in haste called for 204,972,438 pounds of American barbed wire. On the other hand, France, which needed 264,310,493 pounds of barbed wire in 1916, called for only 29,952,532 pounds in 1917.

EXPORTS OF LEAD

France, Italy, and England laid in a stock of lead from which to make bullets in 1915, the former country taking 21,234,108 pounds, Italy 5,176,794 pounds, and Great Britain 81,483,866 pounds. Next year total shipments to all three countries fell off to 23,015,071 pounds, but rose again to 59,470,181 pounds in 1917, "unrestricted" U-boat warfare to the contrary notwithstanding.

Not all exports of lead went to our allies. Although at peace, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden, each and severally, bought more American lead in 1916 than Italy needed in any one of three years of desperate fighting, total exports to these three neutrals in that year aggregating 18,113,859 pounds. Even last year, after the United States had declared war against Germany, 3,470,415 pounds of lead went to these three neutrals, all of which just happen to drive a thriving trade with Germany. The patriots who supplied this brisk neutral demand for material from which bullets are made probably would not care to trace the shipments to their ultimate effect in swelling American casualty list.

Exports of explosives, including shells and projectiles, increased from a total

value of \$188,969,893 in 1915 to \$715,575,306 in 1916. In 1917, after England and France had attained such marvelous efficiency in the production of these essentials of war, exports declined, but still reached the enormous total of \$633,734,405. Just to show that we are keeping our stride in supplying explosives to the firing line the fact may be mentioned that in spite of delays due to a lack of bunker coal in the unprecedentedly severe month of January, 1918, we shipped 2,606,297 pounds of dynamite during the month, as compared with 1,787,600 pounds in January, 1917, and 37,587,662 pounds of powder, against 36,767,984 pounds in the corresponding month of 1917.

Gasoline, the foundation on which present allied supremacy in the air is based, and which also plays so great a part in land transportation, is going to Great Britain, France, and Italy in swiftly increasing volume. Shipments to these three countries in 1915 totaled 36,936,303 gallons; in 1916, 98,178,139 gallons; in 1917, 141,327,159 gallons. As a basis of comparison it may be said that America's total exports of gasoline to all the world in 1913 amounted to only 117,728,286 gallons.

Gasoline engines are going abroad at a similar rate of increase, 50,317 being shipped in the seven months ended Jan. 31, 1918, as compared with 36,209 in the corresponding period of 1916-17.

So much has been said about submarine losses that the average man may be pardoned for accepting the German figures, which have been exaggerated from 46 to 113 per cent., and the German delusion that England is about to be "brought to her knees" by the modern form of piracy. To whatever extent this impression of Prussian frightfulness has been disseminated the submarine campaign has been a success; but right there success ends. In spite of the utmost the U-boats could do, munitions have flowed in steadily increasing volume from America to Europe, while the destructiveness of the undersea boats has as steadily declined. Furthermore, the fact must not be forgotten that not all ships sunk by submarines have been east-

VISCOUNT HALDANE



British War Secretary from December, 1905, to June, 1912, when he
became Lord High Chancellor

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

GERMAN COMMANDERS ON WEST FRONT



General von Hutier



General Sixt von Arnim



General von Boehn



General von der Marwitz

bound with cargoes of munitions for the Allies. Some have been lost on the westward voyage; others have been laden with grain for the starving Belgians, or for neutrals which have developed such an astonishing appetite for lard, lead, and other things of which Germany stands in need; still others have been hospital ships.

If any further evidence of America's great part in the war, irrespective of participation by American troops in the fighting, is needed it can be found in statistics of exports of foodstuffs to the Allies, who have been obliged to depend more and more upon this country for the necessities of life.

Exports of wheat flour to France in the calendar year 1915 were 2,392,952 barrels; in 1916, 2,263,990 barrels; in 1917, 2,659,328 barrels. Italy called for 148,999 barrels of American wheat flour in 1915 and 1,494,816 barrels in 1917, while Great Britain's requirements were 3,269,262 barrels in the former year and 4,808,141 barrels in the latter.

Our total exports of fresh beef to all the world in 1913 were only 6,580,123 pounds. In 1915 we sent Great Britain, France, and Italy 256,198,283 pounds. In 1916 exports to these three countries fell off to 160,879,642 pounds, but rose again to 172,940,833 pounds, in spite of von Tirpitz's unrestricted destructiveness.

In 1913 France took only 716,266 pounds of American bacon; but in 1915 the demand jumped to 52,044,475 pounds, increasing still further to 60,606,802 pounds in 1916 and to 73,195,974 pounds in 1917. Great Britain, which got along with 145,269,456 pounds of American bacon in 1913, needed 284,783,009 pounds in 1916 and 341,674,452 pounds in 1917. In the same period exports of hams and shoulders to France increased more than twelvefold and to Great Britain more than a third.

Exports of lard to France, Italy, and Great Britain increased from a total of 200,490,003 pounds in 1913 to 210,139,760 pounds in 1915 and 224,683,384 pounds in 1916. In 1917 exports to these three countries fell to 189,024,889 pounds. It is an interesting coincidence that Holland, whose appetite for Ameri-

can lard was fully satiated by 38,313,677 pounds in 1913, and which was able to skimp along with a trifle more than 20,000,000 pounds a year during the first two years of the world war, required 64,888,545 pounds in 1917, when Germany's need for fats grew desperate.

Exports of sugar have gone forward to the Allies on the same vast scale. In 1913 our entire export trade absorbed only 14,995,232 pounds of sugar. In 1915 we sent to Great Britain, France, and Italy alone 860,456,311 pounds; in 1916, 1,126,022,067 pounds; in 1917, 519,881,377 pounds. No wonder the sugar bowl disappeared from the American restaurant table last Fall and still remains in strict seclusion!

SOLDIERS AND CHEWING GUM

Not only have we been rendering the Allies a useful service by supplying so important a portion of their necessary food and munitions of war, but we have been for some months forwarding troops to the battleline. No figures are given out regarding movements of troops, but there is a significant bit of evidence in the monthly summaries of foreign commerce which proves that the number of American fighters abroad must be very large. As the Government has published this evidence, there can be no harm in referring to it here.

Gum is not chewed by Europeans, but seems to be regarded as a necessary of life in the United States, if the wagging jaws to be seen in street cars and other public places are any indication. Well, according to Government figures, no chewing gum whatever was exported in 1915; but in the calendar year 1917 the value of chewing gum exported was \$1,403,888! The figures given, being at wholesale prices, represent upward of 176,000,000 cuds! Even on the most liberal allowance; so vast a quantity would supply a great many fighting men.

Viewed from another standpoint, these chewing-gum statistics are even more encouraging. If the shortage of cargo space to allied ports were as desperate as Germany's press agents would have us believe, it does not seem reasonable to

suppose that any part of it would be frittered away on chewing gum in such formidable quantities. This conviction is strengthened by the discovery that exports of candy have increased one-third in the three calendar years of war, to a total of \$2,108,081 in 1917.

Most gratifying of all is the fact that despite the utmost endeavors of the submarines, and notwithstanding upward of 3,000 strikes in American shipyards last year, the capacity and efficiency of transatlantic shipping increases from day to day not only positively but also negatively by the withdrawal of the heavy tonnage formerly serving enemy countries through contiguous neutral nations.

True, exports fell off somewhat for the eight months ended Feb. 28, 1918; but Europe received 63 per cent. of the total. Now when Europe is spoken of it means substantially England, France, and Italy. Russia obtained very little in those eight months, and Germany's neutral neighbors still less. The shrinkage in the volume of supplies to our fighting partners was not so much on account of anything the submarines could do as because of the temporary breakdown of our own system due to extraordinarily severe weather and to other causes.

Now the weather handicap has been lifted, our industrial machine has been geared up and more ships have been placed where they could render the most effective service. While in February, 1918, we could send our allies only 750,000 tons of food, which was 50,000 tons less than their minimum requirements, in the next month this was increased to 1,100,000 tons.

OUR NEW MERCHANT MARINE

After having the decadence of the American merchant marine dinned into our ears for decades, we may be pardoned for gloating over the way this same merchant marine has come back under the stress of war. Of total imports worth \$1,778,596,695 in 1915, goods valued at \$342,796,714 arrived in vessels flying the American flag. In 1917 the value of goods arriving in American vessels had increased to \$732,814,858. The increase was the greatest shown by ships of any

nation, and the total value was the highest for any, British ships ranking second with imports valued at \$693,565,240. This was a decrease of only \$7,000,000 from 1915, in spite of all the U-boats could do. French ships, fighting the same sneaking foe, were actually able to increase the value of goods delivered at American ports from \$70,275,445 in 1915 to \$102,346,317 in 1917, considerably more than making up for the decrease in imports arriving under British and Italian flags. In the seven months ended Jan. 31, 1918, nearly 29 per cent. of all imports arrived in ships flying the American flag.

And the efficiency curve is still climbing. Up to April 10 America, by restricting imports, withdrawing ships from less essential trade routes, and by obtaining neutral tonnage by agreement—in other words, by good management—had been able to place 2,762,605 tons of shipping in the transatlantic service to carry food, munitions, and men to France. Of this total, 2,365,344 tons were under American registry. By skillful handling in port at both ends of the route the efficiency of this tonnage had been increased 20 per cent., which was equivalent to adding more than 400,000 tons to the carrying capacity of the fleet as compared with normal times.

These figures include very little of the 500,000 tons of Dutch shipping requisitioned, and none at all of the 250,000 tons Japan has promised to contribute during the Summer. Neither do they include any of the tonnage of England and the other allies which the American Shipping Control Committee has the power to reroute, nor yet do they take into consideration any of the tonnage under way or to be built in American shipyards, nor the 200,000 tons Japan has agreed to build for us as soon as we can deliver the plates; for this article deals only with conditions as they now exist.

To sum up, the shipping situation, as disclosed by Government statistics, is far more satisfactory than current comment would lead one to believe. If it is not all we could wish, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Germany is much more dissatisfied with it than we are.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From
May 18, 1918, Up to and Including June 18, 1918

UNITED STATES

President Wilson signed the new selective draft bill on May 20, and issued a proclamation designating June 5 as the day when all young men who had reached the age of 21 since June 5, 1917, should register. Figures given out by the War Department on June 15 indicated that 744,865 men had responded. On May 23, Major Gen. Crowder announced that an amendment to the law, compelling men not engaged in a useful occupation either to apply themselves to some form of labor contributing to the general good, or to enter the army, would become effective July 1.

On May 27 President Wilson addressed the Congress urging the enactment of a new revenue bill during the present session. Hearings were begun at once by the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The German Government on April 20 offered to free Siegfried Paul London, an alleged American, held in custody by the Germans in Warsaw, in exchange for the release of Captain Franz von Rintelen, and threatened reprisals against Americans in Germany in case the offer was refused. Secretary Lansing, on June 4, sent a reply through the Swiss Minister, flatly refusing to comply with the demand, and indicated that if reprisals were undertaken the United States would retaliate.

Indictments charging conspiracy to commit treason against the United States and to commit espionage were returned on June 7 against Jeremiah A. O'Leary, John T. Ryan, Willard Robinson, Emil Kipper, Albert Paul Fricke, Lieutenant Commander Hermann Wessels, and the Baroness Maria von Kretschmann, reported to be a kinswoman of the German Empress. Dr. Hugo Schweitzer and Rudolph Binder, now dead, were also named in the indictment. O'Leary, who had fled from justice after being indicted for conspiracy in connection with the publication of *The Bull*, was taken into custody in Washington on June 12.

General Peyton C. March announced on June 15 that over 800,000 men had been sent abroad.

A supplementary note from the Netherlands Government was delivered to the State Department on May 22, contending that Secretary Lansing's reply to the original protest against the seizure by the United States Government of Dutch merchant shipping in American ports did not fully answer the objections.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

German submarines began to raid shipping off the eastern coast of the United States on May 25. On June 3 it became known that twelve ships had been sunk. They were the schooners Hattie W. Dunn, the Edward H. Cole, the Edward Baird, the Isabel B. Wiley, the Samuel C. Mengel, the Samuel W. Hathaway, and the auxiliary schooner Hauppauge, and the steamships Texel, Winneconne, and the Carolina. Twelve lives were lost on the Carolina. The schooner Edward was attacked, but was saved and towed to port. Mines were set afloat by the submarines, and the tanker Herbert L. Pratt struck a mine off the Delaware Capes, but was raised and saved. Precautions were taken at once to guard against air raids on New York City and other places near the coast.

On June 4 the Norwegian steamship Eibsvord was sunk off the Virginia Capes, and an American destroyer interrupted an attack on the French steamer Radioline about sixty-five miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The British steamer Harpathian was sunk off the Virginia Capes without warning on June 6, and the next day the Norwegian steamer Vinland was sunk in the same area.

On June 9 the American steamer Pinar del Rio was sunk seventy-five miles off the coast of Maryland.

Two Norwegian steamers, the Vindeggen and the Henrik Lund, were sunk on June 10 100 miles east of Cape Charles, and on the same day an American transport fired at a U-boat off the New Jersey coast.

Germany announced on June 9 that seven submarines were operating in American waters.

The sinking of two Norwegian barks, the Krinsjoa and the Samoa, off the Virginia coast was announced on June 16.

The American oil tanker William Rockefeller was sunk in European waters on May 18. Three lives were lost.

The American troops transport President Lincoln, bound for the United States, was sunk in the naval war zone on May 31. Four officers and twenty-three men were lost.

The Argonaut, an American ship, was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands on June 5.

The Irish steamer Inniscarra was sunk on May 24 on the way from Fishguard to Cork. Thirty-seven members of the crew were reported missing. Another Irish ship, the Innisfallen, was sunk in British waters on June 7 and eleven lives were

lost. News was received on June 14 that an Irish fishing fleet of about twenty ships was torpedoed on May 31 between County Down and the Isle of Man.

The sinking of the British steamer *Ellaston* was announced on June 6. On June 12 announcement was made that the British transport *Ausonla* had been torpedoed in the Atlantic while on her way westward.

The *Köningen Regentes*, a hospital ship, was sunk off the English Coast, June 6.

The Swedish steamer *New Sweden* was torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea on May 30, and on June 14 word was received that the Swedish steamship *Dora* had been sunk without warning and nine members of the crew killed.

An American ship arriving at an Atlantic port from the war zone on June 1 reported that an American destroyer had sunk two submarines within a half hour. A British transport, arriving at an Atlantic port on June 8, reported that she had sunk two U-boats, and two British ships that reached the United States on June 11, each reported the sinking of one U-boat. Senator Weeks announced on June 15 that twenty-eight submarines had been sunk by the American Navy since Jan. 1.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

May 18-24—Brisk raiding operations in all sectors, with varying success.

May 27—Germans resume their great offensive by delivering a terrific blow on a forty-mile front from around Vauxaillon nearly to Rheims and take the Chemin des Dames and attack the French lines on the northern flank of the Lys salient between Voormezele and Locre; Americans drive Germans back at three points in Picardy; long-range guns renew the bombardment of Paris; three persons killed, fourteen injured.

May 28—Americans take Cantigny; Germans advance about six miles on a nine-mile front from Vauxaillon to Cauroy, take many towns, cross the Aisne and the Vesle Rivers, and drive a wedge to Fismes; Allies re-establish their line on the Lys-Ypres front east of Dickebusch Lake.

May 29—Germans take Soissons; Allies, with their centre forced back four miles, retire across the Vesle River and fall back on Rheims; Americans repulse three counterattacks at Cantigny; British make a successful raid southeast of Arras; French repulse a local attack north of Kemmel.

May 30—Germans held at both flanks near Soissons and Rheims; gain four miles in drive toward the Marne, take Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly; Americans defeat all attempts of the Germans to recover ground near Cantigny; French better their positions north of Kemmel; German

attack near Festubert fails; German long-range gun resumes bombardment of Paris despite British promise not to carry out air raids on German cities on Corpus Christi Day.

May 31—Germans reach the Marne in an eight-mile drive, and are closing in on Château-Thierry; Americans make successful raid in the Woivre region and penetrate German line near Toul to a depth of 400 meters.

June 1—Germans turn west in their drive toward Paris, push forward along the Ourcq River six miles or more into the area beyond Neuilly and Chony, beat back the French between Hartennes and Soissons, press on northwest of Soissons, reaching Nouvron and Fontenoy, and attack east of Rheims.

June 2—French counterattacks slow up German drive between Soissons and Château-Thierry; Germans occupy Longport, Corcy, Faverolles, and Troesnes, but lose them all; Germans in possession of the eastern half of Château-Thierry; French hold the western half and recover ground southwest of Rheims.

June 3—Germans make slight gains west of Nouvron and Fontenoy, take Chaudun, and push ahead slightly west of Château-Thierry; French retake Faverolles north of the Ourcq.

June 4—American troops, co-operating with the French west of Château-Thierry, check the Germans, beating off repeated attacks and inflicting severe losses; Germans thrown back at all points except in the neighborhood of Veully-la-Poterie; British recover Thillois, southwest of Rheims.

June 5—Americans beat off two more attacks on the Marne battlefield; German advance checked all along the line; attempt to cross the Oise near Montala-gache fails; French regain ground north of the Aisne near Vingre; British repulse a raid near Marlaucourt.

June 6—American and French troops advance two-thirds of a mile in the neighborhood of Veully-la-Poterie; American marines gain two and a sixth miles on a two and a half mile front northwest of Château-Thierry; Germans recapture ruins of Locre Hospice.

June 7—American marines drive on two and one-half miles northwest of Château-Thierry, storm Torcy and Boursches, and take Veully-la-Poterie in co-operation with the French.

June 8—Germans resume shelling near Montdidier; Americans again attack near Torcy and hold Boursches against fresh assault; French push on north of Veully, reach the outskirts of Dammard, gain east of Chezy, and retake Locre Hospice.

June 9—Germans begin new offensive on a front of twenty miles extending from Montdidier to Noyon, and gain two and a half miles in the centre; Americans

again repulse the enemy near Veully; Germans pound British positions between Villers-Bretonneux and Arras; Paris again shelled by long-range guns.

June 10—American marines penetrate German lines for about two-thirds of a mile on a 600-yard front in the Belleau Wood; Germans gain two and a half miles around Ressons and Mareuil.

June 11—French deliver two counterblows in the centre and left of the Noyon-Montdidier line, drive Germans back between Rubescourt and St. Maur, regaining Belloy, Senlis Wood, and the heights between Courcelles and Mortemer, and regain Antheuil, but lose Ribecourt, and are forced to give ground along the Oise, as German drive to the Matz River flanks their position; Americans take Belleau Wood; Australians drive Germans back half a mile on a mile and a half front between Sully-Laurette and Morlancourt; Americans gain at Château-Thierry and cross the Marne.

June 12—French make further advances between Belloy and St. Maur, on the left of the Montdidier-Noyon line; Germans gain a foothold on the southern bank of the Matz River, occupying Melicocq and adjoining heights, and advance east of the Oise and on the Aisne flank; French win further ground east of Veully, and occupy Montcourt and the southern part of Bussières.

June 13—French make successful counter-attack against the German centre on the Matz, retaking Melicocq and Croix Ricard, and throwing the enemy back across the river; Germans gain a footing in the eastern end of the line in Laversine, Coeuvres, and St. Pierre-Aigle; Americans repel attempt to retake Bouresches.

June 14—German offensive west of the Oise ends; artillery fighting south of the Aisne and in the area between Villers-Cotterets and Château-Thierry.

June 15—British and Scottish troops in the Lys salient capture German forward positions on a front of two miles north of Béthune; French improve their position at Villers-Cotterets Forest; French recapture Coeuvres-et-Valserly, south of the Aisne; Americans repulse night raid south of Thiaucourt; announcement made that Americans are holding sectors in Alsace.

June 16—Americans drive Germans off with gas attacks northwest of Château-Thierry; French repulse Germans on the Matz River.

June 17—French improve their positions between the Oise and the Aisne, near Hautebraye; Germans drench American lines near Belleau with gas.

June 18—French improve their positions in local operations in the Aisne region.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 11—Italians repulse attacks at Monte Carno and Cortellazzo and east of Capo Sile.

June 14—Austro-Hungarian forces launch attack against the Italian lines on Cady Summit and the Monticello Ridge, but are beaten back.

June 15—Austrians begin great offensive on a 97-mile front from the Asiago Plateau to the sea.

June 16—Austrians cross the Piave River in the vicinity of Nervesa and in the Fagara-Musile area; Italians give way at the Sette Comuni Plateau and in the regions of Monte Asolone and Monte Grappa, but later re-establish their lines.

June 17—British and Italians check Austrians in the regions of Asiago and Monte Grappa; Austrians extend their gains west of the Piave River opposite San Dona di Piave and capture Capo Sile.

June 18—Austrians repulsed on the eastern edge of the Asiago Plateau and fail in attempt to cross the Piave between Meserada and Cardelu, a mountain position across Piave on their eastern flank, but suffer enormous losses.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

May 31—Greek troops, supported by French artillery, capture strong enemy positions of Srka di Legen, on the Struma front.

June 2—Greeks enlarge their gains west of Srka di Legen.

June 11—Serbs repulse attacks in the region of Dobropolje.

CAMPAIGN IN EAST AFRICA

May 19—Nanungu occupied by the British.

May 24—Announcement made that direct communication had been established between the advanced troops of Brigadier Edward's column, advancing westward from Port Amelia, and Major Gen. North's troops, advancing eastward from Lake Nyassa.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

May 22—British advance north of Tekrit on the Tigris to Fatha.

May 20—Turks on the Irak front occupy Kirkuk.

June 14—Turks occupy Tabriz in Persia.

AERIAL RECORD

The London area was raided on May 19. Forty-four persons were killed and 179 wounded. Five German airplanes were brought down by the British.

On May 22 the Germans made an ineffectual attempt to raid Paris. Three persons were killed and several were injured in the outskirts of the city, and one German machine was brought down. In another raid, on May 23, one German machine succeeded in reaching the city. One woman was killed and twelve persons injured. The city was raided again on

June 1 and June 2, and several persons were wounded.

Cologne was raided by allied airplanes on May 18. Fourteen persons were killed and forty injured. On the nights of May 21 and May 22 British aviators bombed railway stations in German Lorraine, a chloride factory in Mannheim, and the railway near Liège. In an allied air raid over Liège, on May 26, the railway station was destroyed and twenty-six persons were killed. Karlsruhe was bombed by the British on June 1, and tons of explosives were dropped on Metz, Seblon, and other towns. Twenty-seven German machines were downed. Metz and Seblon were again attacked on June 6. During the period from May 30 to June 12 the British carried out many raids against Bruges, Zeebrugge, and Ostend. On June 13 British aerial squadrons made raids into Germany, bombarding the railway station at Treves, in Rhenish Prussia, and factories at Dillingen, Bavaria.

A British official statement issued May 21 announced that 1,000 German planes had been downed in two months.

On the night of May 19 four squadrons of German airplanes raided British hospitals behind the battlelines in France. Hundreds of persons were killed or wounded. Hospitals containing French and American wounded were again raided on the nights of May 29 and May 31. One nurse was killed, several persons were injured, and a number of civilians died of their wounds.

Two hundred and fifty-two German airplanes were brought down by allied aviators on the western front in the week ended May 23. In the first two days of June the French downed fifty-seven German machines and dropped 130 tons of explosives in the battle area. British airmen destroyed or damaged 518 German airplanes and seven observation balloons in the month of May.

Major Raoul Lufbery, the foremost American air fighter, was killed May 19 in a combat with a German armored biplane back of the American sector north of Toul. The plane which brought him down was later downed by a Frenchman.

On May 25 announcement was made that the first airplanes to be furnished to the American Army from the United States had arrived in France and were in use in a training camp.

The first American bombing squadron to operate behind the front raided the Baroncourt railway on June 14, at a point northwest of Briey and returned safely in spite of German attacks. A second excursion was made later in the day, when the railway station and adjoining buildings at Conflans were bombed.

NAVAL RECORD

An official announcement was made on May 23 that the British Government had on May 15 established a new mine field between the Norwegian and Scotch coasts. One Austrian dreadnought, the Szent Istvan, was sunk by two Italian torpedo boats off the Dalmatian coast June 10, and a second was badly damaged.

RUSSIA

On May 23 General Semenoff established an autonomous Government in the Trans-Baikal region, after a report of a quarrel with Admiral Kolchak. The Bolshevik Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, sent a protest to China on May 26 charging the Chinese Government with officially protecting General Semenoff in his activities against the Soviet power.

The Germans continued their advance into Ukraine, and on May 25 broke the armistice on the Voronezh front, in spite of the truce between Russia and the Ukraine, and occupied Valuiki after four days' fighting. Atrocious methods were used in reprisal for disorders among the peasants. On May 31 several villages near Kiev were drenched with gas.

The Bolshevik Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, protested to France on May 29 against the further retention of Russian troops on the French front.

The Chinese Government informed Tchitcherin on May 29 that it was unable to admit Russian Soviet councils in China because the Soviet Government had not been recognized by China.

On May 29 announcement was made that a new Cossack Government had been set up in the Don country with General Krasnoff at the head. His first proclamation announced that the Austro-Germans had entered the territory to aid in the fight against the Red Guard and for the establishment of order.

The Bolshevik Government offered to surrender the Russian Black Sea fleet to Germany on condition that the warships be restored to Russia after peace had been declared and that the Germans refrain from using the vessels, June 6.

Several moves were made looking toward intervention by the Allies to save Russia from complete domination by Germany. A military agreement between China and Japan relating to the expedition into Siberia was signed on June 2. On June 10 Senator William H. King introduced a resolution in the United States Senate proposing that a civilian commission be sent to Russia, backed by an allied military force, for the purpose of overcoming German propaganda and to aid in giving freedom to the country. The Russian Ambassador at Washington, Boris Bakhmeteff, presented to the State Depart-

ment on June 11 a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Cadet Party of Russia urging allied intervention.

June 18—Further advances into Russia by the Germans in contravention of Brest treaty.

FINLAND

General Mannerheim, Commander in Chief of the Finnish White Guards, resigned on May 23 because of the plan of the Finnish Conservatives to invade the Russian Province of Karelia.

The Cabinet resigned on May 25 as a result of the appointment of former Premier Zvinhufvud as temporary dictator. M. Paasikivi, a member of the old Finnish party and a former Senator, was asked by the dictator to form a Cabinet.

On June 2 Russia agreed with Germany that she would accept proposals for the regularization of her relations with Finland.

A Swedish Socialist paper, according to a dispatch printed in The London Times of June 3, published a statement that a secret treaty existed between Finland and Germany whereby the Finnish Government undertook to establish a monarchy under a German dynasty, to place the Finnish Army under German leadership, to allow Finland to be used as a passage-way to the arctic and the Aland Islands as a naval base. Later reports announced that Prince Oscar, the fifth son of the German Emperor, would probably be the ruler.

On June 12, the Government proposal for the establishment of a monarchy with a hereditary ruler was presented to the Landtag.

Kronstadt was seized by the Germans May 30, and on the same day announcement was made that General von der Goltz had been placed in supreme command of the Finnish Army as well as of the German forces in Finland.

Announcement was made on June 10 that Germany and Russia had reached an agreement concerning the boundaries of Finland, providing that Finland cede to Russia the fortresses of Ino and Raivola under guarantees that they were not to be fortified. Russia ceded to Finland the western part of the Murman Peninsula with an outlet to the Arctic Ocean.

In response to communications from the French and British Legations at Stockholm, the Finnish Government announced that it had no designs on the Mourmansk railway, but would not undertake not to reunite Karelia with Finland, and on June 17 it was announced that Finland would annex Karelia.

RUMANIA

Lord Robert Cecil announced in the British House of Commons on May 28 that diplo-

matic representatives of the Allies at Jassy had notified Rumania that their Governments considered the Rumanian peace treaty with the Central Powers null and void.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

An official French dispatch received in Washington May 22 announced that a decree had been issued in Vienna dividing Bohemia into twelve district governments, with advantages to the Germans which would reduce the Czech powers in the Reichsrat at Vienna as well as in Bohemia itself. Martial law was proclaimed in some parts of Bohemia.

The aspirations of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, were indorsed by Secretary Lansing in a statement issued May 29.

Disorders throughout Bohemia and the Slavic regions of Austria-Hungary by the Poles, Slovenes, Czechs, and Slavs. Serious political unrest throughout the Dual Empire. Prime Minister of Austria, Dr. Seidler, resigns.

Austria and Germany fail to block an agreement regarding disposition of Poland.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Manchester Guardian announced on May 18 that the war treaty between England, France, Italy, and Russia, which embodied Italy's terms of entering the war, and which was published by the Bolshevik Government in Russia on Jan. 26, had been abrogated, and that its place had been taken by a new treaty.

The Radoslavoff Ministry in Bulgaria resigned June 16.

China and Japan reached an agreement on military affairs, including the expedition into Siberia, and on other matters on May 20, and the formal compact was signed June 2. A naval convention had been signed May 23.

The Belgian Foreign Minister, Charles de Broqueville, resigned on June 3. He was succeeded by M. Cooreman, former President of the House of Representatives.

A memorandum presented to the American State Department and made public on June 14 showed that Belgians were still being deported and were compelled to work behind the German lines.

On June 12 the lower house of the Prussian Diet adopted the fourth reading of the suffrage bill, including provision for the proportional representation of the mixed language districts of the eastern provinces, and also passed bills settling the composition of the upper house and providing for a revision of the Constitution.

Peru seized interned German ships of 50,000 tonnage at Callao, June 15.

Costa Rica declared war against Germany May 23.

A Battle Seen From Above

By a Correspondent at the Front

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

THE night mists came creeping up like a smoke screen, and the battalion that marched up toward the edge of the battlefield along the road that skirted the far end of the aerodrome was a regiment of shadow forms. A band of drums and fifes was playing them out with a merry little tune, so whimsical and yet so sad also in the heart of it.

It had been decided that an important railway junction behind the German lines was to be bombed. All day long had been the continuous roar of death, and now, when night had fallen, all the sky seemed on fire with it. Voluminous clouds, all bright with a glory of infernal fire, rolled up to the sky, the most frightful and tragic thing it has ever been given to men to behold, with an infernal splendor beyond words to tell.

With a tense, restless emotion the order to set off out over the enemy lines was awaited. In the ground-fog the machine, with a load of bombs tucked away under the wings, looked a mysterious, weird thing, and shadowy forms flitted hither and thither across the aerodrome. The tramp of marching men could be heard, and the tap of drums to the rhythm of their feet, and those transport columns which shake the Flemish cottages of the little hamlets as they pass along.

At last the order was given, and up into the chill air the machine rose. Circling round a couple of times, the nose of the airplane was set in the direction of the objective, away behind the inferno of the hell-fires of No Man's Land.

Only the mighty voice of the engine could be heard, and headlights were switched off just before crossing the line. There was still a dank, heavy mist hanging over the ground, and visibility was not so good as might have been desired.

But down below one of those terrible bombardments, a beautiful and devilish thing, was in full blast. All the sky seemed on fire with it, and thousands of gun flashes were winking and blinking from hidden places and hollows. Shells rushed through the air as though flocks of colossal birds were in flight. Amid all the noise and din of those fires of hate and hell it was certain the monotonous drone of the engine would not be heard.

Then, when the Hun lines had been crossed without trouble from "Archies," glancing back, star-shells could be seen bursting and pouring down golden rain. And as far as the eye could see, northward and southward, stretched seemingly unbroken lines of Verey lights. The enemy was also sending up his flares, as he often does, to reveal any masses of men who may be moving between his shell craters and ours.

Quickly the "eggs" were dropped on the objective, and two terrific bursts of flame indicated the explosions. Evading the beams of a searchlight that sought to pick up the machine, home and the friendly darkness were sought.

The German lines were recrossed, and, glancing below, it was seen that SOS light signals, with their little cries of color to the German gunners behind, were being sent up into the skies. It was some time ago that such lights were first seen up in the sky, and they had never ceased their winking for a single night, though now they appeared blurred in the white breath which had arisen from the wet earth.

And to pass over all this is to conceive a great admiration for these gunners, who, amid all the tumult, deafening and nerve splitting, of our batteries, work with an endurance and courage to the limit of human nature.

G. B.

American Soldiers in Action

Achievements of General Pershing's Troops in the Terrific Battles in Champagne and Picardy

[MONTH ENDED JUNE 18, 1918]

WITH over 800,000 American troops in France, as the Secretary of War announced on June 15, 1918, the United States in the last month has assumed a far greater portion of the Allies' burden and has begun to take its full share in the large-scale fighting on the western front. Within a year since the first American troops landed in France, a period primarily one of preparation, the United States Army has developed into an important military factor. Evidence of this was seen in June in several engagements in which the Americans distinguished themselves by their gallantry, resourcefulness, and efficient methods. Prominent in the month's record were the American offensive at Cantigny, and later, on a much larger scale, the operations at Château-Thierry and in the Marne region near that town.

General Pershing directed the offensive which resulted in the capture of the strongly fortified village of Cantigny, northwest of Montdidier, thereby creating a small salient. The attack, which was delivered on May 28, was on a front of one and one-quarter miles. The Americans, supported by French heavy guns in addition to their own artillery and French tanks, swept forward with remarkable speed and precision, occupied the village, captured 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses in killed and wounded on the enemy. Then, with equal rapidity, they consolidated their newly won positions and were thus able to repulse some very fierce counterattacks during the following days. The American casualties were relatively small. The troops that captured Cantigny were sent to that sector a month previously, after Pershing's offer to place all his men and resources at the disposal of the Allies.

During the four weeks preceding the offensive the Americans had held their positions under comparatively heavy shelling.

Both before and after the Cantigny engagement, the Americans in all the sectors where they held positions were occupied in ceaseless fighting of minor importance. There were many artillery duels, with plentiful use of gas on both sides, many raids, and considerable aerial activity. The Americans began to feel the effect of increased aircraft production, and in several sectors where the Germans had previously had the advantage the situation was now reversed and American aviators had the upper hand.

AT CHATEAU-THIERRY

Château-Thierry, a town on the Marne, was the next place where the Americans distinguished themselves. On May 31, when the capture of the town by the Germans was imminent, American machine gunners began to arrive on the river banks. Joining a battalion of French colonial troops, they entered the town, and by their well-organized defense positions and accurate fire, caused the advancing Germans to hesitate and halt. The Americans not only repulsed the Germans at every point at which they were engaged, but took prisoners without having any prisoners in turn taken by the Germans. The Americans in this sector were units drawn from the Marine Corps.

The successful resistance against the Germans at Château-Thierry was followed by the marines beating off two determined German attacks on the Marne. The Germans concentrated large forces before Veuilly Wood, and began a mass attack. They were mowed down

by the American machine gunners, and the attack was broken up before reaching the American line. The Germans fled in confusion and with heavy losses.

It was now the Americans' turn to attack. The marines, pushing forward on the morning of June 6, penetrated to a depth of over two miles on a front of two and a half miles, and occupied all the important high ground northwest of Château-Thierry. The French co-operated to the left of the Americans. The Germans were so hard pressed by the Americans that in three days it was necessary to bring up three new divisions of the best German troops.

The Americans continued to advance, pushing forward to a line which lay through Les Mares Farm, just north of the village of Lucy le Bocage, and on through the outskirts of the town of Triangle. This line included strong positions in Bussiares Wood, the cross-roads south of Torcy, and the southern edge of Belleau Wood. During the night of June 6 the fighting raged with great fierceness for five hours. The Americans captured Bouresches and Torcy. Further fighting on June 7 extended the American line over a front of about six miles to a depth of nearly two and a half miles. While the losses of the Americans were necessarily heavy, the German dead were piled three deep in places.

The importance of the operations of the Americans on the Marne sector was evident from the fact that the day before they arrived on the front and began fighting, the Germans advanced about six miles. While the Americans advanced their line, the French completed the capture of Vilny, Veully-la-Poterie, and the heights southeast of Hautevesnes.

BELLEAU WOOD ENGAGEMENT

Following the capture of Bouresches came the fierce fighting for the possession of Belleau Wood to the north. This wooded hill was a stronghold of German infantry and machine gunners, and the only way to attack it was by advancing to the other side. The American infantry had the assistance of the artillery in clearing the wooded heights, and

in the biggest artillery engagement in which the Americans had yet been engaged more than 5,000 high explosive and gas shells were thrown into the German machine gun nests in the woods. Meanwhile German attacks against Hill 204, west of Château-Thierry and commanding the town, were repulsed.

The United States marines attacked again on the morning of June 10 and penetrated the German lines for about two-thirds of a mile on a 600-yard front in Belleau Wood, with the result that the Germans were driven from all but the northern fringe of the wood. On June 11 the wood was captured and 300 prisoners were taken.

FIRST FIELD ARMY

The War Department received reports on May 21 which showed that the first of the field armies had been organized and was in service in France. The army, composed of two army corps, each made up of one regular army, one National Guard, and one National Army division, was placed under the temporary command of Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, the senior Major General then in foreign service. General Liggett was selected to command the first army corps organized in France, and this corps, with that temporarily commanded by Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher, made up the first field army, the total strength of which was almost 200,000 men. By June 14 the American forces in France had become so numerous that General Foch had informed General Pershing that it was desirable to maintain them as purely American units. This fact was communicated to the House Military Affairs Committee by the War Council at Washington. In accordance with this policy two full American divisions were engaged in the fighting in the Château-Thierry sector. The Secretary of War told the committee that General Foch was gradually decreasing the number of Americans brigaded with the French and British, and thereby increasing the American unit.

Official announcements made at Washington showed that approximately half a million soldiers had landed in France

since the German drive began on March 21, 1918, and that Americans held no more than fifty miles of the whole western front. One element of Pershing's mobile forces, by direction of General Foch, guarded the way at the apex of the whole German wedge near Montdidier. Cantigny, which was captured by these forces, was very close to the point of maximum penetration achieved by the enemy after nearly three months of desperate fighting.

The total casualties sustained by the American Expeditionary Forces from

the beginning of American participation in the war up to June 17, 1918, is shown in the following figures issued by the War Department at Washington:

Deaths.	Total.
Killed in action.....	881
Lost at sea.....	291
Died of wounds.....	364
Accident and other causes.....	422
Died of disease.....	1,234
Total deaths	3,192
Wounded	4,547
Missing, including prisoners.....	346
Grand total.....	8,085

First American Offensive a Success

Capture of Cantigny by General Pershing's Troops Described in Vivid Detail

By THOMAS M. JOHNSON

Correspondent with the American Army

This stirring narrative of the first attack and capture of enemy territory by the American forces in France was written by a staff correspondent of The New York Evening Sun. It constitutes a memorable chapter in our military history, not because of the size of the town captured, but because the event marks the beginning of offensive operations in Europe by the United States Army. The brave men who took Cantigny—at the apex of the German salient aimed at Amiens—continued to hold it against all counterattacks through the succeeding weeks. Under date of May 29, 1918, Mr. Johnson cabled from the front:

THE Americans have made their first real attack of the war, and it is a complete success. Advancing up a wooded slope behind French tanks and protected by a perfect and annihilating barrage from French and American guns, our infantry at 7 o'clock Tuesday morning, May 28, stormed and captured the village of Cantigny, northwest of Montdidier, and the German defenses to the north and south, making an advance of a mile on a two-mile front.

The Americans went over in open formation at 6:45 o'clock, advancing at an easy walk and maintaining intervals as if on parade. The sun had just risen, and through streaky clouds all about tongues of red flame were darting from the muzzles of hundreds of massed guns,

big and small, while the air itself quivered with the shock of explosions, mingled with the deafening yet purring roar that is called drum fire.

Cantigny itself was turned into a veritable hell, a pillar of fire and smoke, and into it went the crawling, sinister tanks followed by the American infantry in thin lines or little groups. For a while they were swallowed up in the great white and brown and black cloud that enveloped the village, then back to the American line came the first message: "We're here! Everything O. K.!"

Thus these troops of the New World made their first real entry into the war. Thus they did what they could to help in offsetting the new German effort. Compared with the giant struggle going

on elsewhere it was just a little outburst, but we did our best with it and have succeeded.

AN UNFORGETTABLE SCENE

No one who had the privilege to be on the scene at the time of this first American attack will ever forget the sight. It was unforgettable. The whole thing is uneffaceable from the time in the pregnant darkness when the troops that had been chosen for this most honorable of tasks went quietly along the shell-pitted roads to the jumping-off place; from the time the grotesque monsters called tanks rumbled up the same roads to hide until dawn in lairs behind the front line, while other monsters with long snouts crouched upon their heavy carriages like coiled serpents and were given their last drop of oil and their last daub of grease to make sure that their devastating charges would fall true upon their mark; from the time the men were given their last orders and their last "good luck" and went off, they knew not to what, in the first early streak of rosy dawn when the cannonade began and the first airplanes whirled overhead toward the doomed village.

From then until that last throbbing hour when the tempest of shellfire drowned out everything, yes, up to that tense minute at 6:45 o'clock when we turned to one another and in an awe-struck whisper said, "They're over," it is all unforgettable. One lives such moments but once.

This operation had been planned for weeks down to the minutest detail under the direction of the Superior French Command, and in the closest co-operation with the French, to whom must go a liberal measure of the credit for its success.

So far as its objects may be disclosed, they were the following: To reduce the enemy salient and capture its strong point and observation post. Cantigny was all those things. Jutting out from the German front, it gave the enemy an advantage in the field of fire, while, because of its strong cellars, which were linked up with an especially long tunnel under the château in the southern part

of the village, which might be likened to its citadel, it was decidedly a strong post.

Perhaps most important of all, it gave the boche a local advantage comparable to that of a man looking down a well. It commanded a sort of valley running back into our lines and permitted the enemy observers to see many things that went on there and so direct his artillery fire upon our back areas. For all of those reasons Cantigny was a prize of value out of all proportion to its size.

ATTACK CAREFULLY REHEARSED

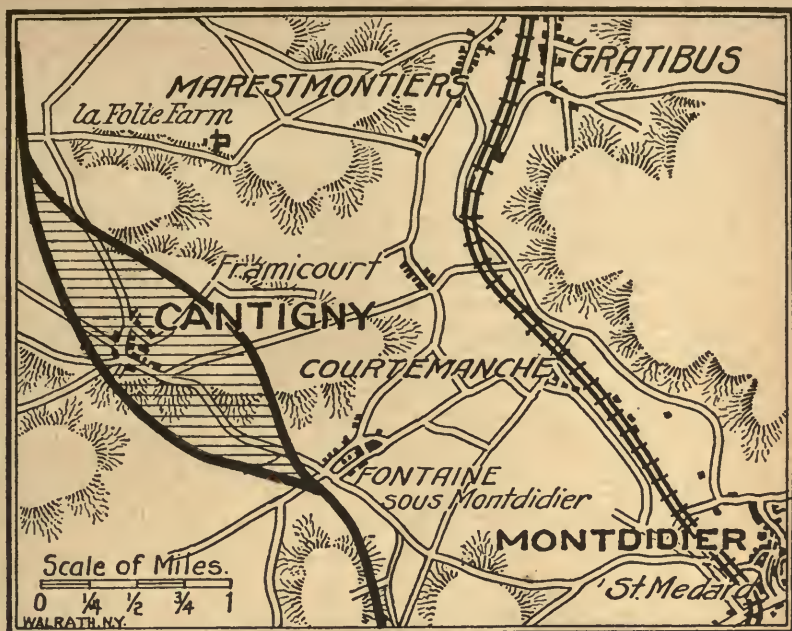
The attack was carefully planned and was rehearsed by our infantry with tanks. They had the further advantage of valuable data gained by our patrols in frequent night explorations of the village, whence the boche seems to have withdrawn his infantry during darkness.

To two American soldiers goes the credit for the fine and loyal thing they did which immeasurably contributed to the success of their comrades. These two soldiers were captured early yesterday morning in a trench raid, and last night the question on every one's mind was, "did they tell?" They knew what was coming and had rehearsed it. Subjected to Prussian grilling, would they tell? The answer came this morning. The Germans were caught completely by surprise just as they made relief. The prisoners taken by us included some incoming and some outgoing troops. They hadn't the slightest idea the attack was coming. They didn't tell, those boys of ours. All the more honor to them for it!

PLAN OF THE ATTACK

This is how the attack was executed: The troops selected to make it entered the trenches in two shifts, the first on Sunday night and the second on Monday night, May 27. Special trenches had been constructed to accommodate a larger number of men than usual. Two hours before zero—that is to say, at 4:45 o'clock this morning—the men withdrew to supporting trenches, whence they went to the front line at zero, or 6:45.

They were divided into three waves for the main attack, with separate de-



CANTIGNY, THE FIRST TOWN CAPTURED IN FRANCE BY AMERICAN TROOPS

tachments to whom had been allotted the task of mopping up the Cantigny cellars. On the right and centre the advance was made to the furthest objectives, while on the left, according to the plan, after mopping up the German trenches, our troops withdrew slightly to a better position, connecting with our old front line.

The troops went forward in extended order, preceded by the powerful tanks, all of which entered Cantigny and went some distance beyond. With the infantry went a detachment of flame throwers who were used against the cellars when the boche refused to come out when ordered to do so. They were also accompanied by a strong detachment of engineers, signal corps men, and carrier pigeons, but the wires have remained intact.

The artillery fire was tremendous. The German batteries at the rear were also drenched by gas. A rolling barrage behind which the infantry advanced was laid by the field guns. The infantry went forward first at the rate of fifty yards per minute and then at twenty-five yards per minute. The moving barrage of fire stalked ahead of our men into

Cantigny, keeping the boche down until the infantry was upon him.

The timetable was adhered to perfectly. At 4:45 o'clock the artillery began a heavy concentrated fire, swelling to a drum fire at 6:45, "zero," continuing thence onward to 7:20, when the infantry reached their final objectives. At 7:30 the infantry outlined their position with flares so as to enable the airplanes to signal back. Thus it will be seen that Cantigny was taken in less than thirty-five minutes, for the final objectives were beyond the village.

ALL MODERN WEAPONS USED

There were some tough nuts to crack besides Cantigny itself, such as the trench system protecting it on the south, also part of the Fontaine Wood, and some separate houses at the crossroads at the southeastern outskirts of the town, but all were reduced with bombs, bayonets, or rifles, while the machine guns which went along with the infantry also aided.

Besides all this, a heavy smoke barrage was used, not only to screen our infantry from boche observers, but to blind the boche gunners. The tremendous effectiveness of the whole thing was

shown by the fact that for nearly a half hour after the infantry went over the top, the German artillery was practically silenced. This was due especially to the accurate counterbattery work of the French heavies.

So the Americans in their first attack had the aid of every engine of modern warfare—tanks, gas, flame throwers, smoke barrage, numbers of airplanes, machine guns and automatic rifles, while some especially heavy trench mortars also were concentrated and hurled great bombs into the German trenches from close range. Reports all agree that the German defenses were completely leveled, and the smashed up trenches look like a field plowed by a giant harrow. Our men walked into the trenches through great gaps torn in the barbed wire, but in many places there was no wire at all for great stretches. So much for the main outlines of the attack.

WATCHING THE BEGINNINGS

Waking up early in the morning on the blanket bed on the floor of the dug-out and taking a first peek through the sandbagged entrance, it was plain that our best hopes were going to be realized and that it would be a clear day with good visibility. The sun had not yet appeared, but the clouds were few and the early light showed every feature of the country. Here and there were dark dots denoting the waiting batteries, while sausage balloons were already swinging overhead.

In the messroom the commanding General sat at breakfast, cleanly shaven and unworried, although he had been on the front line most of the night. This General, who was in immediate command, talked not about the attack, but about the censorship, tactfully choosing the favorite subject of every correspondent.

By this time the artillery had started, so we went out along the road toward the front, passing a line of ambulances parked under the trees. The further we went along the road the more frequent became the flashes of the explosions on either side, but thus far not a single boche shell had come in and the sounds overhead were all caused by the familiar

rushing of our shells and none by the whistle of the boche shells.

Some distance up the road was a vantage spot whence we got a clear view of Cantigny, or the spot where it had been. It was a picture terrible in its grandeur. Cantigny might have been a volcano in eruption shooting up clouds that were first white, then brown, then black, while above the air was filled with spiral shaped black clouds of exploding shrapnel.

GUNNERS BEAT THEIR RECORD

That great smoke cloud was eternally writhing and twisting and taking on new forms as if anguished Cantigny were trying to escape its fate, but every instant more guns flashed. Beside the observation post the cloud grew larger. Finally the smoke streamed off to the right. Near by the American gunners were working, stripped to their undershirts, dripping with perspiration. We walked over there.

"This is the fastest firing we've ever done," said one breathless officer.

Further to the right was the house where the correspondent spent several days and nights a month ago. It is ruined now, but batteries are still there, and they, too, were spouting fire and smoke.

To the left new batteries had opened and the din was terrific. It was hard to resist the impulse to put one's fingers in one's ears. A glance at the watch showed that it lacked barely five minutes of the "zero" hour. Those five minutes passed more rapidly, and yet more slowly, than any I had ever experienced.

Ahead was a green slope dotted with trees, up which our infantry was to advance. It was bare and empty. It seemed incredible that in a few minutes our men would be there. The second hand crawled, yet raced, around the dial. It rested on the figure 10 and we looked at one another. "They're over," we whispered.

We looked up from our watches to find that the smoke clouds had drifted down the slope until the whole country for miles about Cantigny was obscured

by shifting, changing vapor from the great caldron toward which our unseen men were plunging. We almost groaned our disappointment, for in a moment there came a little rift in the smoke, revealing something moving on the ground.

Imagine looking at the teeth of a black comb through a wire screen and having some one pass the comb slowly before your eyes. That was what it looked like—those black teeth, our men, were screened by the shifting smoke. It was only the tiniest glimpse. Then the smoke drifted over and rose again, but we had seen them going forward and upward to Cantigny. After a time the smoke spread still further. Nothing remained to be seen.

ALL WENT AS REHEARSED

Walking back along the road, where now there were a few belated boche shells coming, the heavy artillery officer said: "From my observation post we could see them for a couple of minutes. They went just the way they rehearsed, just walked along slowly, keeping in fine alignment. We could see two of the three waves and not a single man out of place, following the barrage like veterans. We could even see an individual man sometimes."

Beside the road ambulances were waiting. From overhead an observer came sweeping down to drop a message near a white marker on the ground. He leaned out of his seat and waved his hand; then the machine soared up again. Evidently all was going well. Other planes were hovering over Cantigny.

As we entered headquarters all about the guns were crashing and flashing. Headquarters was an underground hive swarming with activity. Officers were hugging telephones or were bent over maps under electric lights. Some were in khaki and some were in light blue. The first of these latter was Lieut. Col. de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette. "It goes well," he said, and a moment later an American officer called from a telephone: "They can see the boche throwing down his arms in Cantigny." After that the messages came thick and fast:

"The first boche shell hit our front line at 7:06—the Colonel has twenty prisoners—the right flank is sending back about a hundred—balloon reports grenade fighting west of Cantigny where our men are mopping up the trenches—two of our stretcher bearers are returning with an empty stretcher—one tank returning from Cantigny—our men are seen walking around the street of Cantigny—flame throwers can be seen through the smoke clearing out the dug-outs—enemy fire beginning on Cantigny Wood at 7:30, three-quarters of an hour after zero."

After that come other reports of German batteries at last able to operate, though haltingly. Shortly afterward the officer reported, laconically, "There goes my observation post. Steve's gone to capture Cantigny singlehanded. Couldn't keep him there."

The French and Americans were jubilant. There were mutual handshakings, then silence, and in came a grimy, sweaty, but happy soldier, the first of the men who'd been over the top into Cantigny. He saluted punctiliously: "Sir, I have brought back twenty prisoners."

PEN READY FOR PRISONERS

Sure enough, there they were outside, about to be herded into a detention pen that was already prepared for them. They were dull-looking men, still half stunned, in dirt-gray uniforms, looking like slugs or earthworms, sullen and angry at being captured by Americans. The officer said 120 had been counted up above already, and added: "Hope we get enough to even up for Seicheprey."

The soldier was triumphant. "I went with the first wave," he said. "We got to a sort of trench, and all of a sudden the boches jumped right up in front of us and started to throw grenades. We went at 'em with grenades, bayonets, rifles, pistols, whatever came handy. I spitted one big fellow on my bayonet, but the bayonet stuck. So I pulled out my trench knife and went for another, but he yelled 'Kamerad!' so I grabbed his gun and hit a third over the head with it. There were grenades busting all around, but I

could hear our fellows shouting 'Go to it, Yanks!' the same as they did all the way over No Man's Land.

"Pretty quick all the boches were yelling 'Kamerad!' and putting up their hands. The Captain told me to herd these together and get them down quick so they could be questioned. There's about a hundred more up in the woods cut off by the barrage."

A little later the wounded began coming back to the dressing stations which

had been specially prepared. The wounded were all cheerful, saying, "We went right through 'em—nothing to it—go back and do it again tomorrow." Every man asked only two things: "How many boches did we get?" and "Have you got a cigarette?"

These are the real victors of Cantigny. When all's said and done, the staff may plan, guns may fire, tanks may crawl, but the common infantry soldier is the real hero of all.

Americans' Defense of Château-Thierry

UNITED STATES troops, mostly inexperienced in actual warfare, on June 1 played a brilliant part in the defense of Château-Thierry. By their prompt and resolute support to the French they assisted in driving the Germans from the south bank of the Marne at that vital point, and were largely responsible for blocking the enemy's determined advance across the river toward Paris, thus preventing the development of a most serious situation for the Allies. The French official report of the incident was as follows:

American troops checked German advanced forces which were seeking to penetrate Neuilly Wood, and by a magnificent counterattack hurled back the Germans north this wood.

Further south the Germans were not able to make any gains. On the Marne front an enemy battalion which had crept across to the left bank of the river above Jailgonne was counterattacked by French and American troops and hurled back to the other bank, after having suffered heavy losses. A footbridge which the enemy used was destroyed and 100 prisoners remained in our hands.

A BRITISH ACCOUNT

The Reuter correspondent under date of June 5 described the feat of the Americans at Château-Thierry in these words:

On May 31, when the Germans were already in the outskirts of Château-Thierry, an American machine-gun unit was hurried thither in motor lorries. Château-Thierry lies on both banks of the Marne, which is spanned by a big bridge. A little to the northward a canal runs parallel to the river and is crossed by a smaller bridge.

The Americans had scarcely reached their quarters when news was received that the Germans had broken into the northern part of Château-Thierry, having made their way through the gap they had driven in our lines to the left of the town and then pouring along the streets to the bridge, intending to establish themselves firmly on the south bank and capture the town.

The American machine gunners and French colonials were thrown into Château-Thierry together. The Americans immediately took over the defense of the river bank, especially the approaches to the bridge. Fighting with their habitual courage and using their guns with an accuracy which won the highest encomiums from the French, they brought the enemy to a standstill.

Already wavering under the American fire, the Germans were counterattacked by the French colonials and driven from the town. They returned to the attack the next night and under cover of darkness crept into the town along the river bank and began to work their way through the streets toward the main bridge. At the same moment a tremendous artillery bombardment was opened upon the southern half of the town.

BLOWING UP THE BRIDGE

When within range of the machine guns the Germans advanced under the cover of clouds of thick white smoke from smoke bombs, in order to baffle the aim of the American gunners. A surprise, however, was in store for them. They were already crossing the bridge, evidently believing themselves masters of both banks, when a thunderous explosion blew the centre of the bridge and a number of Germans with it into the river. Those who reached the southern bank were immediately captured.

In this battle in the streets, and again at night, the young American soldiers

showed a courage and determination which aroused the admiration of their French colonial comrades. With their machine guns they covered the withdrawal of troops across the bridge before its destruction, and although under severe fire themselves, kept all the approaches to the bank under a rain of bullets which nullified all the subsequent efforts of the enemy to cross the river. Every attempt of the Germans to elude the vigilance of the Americans resulted in disaster.

During the last two days the enemy has renounced the occupation of the northern part of Château-Thierry, which the American machine guns have made untenable. It now belongs to No Man's Land, as, since the destruction of the bridges, it is not worth while for the French to garrison it.

Against their casualties the Americans can set a much greater loss inflicted by their bullets on the enemy. They have borne their full part in what a French staff officer well qualified to judge described as one of the finest feats of the war.

THE QUICK ADVANCE

The story of the quick advance of the American marines was related in detail by Wilbur Forrest in The New York Tribune as follows:

It is a narrative that stands for more, perhaps, than most of those written in American history books. It is literally another story of American minute men who abandoned the figurative plowshares of peaceful training camps and rushed to the scene of action. They met the enemy with weapons they knew how to handle. * * *

On May 30 the enemy reached the Marne east of Château-Thierry and began a forceful advance along the north bank toward the city. The same day American machine gunners received orders 100 kilometers to the rear to jump into auto trucks and hurry into action.

They started almost immediately, and an all-night journey found the battalion at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st on a hill overlooking Château-Thierry. All around them French batteries were firing full tilt. The enemy was advancing on the city.

Right here those American machine gunners got their first glimpse of real war. German shells crashed into villages within plain view and the little city below them was not being spared. The officers chose a small nearby village as headquarters and the marines waited for darkness before loading little black machine guns on their shoulders and marching into Château-Thierry.

GERMAN SHELLS RAKE CITY

German high explosives and shrapnel were raking the city, but the young Americans under fire for the first time coolly placed their guns in position on the south bank of the river. They saw heavy shells strike the railroad station and they saw it burn. They saw houses fall like packs of cards, and I have the word of a Frenchman, who was present, that they were "cool like American cucumbers."

During the night the Germans gradually filtered into the outskirts on the north side of the town. Roughly speaking, the American guns were so placed between the houses and in the gardens as to enfilade the approaches to the bridges and the streets on the opposite sides. All remained on the south bank of the river with the exception of a Lieutenant, (John T. Bissell,) a youthful Pittsburgher, who was one of West Point's latest graduates.

The Lieutenant with a dozen men and two guns was ordered to cross the river to prevent the enemy's advance along forked roads which merge to the right of the northern approach to the iron bridge. For convenience sake it is permissible to say that A Company was charged with holding the left part of the town on the south bank and the approaches to the larger bridges, while B Company's guns swept the opposite approaches to the iron bridge, and, therefore, held the right portion of the town.

Several hundred yards separated the two companies. The enemy's shelling was intensified during the night, but no Germans were yet in sight. The machine guns were quiet, although A Company's commander, O. F. Houghton of Portland, Me., was forced to abandon the headquarters he had chosen in a house on the bank of the river and change the position of some guns because of the enemy's precise fire.

It was a waiting game for Company A's guns. In the meantime Company B, at about 5 A. M., in broad daylight, saw two columns of the enemy of twelve men each, advancing across an open field toward the river to the right of their position. The Germans carried light machine guns and were blissfully ignorant that our men were here. One American gun swung its shy little nose around toward the Germans and waited. Behind it was an unpoetic youth named Must of Columbia, S. C., a Sergeant, who waited until he saw the whites of their eyes, and then let them have it, as he explained today.

AT CLOSE RANGE

"I got eight out of the bunch by a little surprise shooting," said the Sergeant with a considerable show of pride. "They flopped nicely. Then I turned on the

other squad, but they were leary and I only got one. The rest of them got into the ditch and crawled back without showing themselves. Later in the day their Red Cross men came out to pick up the wounded. We've got orders not to fire on members of the Red Cross, so I let 'em work unmolested. But I kept tally all day when their Red Cross men came out. By my count they carried off nine and they weren't all wounded, either."

The Germans during the day of June 1 gained the hills overlooking the north bank of the river. Their machine guns and their artillery observers, therefore, were able to direct a galling fire on the south bank and portions of the north bank which still were held by French colonials and two machine guns under an American Lieutenant.

DEADLY MACHINE GUNS

The enemy's position thus made the north bank untenable and orders were given to retire to the south bank under cover of the darkness. At 9:30 P. M. the French, in accordance with these plans, retired to the south bank and blew up a stone bridge. The American machine gun companies during the retirement poured a galling fire from the flanks into the areas evacuated by the retiring troops.

The enemy was now shelling the south bank more heavily and the enemy machine-gun fire was multiplied. The commander of Company A was forced to change the position of his guns in order to secure a better field of fire. With the light Hotchkiss pieces on their shoulders he led his men into a wood further down the river. Here they were spotted by enemy observers and thirty high explosive shells crashed into the wood. The shelling ceased and the guns went into their positions.

The French were still retiring at 10:30 P. M. It was pitch dark, except for shell bursts and the streaky flame stabs from the machine guns on both sides—the Americans were in the wood and along the south bank of the river, the Germans on the crest of the hill on the other side.

Suddenly there was an immense detonation. It was the big bridge blowing up. Then there came out of the darkness across the river, as the firing lulled, the ghostly chant of the advancing enemy. It was one of those German mass attacks, where men, shoulder to shoulder, singing in guttural tones the praise of Germany and the Kaiser, blindly walk into death like fanatics.

The sort of creaky, shuffling sound their boots made as they trotted into the open road came across the river like the wailing of lost souls, converged toward the bridge and was heard by these young Americans, who strained their eyes across

the river to get what machine-gun men call "the target." But it was in pitch darkness, and there was only the sound to tell them there were plenty of "targets." Every little black devil of a machine gun tore loose with hellfire. The Americans behind them, who saw their first glimpse of war about thirty hours before, fed in bullets as fast as human hands could work. And the bullets caught their "targets" on the opposite side.

The "target" came on again and again, but nothing could live in that leaden hall. The enemy waves melted in the darkness.

Now come the even more thrilling experiences of the little band of Americans under Lieutenant Bissell who had been cut off and surrounded by the enemy across the river. Even experienced soldiers could not be blamed if they had surrendered there.

At the beginning of the German mass attack a few French colonial soldiers, also cut off by the blown-up bridge, made the Lieutenant understand that then it was every man for himself. The north bank was becoming a seething mass of Germans. All other forces had retired across the river. Bullets were registering on every foot of the space approaching the bridges.

The Germans chant to keep up the courage of the advancing masses. They sometimes yell to disconcert their enemies. With this ghostly chanting drawing nearer to the Lieutenant and his men and the weird yells of the Germans occasionally splitting the night, there was no thought of surrender. Their orders were to retreat by the main bridge, and orders were orders.

SERIOUS PREDICAMENT

Picking up both guns, each man carrying his allotted piece in manoeuvres, the party of thirteen started along the river for the main bridge. Reaching the vicinity of the approach, they discovered their plight. The enemy was almost upon them. Still carrying their guns, they jumped down, taking cover under the stone parapets at the river's edge. Thus they worked their way down to the iron bridge, though the Germans on the very parapet above were marching into a hail of American machine guns from the south bank.

B Company did not know that a detachment had not escaped. The German attack remained at its height, and the enemy, despite its losses, kept sweeping toward the iron bridge. Bissell and his men attempted to cross under their own fire. Three were immediately wounded. They retired, picking up their wounded.

The Lieutenant knew that B Company's guns were across the bridge, and he approached as near as he dared and yelled

repeatedly. B Company's officers finished the story, which was narrated and corroborated by the Lieutenant and others at the rest camp today.

The first B Company knew that Americans were opposite was when they heard a voice calling "Cobey! Cobey!" Cobey was the other Lieutenant.

This time the German attack melted. B Company's guns ceased fire long enough for Cobey to cross the bridge and lead the Lieutenant and the men to safety. Throughout the remainder of the night the enemy vented his rage by heavy shelling. The next day, June 2, the heavy shelling continued. The enemy had picked up his dead and wounded across the river under cover of darkness and could be seen occasionally flitting from house to house. Sniping was continuous between the French and Germans. Machine guns were silent during the day in order not to give away their positions. Nightfall was so quiet that the Americans were not able to understand such warfare. They thought all war was noisy.

However, at 9 o'clock at night the enemy made a fierce rush for the iron bridge. Fifteen minutes of heavy machine-gun firing squelched the attack and the shelling was resumed. The heavy bombardment continued.

"GOT" WHOLE PLATOON

On June 3 the Sergeant in charge of one of our platoons at the iron bridge saw a German platoon, of about fifty men

forming on top of a hill. They made a beautiful target, according to the Sergeant's story today. He and his companions believe he got them all.

The enemy brought more artillery up by night and began a terrific shelling to culminate in what appeared to be an attempted attack. The French artillery sprinkled the opposite bank of the river with a barrage which the "novice" American fighters called beautiful. They thought it was less than a hundred yards away, and stood up to watch it, and there wasn't any attack.

The French engineers on this night laid a charge under the iron bridge while the American guns laid down a leaden protective barrage. When the charge was detonated the Germans rushed forward from the house to ascertain the cause of the explosion. It was here that a pre-arranged petrol flare lit up the vicinity like day, and again American machine gunners had what they insist on calling "targets."

"I was impressed by many things," a company's Captain said. "First of all, the coolness of every man, and especially of a young Georgia theological student who had been drafted, who on the third day complained because the boche shells kept mussing up his gun position. Second, the attitude of those wonderful French colonial troops with us. They gave us inspiration; so it was a fifty-fifty exchange. Third, that beautiful French barrage and our wonderful 'targets.'"

Capture of Belleau Wood

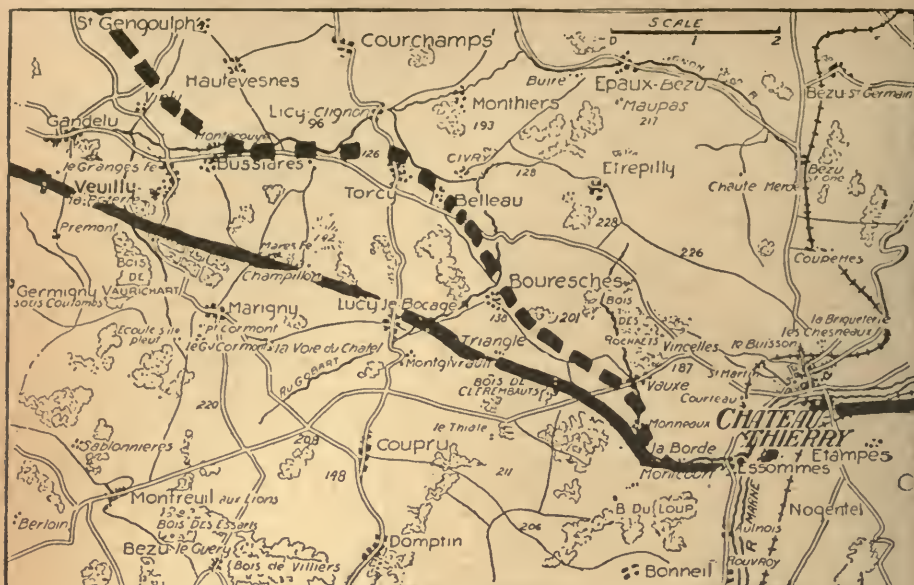
Brilliant Exploit of American Troops Northwest of Château-Thierry

The American troops achieved their most important exploit on June 6, 7, and 8 in the region northwest of Château-Thierry. Here they drove back the Germans for nearly two miles along a front of several miles, took from them the important Belleau Wood, captured over 1,000 prisoners, successfully resisted and seriously demoralized two crack divisions of Prussians which had been picked especially to punish them, and effectively blocked a desperate attempt of the Germans to break through the line, an attempt which, if successful, would have given them an open road toward Paris and created a situation of extreme peril to the Allies. Edwin L. James, a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, described this achievement as follows:

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THERE was considerable wonderment among French and American officers last week when it was discovered that the crack 5th Guard and 28th German Divisions were in front of us. It was generally believed then

that the Germans planned no immediate attempt to advance northwest of Château-Thierry, and there was much speculation as to why Hindenburg had sent these troops there. This is now explained by a captured German officer's state-



TERRITORY BETWEEN THE TWO DARK LINES WAS WON BACK IN HEAVY FIGHTING BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND MARINES

ment, and is substantiated by documents found on him. He said these two divisions already were on their way to the rear for a four weeks' rest, to take part in another offensive, when suddenly they were ordered to go at once to the front northwest of Château-Thierry, "in order to prevent at all costs the Americans being able to achieve success."

This showed the anxiety of the German High Command regarding the effect that an American success would have on the German Army and the populace, and of the great desirability of preventing such a happening.

UNDERESTIMATED OUR EFFORT

When I visited the headquarters of this French army today [June 14] a sheet of paper was handed to me on which was written a report of information gained from the examination of a large number of prisoners from the 28th German Division. The report said:

American assistance, which was underestimated in Germany because they doubted its value and its opportunity worries the German High Command more than it will admit. The officers themselves recognize that, among other causes, it is the principal reason for which Germany hastens to try to end the war and im-

pose peace. They believe that if we succeed in holding on for the rest of this year the German cause will be lost. But they say that until the end of the year they will allow us no respite in their effort to break our morale and our will to conquer. They hope that fear of devastations and the terror caused in Paris, as well as continuing attacks of the German Army, determined to end the war, will get the best of our resistance before American aid will become truly effective.

All agree that the war is reaching the supreme crisis at this moment. They all declare that the offensives will be renewed and prolonged in view of this decision until the German forces are exhausted.

In addition, the prisoners did not conceal their great surprise at the training and quickness that the Americans have shown against them, nor at the good work accomplished by the artillery, which for three days engaged them, cutting off all food supplies and all reinforcements and causing them very heavy losses—practically all of the officers and twenty-five of the men were killed or wounded in a single infantry company and twelve in a machine-gun section, of which the full quota was seventeen men.

Especially important is this report coming from the French Army, not because the Americans would emphasize such statements by prisoners, but because of the probability that the Ger-

mans might be rather praiseworthy of Americans when questioned by our officers with a view to getting better treatment as prisoners of war. There is no question that this document speaks the truth.

A letter written by a German officer and found on his body said:

"The Americans are so courageous that they do not allow themselves to be made prisoners." Another letter written by a German private called the Americans "devilhounds."

GERMANY FEARS AMERICA

Germany fears America, and that fear is growing. At first the High Command told their officers and the officers told the soldiers that the Americans could not get to France because the U-boats would stop them. Then the German fighters began to find Americans appearing against them here and there, and finally at many points. Then the officers told the German soldiers the Americans would not fight. Now the German soldiers know the Americans can and will fight; and more and more of them are learning it every day. There is no lack of evidence that the German populace fears America's power in the war, and no question that the German High Command is seriously perturbed at the results when the real news of the Americans' fighting gets back to the people.

In no spirit of boastfulness it may be said that American fighters, with a proper amount of training, are the best fighters in France today. The soldiers of other armies of necessity are tired after nearly four years of fighting, but the Americans are fresh, fresh in spirit and physique. Other soldiers hope that Germany will be beaten; the American soldiers know that Germany will be beaten. And Germany knows that Germany will be beaten unless she wins in the next four months. That is her only chance, and she will play it for what it is worth. Everything is to be thrown into that effort. There will be ruthlessness, there will be frightfulness.

The four days' victorious fight for possession of the important Bois de Belleau, northwest of Château-Thierry, resulted

in the capture, besides the prisoners mentioned, of two German field guns, 77s, and thirty machine guns, besides some small mortars. This was the first capture of German artillery by Americans. I believe that when the history of the war is written the Americans' capture of the Bois de Belleau will be ranked among the neatest pieces of military work of the conflict.

Five days ago, [June 9,] after the capture of the town of Bouresches, the Americans started the task of taking away the Bois de Belleau from the Germans. In the rush at Bouresches they had been unable to secure the rocky strongholds in the woods, and passed on, leaving many nests of machine guns there, which afterward kept up a harassing fire. The Americans several times made big raids into the woods, clearing out part of the Germans, but the next day the Germans would reappear with a harassing fire. Despite strong artillery work, the Germans seemed able to stay there.

On Sunday, the 9th, a rain of extra heavy artillery fire began on the woods. This kept up all Sunday night and Monday. On Monday night the fire was redoubled and the woods literally raked with lines of shellfire.

At about 3 o'clock Monday morning the marines started, as soon as the artillery fire was stopped, to go through those woods. At the nearer edge of the woods, devastated by our shellfire, they encountered little opposition. A little further on the Germans made a small stand, but were completely routed; that is, those who were not killed. By this time the marines were fairly started on their way. They swept forward, clearing out machine gun nests with rifle fire, bayonets, and hand grenades.

WORK OF MARINES

The Germans started in headlong flight when the Americans seized two machine guns and turned them on the Germans with terrific effect. The Germans soon tired of this, and those nearest the Americans began surrendering. In the meantime the marines kept up the chase.

While this was going on the Americans almost surrounded the woods, and the Germans, fleeing from some of the Americans, ran into the machine gun and rifle fire of the others. Then those left rushed headlong the other way to surrender. In a short time the gallant marines had got to the other side of the



MAJOR GENERAL HARBORD, IN COMMAND
OF AMERICAN MARINES

woods, and immediately, with the aid of the engineers, started the construction of a strong position.

Prisoners counted that day numbered more than 300. It was found that they belonged to the crack 5th German Guard Division, which includes the Queen Elizabeth Regiment. There had been 1,200 Germans in the woods. With the exception of the prisoners nearly all the rest were slain.

The prisoners said they were glad of the chance to surrender and get out of the woods, because the American artillery fire for three days had cut off their food and other supplies and they had lived in a hell on earth. The Germans seemed deeply impressed by the fury of the American attack. One of the captured officers, when asked what he thought of the Americans as fighters,

answered that the artillery was crazy and the infantry drunk. A little German private, taking up his master's thought, pointed to three tousled but smiling marines, and said: "Vin rouge, vin blanc, beaucoup vin." He meant he thought the Americans must be intoxicated, to fight as they did for that wood.

Our boys took especial delight in corraling the machine guns. These guns had been very well placed behind trees and in rocky caves and well supplied with ammunition. The Americans had practiced on a German machine gun previously captured, and knew just how to use them against the "Heinies." The captured guns were cleverly camouflaged and were almost overlooked by the Americans. The mortars had been used to throw gas shells from the heights into the woods upon the Americans.

GERMAN MORALE LOW

There was the greatest surprise among American officers at the evident low morale among members of the 5th Guard Division, thought to be one of the Kaiser's very best.

The Germans had tried their best to get the Americans out of the wood and to hold the valuable position. They had sent attack after attack there, always failing to gain complete free possession, but making things very unpleasant for our men. It was after four days of this that the marines got on their hind legs and went after the Germans.

An American General tonight characterized the capture of Belleau Wood as the most important thing the Americans at the front had yet accomplished. Its possession straightens our line, taking away from the German his protected wedge into our positions, and gives an excellent starting point for further operations.

Two hours after the Americans started through the wood the Germans launched their heavy attack to regain Bouresches. A dark and cloudy night had aided their preparations for the rush, but the Americans, expecting something of the sort, had the northern side of the town lined with machine guns, and had artillery all trained on the railroad embankment over

which the Germans had to come. The Americans seem to have excellent tab on the German movements, and when, at 5 o'clock, the Germans came over, they met a terrific machine gun fire, while a heavy barrage which was put right behind the attacking party and gradually lowered on it not only cut off rein-

forcement for it but killed many in it. The slaughter of Germans in this attack was the heaviest the Americans have yet been able to inflict. Our men, in excellent positions at the edge of the town, suffered almost no losses. In this operation we took fifty prisoners, including one officer.

United States Troops in London

First Units of Our New Army Reviewed by King George Amid Dense Thongs

A REGIMENT of the new army of the United States from Camp Gordon, Georgia, 2,700 strong, marched through London, May 11, 1918, and was reviewed by the King; Colonel Whitman was in command. Each soldier received a facsimile copy of the following letter from the King:



WINDSOR CASTLE.

Soldiers of the United States, the people of the British Isles welcome you on your way to take your stand beside the armies of many Nations now fighting in the Old World the great battle for Human Freedom. The Allies will gain new heart & spirit in your company. I wish that I could shake the hand of each one of you & bid you God speed on your mission.

George R. I.

April 1918.

The London Times, in describing the occasion, referred to the attitude of the British public as follows:

All along the way people gathered thickly. There were dense crowds in the neighborhood of Charing Cross, in the Mall, around the Victoria Memorial, and in Grosvenor Gardens. Rarely has the Stars and Stripes been so conspicuous in

London; the flag flew from public and private buildings. It was waved here and there by spectators. It was worn in many buttonholes. London Americans set the fashion of bringing flags small enough to carry and big enough to add emphasis to a personal demonstration. Some English people followed their example, and others were heard wishing that they had "brought their American flags from home." Street hawkers of buttonhole favors had learned the phrase "Old Glory," and shouted it familiarly.

But the real lesson of the day came from the crowd everywhere. It taught those critics who have complained that during the war London has forgotten how to cheer, that London still remembers. The people cheered the American troops, they cheered the Guards, they had a special shout for wounded sailors and soldiers; and by no means did they forget to cheer the King. Occasionally, however, there were silences which seemed to speak of an understanding of the mission of this array of martial youth; of the sacrifice that mingled with the

glory of devotion; perhaps also of the history that Britain and America have begun to make in union.

The bearing of the American troops was described in the following passage:

It is worth noting that when the colors passed many men received them with bared heads, and that "Off with your hats!" was heard now and then in admonition from a civilian. Considering that the custom of so honoring the colors of British regiments is still far from universal, this may be accepted by Americans as a rather notable tribute.

Three things were striking in these Americans—their youth, their seriousness, and their modesty. The first quality is easily conceded to America; we all think of her as young. Those of her sons whom London scrutinized so keenly came under arms only last Summer. They are officered chiefly by men who then passed through the Officers' Training Corps, through the commanding officer and the Lieutenant Colonel belong to the old regular army. They might, therefore, be expected to deserve the name of boys, by which they were affectionately called. But it was their presentation of the idea of youth, of the quintessence of youth, which struck the spectator. Nor was it modified by the suggestion of dead earnestness which accompanied it and might seem to clash with it. The qualities in combination distinguished the American battalions from any young English regiment, which strikes the observer as at once older and more light-hearted. Not

that there was really any lack of hilarity about the Americans in their hours of ease. The one who sang a comic song in front of the barracks before parade had a joyful heart, and was certainly a cause of joy to the Londoners who stood listening to him. As for the men's modest demeanor, it ought to dispose of the notion that the Americans cherish any intention "to show us how things should be done"—if that suggestion is not long since dead.

Physically, the regiment was marked by well-set shoulders, bronzed faces, and general fitness. It looked sinewy, and went along with a fine swing. A few men were pointed out for their unusual height. Spectators on the outskirts of the crowd had an excellent opportunity of appraising these giants. Otherwise the standard of stature was level.

The pride of Americans in the troops—and there were many Americans, naval, military, and civil, among the onlookers—was easy to see. Before the embassy it reached its highest manifestation. The building was decorated with flags, like most of the houses in Grosvenor Gardens. The American Ambassador (Mr. Page) took the salute outside the embassy. In his company were Admiral Sims, Commander Babcock, and Lieut. Col. Slocum. Mrs. Page was an interested spectator in the balcony above. Here the bands played "Pack Up Your Troubles" and "John Brown's Body." A reminder of American history and of the foundations of the United States was introduced when several veterans of the civil war joined the procession.

No Limit to Size of America's Army

More Than 700,000 Additional Young Men Registered Under the Draft Law

ON the recommendation of the Secretary of War, who appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs on May 23, the committee agreed to give President Wilson authority to raise an army of practically unlimited size. The text of the provision to be incorporated in the Army bill was adopted unanimously. The committee had originally been in favor of limiting the size of the army to 5,000,000.

On June 5 male residents of the United States who had reached the age of 21 years since that date in 1917 were required to register under the amended

selective draft law. Nearly complete reports to the Provost Marshal General's office showed that 744,865 men complied with the law. This was 266,724 below the Census Bureau estimate, but as more than 200,000 did not register because they had already enlisted in the army, navy, or Marine Corps, the military authorities found the result entirely satisfactory.

So-called "work or fight" regulations were issued by the Provost Marshal General on June 3. All citizens were called upon to report to the nearest local board all men of military age who should be in

the idler or nonproductive classification after July 1, 1918. The local boards were given authority to summon any man who may be idle or nonproductively employed within its territory.

With the double purpose of increasing the number of men available for military service and of insuring fairer administration of the selective service law, Provost Marshal General Crowder on June 7 instituted a reinvestigation of the draft classification lists throughout the nation. General Crowder believed that by "slacker marriages" and underground claims to exemption on the ground of industrial or agricultural work registrants had escaped service, and that in some districts the local boards had interpreted the regulations too strictly. It was expected that more than 500,000 men would be brought by the reclassification into Class 1, which was being rapidly exhausted.

Another move toward the full utilization of the nation's man power was made on May 24 when the Secretary of War sent to Congress the draft of a bill authorizing the raising of the maximum age limit for voluntary enlistment in the army from 40 to 55 years. Between these ages there were probably 7,500,000 men, and thousands of them have applied to the War Department to be allowed to serve. The department planned to assign men over 40 years to noncombatant service, which calls for a very large proportion of men for every combatant at the front.

The War Department on June 6 permitted publication of reports to the Acting Chief of Ordnance (Brig. Gen. C. C. Williams) showing that since the United States declared war 1,568,661 rifles had been produced for the army. This total was made up of 1,140,595 modified Enfields, 1917 model; 176,796 Springfields, 1903 model, and 251,270 Russian rifles. The last named are used for training purposes and to equip home guards.

There were also the equivalent of 100,000 Enfields and 100,000 Springfields made up in spare parts. With the rifles already in hand when war was declared, and allowing for the fact that only one-half of the soldiers in an army carry rifles, the Ordnance Department had enough rifles for an army of about 2,000,000 men, after making allowance for one year's wastage.

The organization of five new regiments and nineteen battalions of Railway Engineers, to be used in addition to the regiments already working in France, was announced by the War Department on June 6. The work was carried out by the staff of the Director General of Military Railways, Samuel M. Felton, in conjunction with the Engineer Corps. This brought the number of Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France up to 50,000.

A total of \$160,000,000 has been spent on railway materials alone, not including supplies provided and used by the Engineer Corps proper. Director General Felton, describing the growth in personnel and the increase in the size of the task confronting his staff, beginning with the organization of the first railway regiment, said that early in 1917 the Chief of Engineers decided to organize a railway operating regiment. Mr. Felton, who had acted as his railway adviser in 1916, was asked to take charge of the work. Six railroads having headquarters in Chicago were called on to recruit one company each. The regiment formed the nucleus of the present railway organization. While it was being formed, the United States entered the war. One of the first requests transmitted to this Government by the French Mission was for assistance in strengthening the French railway systems to meet the increasing war strain. This request was made in April, 1917, and early in May Mr. Felton was called to Washington to organize nine railway regiments, including the Chicago regiment.

War Finance in Canada

Income Tax Begins at \$1,000—New Taxes on Luxuries

THE new Canadian taxes in the budget for the fiscal year 1918-19 show marked increases, especially in income taxes. Exemption in the case of unmarried persons is reduced from \$1,500 to \$1,000, and for married persons from \$3,000 to \$2,000, the rate being 2 per cent. from \$1,000 to \$1,500 in the case of the unmarried and the same amount from \$2,000 to \$3,000 in the case of the married. The present rate of supertax is continued upon incomes up to \$50,000, and above that there is a gradual increase, reaching 50 per cent. on incomes over \$1,000,000. In addition there will be a war surtax upon incomes over \$6,000, running from 5 per cent. on incomes between \$6,000 and \$10,000 and 25 per cent. on incomes over \$200,000. It has also been decided to grant an exemption of \$200 per child. The total war tax on incomes over \$1,000,000 reaches 77 per cent.

The tax on tobacco is increased from 10 to 20 cents per pound; on cigars from \$5 to \$6 per 1,000; on cigarettes from \$3 to \$6 per 1,000; on foreign raw leaf tobacco from 28 to 40 cents per pound, and on foreign leaf tobacco stemmed from 42 to 60 cents per pound. It has also been decided to place a tax of 10 cents per pound on tea, and it is proposed to increase the duty on coffee to 5 cents for British coffee and to 7 cents for the general tariff. There will be a tax of 8 cents per pack on playing cards and a specific rate customs duty of 5 cents per lineal foot on moving-picture films. A special war excise tax of 10 per cent. is to be imposed upon the selling value of motor cars, jewelry, gramophones, phono-

graphs, mechanical pianos, imported into or manufactured in Canada.

The Minister of Finance stated that \$258,000,000 was the revenue for the year ended March 31, 1918, with civil expenditures of \$173,000,000. The increase in interest and pensions for the coming year was estimated at \$25,000,000. The Finance Minister stated that the war expenditures of the last year approximated \$345,000,000, of which \$167,000,000 had been spent in Canada. Up to March 31 the total outlay on the war was approximately \$878,000,000, which included all expenditures at home and abroad. During the last two years they had applied \$113,000,000 toward war expenditures, in addition to expenditures on interest and pensions. The net debt of Canada was now approximately \$1,200,000,000.

He pointed out that trade was annually increasing, and that exports were now much greater than imports. The total trade had increased since 1913 from \$1,000,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000 last year, the balance of trade in favor of Canada being \$625,000,000. Exports to Great Britain totaled \$860,000,000, while imports were only \$81,000,000. On the other hand, the balance of trade against Canada with the United States was \$350,000,000.

Referring to immigration, the Minister of Finance said that, in spite of the war, over 200,000 people had entered Canada in the last three years, largely farmers from the United States. He anticipated large immigration into Canada shortly after the end of the war.



War Record of the United States

An Official Summary of American Activities During
the First Year of Belligerency.

By CHARLES POPE CALDWELL

Member of Congress from New York

[DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 22, 1918]

AT the outset, let me say frankly that we have made mistakes—yes, grievous mistakes—and had our foresight been as keen as the afterthought of our critics we might have accomplished more. But, notwithstanding these mistakes and omissions, America has done her share—indeed, more than her share—for she has done many times more than any of our allies suspected that she was capable of doing and more than the greatest enthusiast in America hoped she could do. She has confirmed our friends and confounded our enemies. Or, let me put it in another way: America has raised and equipped a bigger army in shorter time and now holds a greater section of the fighting front, transporting her forces 3,000 miles across an infested sea, in ten months, than England was capable of doing in twelve months across the English Channel of less than thirty miles. We began with less, went further, and arrived with more in shorter time. Yet their motive was necessity and ours only desire.

When war was declared in April, 1917, the standing army of the United States consisted of 136,000 officers and men, many of whom were in the foreign service, and the National Guard consisted of 164,000 officers and men, many of whom were too old for active service, and a large part of them physically unfit to perform the duty for which they had volunteered. Our experts told us that it would take two years to raise an army of 1,000,000 men and five years to train the commissioned personnel. It has now been about one year since the first legislation was passed authorizing the increase of our army for war purposes.

The strength of our military forces is now as follows:

ARMY STRENGTH, MAY, 1918		
	Officers.	Men.
Regular army.....	10,295	504,677
Reserve Corps.....	79,038	78,560
National Guard	16,906	411,952
National Army.....	33,894	510,963
On special and technical duty	8,195	.....
Drafted in April.....	.....	150,000
Drafted in May.....	.....	233,742
Total	148,328	1,889,894

Grand total, 2,038,222 officers and men.

So we have today an army of more than 2,000,000, of which 500,000 have already been shipped to France and 1,000,000 more have had the necessary training to fit them for foreign service. These are now waiting for the boats to carry them over. Our critics now complain that we have not done more, yet we have done in one year twice as much as they thought we could do in two years.

When war was declared, each of our allies sent commissions to America to advise us what to do and to assist us wherever possible in our preparation. The English told us that they did not need men, but they did need money and supplies; the Italians that they did not need men, but that they did need material and money; the Russians that they did not need men or material, but did need money and ammunition; the French told us that they needed raw material and money, and asked that a small expeditionary force be sent to hearten their people and as an earnest of our intention of seeing the war through.

Under this tutelage and squaring our conduct with the requests of our friends, it was thought by many to be inadvisable to attempt to raise an army of more than

1,000,000 men. Congress was therefore requested to pass military legislation limiting the army to the 136,000 regulars, the 164,000 National Guardsmen, and 500,000 drafted men, with authority to call an additional 500,000 in case they should be needed. Under the legislation that Congress passed, in spite of the recommendation from the Allies, we have already raised more than 2,000,000 men, and early in the year 1919 will have 3,000,000 men in the army. We have lately taken the "lid off" so that the President may have as big an army as necessity requires and our man power permits. Notwithstanding the fact that the appropriation measure now pending before the House is drawn with the view of supporting an army of only 3,000,000 men, I am confident that before many months deficiency appropriations will be necessary. The army is growing so rapidly and its needs are so urgent that the efforts heretofore made will be small in comparison with those of the next twelve months. We will probably have between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 men before the end of the next fiscal year.

TWENTY MILLION FIGHTING MEN

When we were considering legislation in the Spring of 1917, it was thought that our largest task would be getting men. Experience has shown that this is easy of accomplishment, made so by reason of the fact that we have left open the door for a reasonable amount of volunteers in the National Guard and regular army and passed a draft law under which all men of military age may readily be mobilized. The justness and fairness of the scheme as worked out by the Provost Marshal General have obtained the earnest co-operation and enthusiastic support of our people as a whole.

As I have said, our military law has been amended giving the President authority to call additional increments of men from time to time as needed. It has also been amended to permit him to register and classify all men that reach the age of 21 years. We now have 2,000,000 men in the army. The men between the ages of 21 and 31 years in 1917 have been classified, and there re-

mains in Class 1 approximately 2,000,000 men physically fit not called. The class of 1918, which will be registered this Summer, will add another million, making a grand total of 5,000,000, without calling Classes 2, 3, 4, or 5, containing nearly 6,000,000, and without calling the boys from 18 to 21—3,000,000 more. If the war lasts until 1924 there will be added 6,000,000 more men. The potential man power of America for a seven-year war, therefore, may be conservatively estimated at 20,000,000 fighting men of recognized military age. This out of a population of 125,000,000.

Not because I think that all of our man power will be needed, but in order that we may get a view of the task that is in front of us and understand the necessity for the large army we are calling and the huge expenditures we are making, let me recall these facts.

THE ENEMY'S STRENGTH

The Central Powers at the outbreak of the war had a population of 142,250,000, in round numbers, of which 26,310,000 were males between the ages of 18 and 44, and if 70 per cent. of them were available for military service their man power would be approximately 18,360,000. Since the Russian fiasco Germany has occupied a territory greater in area than both Germany and Austria, in which there live upward of 51,000,000 people. And if the reports that we get are to be believed, the Kaiser has compelled the boys between 18 and 21 in this occupied territory to enter the German training camps, and he hopes in a short time to have them on the western front, thus augmenting his man power to approximately 21,000,000 fighting men.

This is the job we have on our hands. The newspapers tell us that the Kaiser has only 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 soldiers, but it would be wise for the members of this House in passing legislation affecting the conduct of the war to keep in mind the figures that I have just indicated. To meet this Great Britain—the British Isles, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—France, Italy, and the United States have a combined population from which they can draw 30,000,000

or 40,000,000, and in addition to these numbers there is an enormous reservoir from which to draw further man power in the colonies and possessions of the Allies and the twenty-three smaller countries now allied with us in the war. To show something of the relative strength of the contending forces I will read the following capitulation, which is believed to be substantially accurate and has been compiled after very careful inquiry from the best sources available:

MAN POWER OF CENTRAL POWERS
COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE ALLIES

	A. Population 1914.	B. Estimated Males 18-44 serv. inclusive, 1914.	C. Est'd avail. for mil. of all kinds—70% of B.
CENTRAL POWERS			
Austria-H'ary	51,000,000	9,360,000	6,500,000
Bulgaria	4,750,000	800,000	560,000
Germany (Con- tinental) ...	68,000,000	12,850,000	9,000,000
Ottoman Em- pire	18,500,000	3,300,000	2,300,000
Total	142,250,000	26,310,000	18,360,000
ASSOCIATED GOVERNMENTS			
Australia	5,000,000	850,000	595,000
Canada	7,500,000	1,275,000	892,500
France	39,000,000	6,630,000	4,640,000
Gt. Britain...	46,000,000	7,820,000	5,474,000
India	320,000,000	54,400,000	37,800,000
Italy	36,000,000	6,120,000	4,284,000
Japan	54,000,000	8,180,000	1,390,000
New Zealand..	1,200,000	204,000	142,800
Portugal	6,000,000	1,020,000	714,000
Serbia	2,800,000	476,000	333,200
South Africa...	6,000,000	1,020,000	714,000
United States.	100,000,000	17,000,000	11,900,000
Total	623,500,000	104,995,000	68,879,500

The casualties resulting in death, permanent injury, or incapacity in the German Army have amounted to admittedly about 3,000,000 men during the four years of war, or approximately the same number as have been supplied by the young men who have reached military age during the same period. From this statement it would appear that from the point of man power Germany is no worse off today than when she started the war. The weakening of the German forces is represented, however, by the lack of nourishment for her workers, her women and children, and the discharges which must necessarily follow the reaching of advanced age by the old men called to the colors, both of which will be felt

more keenly as time goes on, as well as the disease which must necessarily accompany conditions such as the war has produced. America will not begin to discharge her men on account of advanced age for twenty years. In other words, the man power of America will get stronger and the man power of the enemy must get weaker for the next twenty years, if, by any chance, the war should last that long. We have nothing to fear from this source.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

The first war difficulty encountered came when we looked for shelter for the vast army being assembled. Much to the surprise of every one, it was soon discovered that there was not cloth enough in the world to put tents over an army the size of the one we were organizing, and there were not mills and machinery enough to make it. Therefore wooden cantonments were constructed. We built thirty-two cantonments with a floor space of 640,000,000 square feet, with the necessary water, sewers, lighting plants, storehouses, ice plants, hospitals, and recreation centres to take care of 1,280,000 men, in which undertaking there was used in ten weeks' time more human labor than went into the building of the Panama Canal. Besides these, we have constructed aviation fields, ordnance schools, and training schools for officers—herculean tasks in themselves. We have also put up at the ports of embarkation, and throughout the country, supply depots, and storage warehouses with a combined floor space of 24,220,000 square feet for the army, in addition to what the navy has done in that respect, and have constructed the enormous buildings erected for administrative purposes in Washington and elsewhere. Verily, your Uncle Samuel is a modern Aladdin, who, when he wants a thing devoutly, rubs the lamp of American patriotism and the genius of America produces overnight all that he requires.

When we entered the war we had practically no surplus clothing for our army, our reserve supply having been used up in the Mexican expedition. Our allies were using practically the full output of

all of our mills capable of producing cloth of the character used for uniforms. To take over these factories would have discommoded our allies. We met the difficulty by a change of the machinery in carpet factories, ducking mills, and kindred industries, and have been able to, during the last year, make Summer and Winter clothing enough for 2,000,000 men, and have a reserve supply of every article of wear for our soldiers sufficient to take care of the authorized increase.

TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT

England trained her first million a whole year in citizens' clothes and top hats, with walking sticks for guns, because she could not do otherwise, and this in spite of the fact that she was the greatest textile manufacturing country in the world and had all America to help her. Notwithstanding this shortage, our first 1,500,000 men were trained in uniforms and taught the manual of arms with a rifle. When England went into the war she had shortly before adopted a new type of gun, but her factories were not equipped to supply it. She abandoned her new type of gun, and has fought the war thus far with an admittedly inferior type of rifle, a large portion of which were made on order in the United States.

There went up a hue and cry that America adopt a foreign type of rifle, notwithstanding the facts that the rifle is the most necessary weapon of warfare, and we had the Springfield rifle in sub-

stantial quantity, admittedly the best rifle then being used in the world, shooting the most powerful and efficient ammunition ever prepared. In the face of this criticism, we adhered to our own weapon, adopting a modified and rechambered Enfield, which differs from a Springfield in such a small way that it is not worthy of discussion, now known as the United States rifle, model of 1917, resulting in some delay but now being produced in sufficient quantity.

When General Joffre made the request for a small expeditionary force, the critics of the Administration demanded what they thought was the impossible—i. e., that we ship to France during the first year 50,000 to 100,000 men. During the first ten days of May we shipped 90,000. Within one year after the first shipment America will have an army of 1,000,000 men in France, with their necessary arms, equipment, and supplies. It will be the best-fed, the best-clothed, the best-paid army of its size that the world has ever known, speaking the same language, worshipping the same God, and following the same flag. Its personnel will have the quickest perceptions of any soldiers in the world, and will have been trained under modern conditions, surrounded by the best moral influences, with the lowest percentage of disease, and will be nerved by the highest motives that actuate men.

Victory for our cause is therefore certain.

Italy's Third Year of War

Other Anniversaries, With Official Greetings Exchanged
by the Allies and the United States

THE third anniversary of Italy's entry into the war was the occasion of an address by Prime Minister Orlando, delivered in the Augusteum at Rome on May 24, in which, in reaffirming the unity of the Allies, he said:

For this unity, so solemnly consecrated again today, I express in the name of Italy my deep gratitude to all. To Eng-

land, which could not send a more noble or more agreeable messenger than your Royal Highness, who brings to us a message reaffirming friendship with our country, a friendship which was shown at a time which was painful to us, and which has been strengthened by the intimacy of affection in the days of grief still more than in those of joy. To France, to our great sister toward whom with a feeling of renewed admiration our hearts are turned. To the United States, to this

young people, powerful in its strength and already rich in glory owing to the wisdom of its leader and the numerous virtues of its men. To the peoples conquered by the enemy because of their smallness, for which reason their heroic sacrifice and admirable bravery are all the more apparent. To those nations from the Baltic to the Adriatic which the common enemy has oppressed. To the oppressed nations in the interior and on the frontiers of enemy States which heroically rise in rebellion with the cry "Long Live the Entente!"

In the royal box were the Prince of Wales and Prince Peter of Montenegro. The vast audience contained the official representatives of all the allied powers and the United States, and the leaders of all political and social groups of Italy, with representatives from all the important cities. The Prince of Wales in his address said:

I come to you to assure you of the constant friendship and sincere affection of the British people for your nation, whose enlightened and precious sympathy is a proof of the creative unity of arms which nothing can again dissolve. In the city of Rome, the ancient capital of the world, the source of social order and justice, I proudly proclaim my conviction that the great object for which our two nations are fighting against the forces of reaction is inevitably destined to triumph, owing to the union of which our meeting this evening is symbolic.

The King of Italy addressed the following Order of the Day to the army and navy:

Soldiers on land and sea! The fourth year of war, which began today, finds you full of pride for the hard trials you have faced, and which, with admirable courage, you have overcome. In face of your firm decision to resist to the utmost the enemy was obliged to call a halt, and in daring and magnificent actions you have many a time shown him the indomitable

spirit and resolute will to conquer with which you are animated. This priceless energy, revived by the faith which your country has in you, is strengthened still further by the anxiety with which your oppressed and despoiled brothers await your coming.

Soldiers on land and sea! With the sacred image of a country entirely freed from the enemy imprinted in the very depths of your hearts, together with the ideals of justice and civilization which our war has adopted as its aims, I will accompany you in your future struggles, certain that the reward for the tireless energy which you, in common with our valiant allies, have shown will not be delayed much longer.

President Wilson sent the following message to the Italian people, after it had been read by Secretary Lansing at a Washington celebration of Italy's anniversary:

I am sure that I am speaking for the people of the United States in sending to the Italian people warm fraternal greetings upon this, the anniversary of the entrance of Italy into this great war, in which there is being fought out once for all the irrepressible conflict between free self-government and the dictation of force. The people of the United States have looked with profound interest and sympathy upon the efforts and sacrifices of the Italian people, are deeply and sincerely interested in the present and future security of Italy, and are glad to find themselves associated with a people to whom they are bound by so many personal and intimate ties in a struggle whose object is liberation, freedom, the rights of men and nations to live their own lives and determine their own fortunes, the rights of the weak, as well as the strong, and the maintenance of justice by the irresistible force of free nations leagued together in the defense of mankind. With ever-increasing resolution and force we shall continue to stand together in this sacred common cause. America salutes the gallant Kingdom of Italy, and bids her Godspeed.

France's Tribute to Great Britain

Great Britain's "Empire Day" was celebrated May 24 throughout France. In Paris there was an imposing demonstration at the Sorbonne, at which were present the President of the republic, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Deputies. President Deschanel of the Chamber in speaking of "the prodigy of Great Britain's effort" said:

This people of seamen and merchants came forward as volunteers in crowds; in the Spring of 1915 there were 2,400,000, and at the end of the same year 3,000,000. In May, 1916, King George announced that 5,000,000 men had been raised by voluntary recruitment. But this did not suffice. Parliament voted compulsory service, the greatest victory that the people ever gained over itself, a triumph of duty and conscience, the pledge of that

victory which we shall win together over the enemy.

When Germany over a year ago proclaimed unrestricted submarine warfare, she announced, too, England's capitulation at short notice. Instead of that hundreds of thousands of Americans are crossing the seas as allies. Germany has united France and England not for the present struggle but forever.

Before the war there was in a Calais belfry a Flemish peal of bells. On the clock dial two knights armed with lances—Henry VIII., King of England, and Francis I., King of France. Every time the hour struck they exchanged lance thrusts—one at 1 o'clock, three at 3 o'clock, and twelve at midday. A German shell hit the knights and ended the fight forever. It is the only German shell which ever showed esprit, remarked a French wit.

Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, who spoke in the name of the French Government, said that, thanks to the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, the Entente had the mastery of the sea and could look to the future without concern

Reviewing the work that the navies silently accomplished, he mentioned that in the course of last month they had sunk more submarines than the Germans were building. They protected the transports which in April disembarked on the coasts of France more than 400,000 soldiers.

"In the past," he continued, "mastery of the sea was always a powerful means of conquest. At present it forms in addition a powerful guarantee with which none other is comparable. The enemy knows that he will retain neither in the east, nor in the west, nor in the south the territories which he momentarily occupies, and he knows, moreover, that he will not wrest from us the mastery of the sea. That being so, the issue of the war is certain, and the navies take their place in the gratitude of the Entente alongside of its incomparable armies."

America's First Anniversary in France

President Poincaré of France sent the following cablegram to President Wilson on June 13, the anniversary of the arrival in France of the first American troops:

The Allies, owing to the Russian capitulation, are living through the most difficult hours of the war, but the rapid formation of new American units and the uninterrupted increase in oversea transportation are leading us with certainty toward the day when the equilibrium is restored.

President Wilson replied as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: Your telegram was certainly conceived in the highest and most generous spirit of friendship, and I am sure that I am expressing the feeling of the people of the United States, as well as my own, when I say that it is with increasing pride and gratification that they have seen their forces under General Pershing more and more actively co-operating with the forces of liberation on French soil.

It is their fixed and unalterable purpose to send men and materials in steady and increasing volume until any temporary inequality of force is entirely overcome and the forces of freedom made overwhelming, for they are convinced that it is only by victory that peace can be achieved and the world's affairs settled

upon a basis of enduring justice and right. It is a constant satisfaction to them to know that in this great enterprise they are in close and intimate co-operation with the people of France.

WOODROW WILSON.

President Poincaré also sent a message to General Pershing, heartily praising "the gallant troops of your command who behaved so magnificently in the recent battles." He expressed the firmest hope in the continuation of the American successes.

General Pershing replied to President Poincaré as follows:

Permit me to thank you, Mr. President, for your kind message on the occasion of this anniversary. The enthusiastic reception which Paris gave us then has since been extended by all your people to the American Army.

Today our armies are united in affection and resolution, with full confidence in the final success which will crown the long struggle for liberty and civilization.

The following telegrams were also sent to General Pershing:

On the anniversary of your arrival in France to take command of the American troops I wish, my dear General, to express to you once more the greatest ad-

NATIONAL LEADERS IN EASTERN EUROPE



Judge Svinhufvud
Dictator of Finland



Professor Masaryk
Leader of Czech independence movement
(© Harris & Ewing)



M. H. Holubowicz
Premier of Ukraina



General Petljura
Ukrainian War Minister



Professor Edward de Valera
*President of the Sinn Fein, arrested in
 connection with an alleged Ger-
 man plot in Ireland*

(© International Film Service)



Prince Sixtus of Bourbon
*To whom the Emperor Karl wrote his
 famous peace letter. The Prince is
 fighting on the side of the Allies*

miration for the powerful aid brought by your army to the cause of the Allies. With ever-increasing numbers the American troops cover themselves with glory under your orders in barring the route of the invader. The day is coming when, thanks to the superb effort of your country and the valor of persons, the enemy, losing the initiative of operations, will be forced to incline before the triumph of our ideal of justice and civilization.

CLEMENCEAU.

A year ago you brought to us the American sword. Today we have seen it strike. It is the certain pledge of victory. By it our hearts are more closely united than ever.

FOCH.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Your coming to

French soil a year ago filled our country with enthusiasm and hope. Accept today the grateful homage of our soldiers for the daily increasing aid on the battlefield brought by their American brothers in arms. The last battles, where the magnificent qualities of courage and military virtue of your troops were demonstrated in so brilliant a manner, are a sure guarantee of the future. The day is not far off when the great American Army will play the decisive rôle, to which history calls this army on the battlefields of Europe. Permit me, my dear General, to express to you, on this anniversary day, my entire confidence and assure you of my feelings of affectionate comradeship.

PETAIN.

The Soldier Speaks

By JOHN GALSWORTHY

[By Arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

If courage thrives on reeking slaughter,
And he who kills is lord
Of beauty and of loving laughter—
Gird on me a sword!
If death be dearest comrade proven,
If life be coward's mate,
If Nazareth of dreams be woven—
Give me fighter's fate!

* * * * *

If God is thrilled by a battle cry,
If He can bless the moaning fight,
If when the trampling charge goes by
God Himself is the leading Knight;
If God laughs when the gun thunders,
If He yells when the bullet sings—
Then my stoic soul but wonders
How great God can do such things!

* * * * *

The white gulls wheeling over the plow,
The sun, the reddening trees—
We being enemies, I and thou,
There is no meaning to these.
There is no flight on the wings of Spring,
No scent in the Summer rose;
The roundelays that the blackbirds sing—
There is no meaning in those!

If you must kill me—why the lark,
The hawthorn bud, and the corn?
Why do the stars bedew the dark?
Why is the blossom born?
If I must kill you—why the kiss
Which made you? There is no why!
If it be true we were born for this—
Pitiful Love, Good-bye!

* * * * *

Not for the God of Battles!—
For Honor, Freedom, and Right,
And saving of gentle Beauty,
We have gone down to fight!

The War in the Air

Attacks by Massed Squadrons of Airplanes Become an Important Factor in Battle

AERIAL warfare entered upon a new phase with the opening of the German offensive in March, 1918, and largely bore out the prediction that the operations in the air would become almost as vital as those of infantry and artillery. Since early in the war airmen have been performing the scouting and observation functions which formerly belonged to the cavalry arm; and as the conflict has developed they have also become skilled in the art of harassing the enemy. So far these operations had been carried out by individual aviators or comparatively small squadrons, but the operations of March, 1918, witnessed the definite development of larger squadrons, manoeuvring as effectively as bodies of cavalry, and in massed formation attacking infantry columns. The possibilities of the new aerial arm were further demonstrated in the creation of a barrage, as effective as that of heavy artillery, for the purpose of holding back advancing bodies of infantry.

In the first days of the German offensive there took place an aerial battle which up to that time was unique in the annals of warfare. It was a battle not merely for the purpose of gaining the mastery of the air, but to aid allied infantry and artillery in stemming the tide of the German advance, and when the drive finally slowed down and came to a halt in Picardy, the allied airmen had undoubtedly contributed largely to the result.

During the first two days (March 21-22) of the German drive there was comparatively little aerial activity. The aviators on both sides were preparing for the impending battle, which actually began on the morning of March 23 and lasted all that day and the day following. At the end of the two days' struggle the allied airmen had gained a decisive victory, the point of which was

complete ascendancy in the air during the next five days, when the German aviators were entirely unable to prevent the allied fliers from doing what they liked.

UNPRECEDENTED AIR BATTLE

The story of the air battle of March 23-24 reads like one of the most extraordinary adventure tales ever imagined. The struggle began with squadrons of airplanes ascending and manoeuvring as perfectly as cavalry. They rose to dizzy heights, and, descending, swept the air close to the ground. The individual pilots of the opposing sides now began executing all manner of movements, climbing, diving, turning in every direction, and seeking to get into the best position to pour machine-gun fire into enemy airplanes. Every few minutes a machine belonging to an allied or German squadron crashed to the ground, often in flames. At the end of the first day's fighting wrecked airplanes and the mangled bodies of aviators lay strewn all over the battlefield.

All next day, March 24, the struggle in the air went on with unabated fury. The allied air squadrons were now on the offensive and penetrated far inside the German lines. The German aviators counterattacked whenever they could, and more than once succeeded in crossing the French lines. But at the close of the second day victory rested with the allied airmen, and during the next five days scarcely a German airplane took the air.

The nature of the military operations on the earth below during these five days, (March 25-29,) favored the allied airmen and permitted them to secure important results in attacking infantry. The Germans were advancing through the valley of the Oise and across the Picardy plains, while the Allies were en-

deavoring to bring up sufficient reserves to hold back the advance. The fighting was now in the open, and except for walls, trees, and ditches there was practically no cover of which the Germans could take advantage. This was exactly what suited the allied air squadrons as they sallied forth to harass and hamper the advancing German columns, which they attacked by day and night. Many German units were completely destroyed by showers of bombs, others were dispersed and demoralized, and there is no doubt that the allied squadrons, unopposed for the time by German aviators, did much to retard the advance of the enemy columns. The allied airmen literally swarmed in the air, but in carefully organized formations, so that their attacks would reap the largest possible gain.

ARTILLERY COLUMN SHATTERED

Some of the separate episodes illustrate the advantage of unopposed aerial operations. On March 25, for instance, a German artillery column moving along the road between Guiscard and Noyon, was attacked by French airmen and entirely dispersed. The machine gunners in the airplanes killed or wounded many horses which either fell down in their harness and blocked the road, or, panic-stricken, bolted in all directions, leaving the roads and adjoining fields covered with dead men and animals, wrecked guns, caissons, and wagons. Bodies of infantry were similarly broken up, dispersed, or demoralized. Showers of bombs from the airplanes created a barrage, and entire companies of German infantry were annihilated. In addition, railroad stations were damaged, transports blocked, and military works and depots of all kinds destroyed or put out of commission. At no previous time in the war did armies suffer so severely as did the German forces during the five days, March 24-29, 1918. The allied airmen did not come out unscathed. Many were killed by rifle fire, and many machines were lost. But the Allies held the mastery of the air and turned it to the fullest advantage, while the Germans were organizing new aerial squadrons.

On the fifth day of this period of allied air supremacy German airplanes began to appear once more, and with the organization of new enemy squadrons, the Allies' ascendancy was no longer untested. Richthofen and other German air commanders came on the scene with their squadrons, and from March 30 onward there was continued fighting in the air between the opposing forces.

OFFICIAL DESCRIPTION

A day-to-day story of the air fighting on the Western front would vary little in its recital of duels and raids and battles between opposing squadrons. But on some days there was more intense fighting than usual. Such a day was April 12, when the Allies achieved the feat of destroying or bringing down ninety-three enemy airplanes.

That day's work is described in Sir Douglas Haig's report from British Headquarters:

On the 12th inst. atmospheric conditions were favorable for flying, and a great concentration of our airplanes was effected by us on the battlefront. Large numbers of low-flying machines were employed in bombing and sweeping with machine-gun fire roads packed with the enemy's troops. Thirty-six tons of bombs and over 110,000 rounds of ammunition were fired by us.

While these attacks on ground targets were in progress, other formations, flying at a greater height, engaged the enemy's airplanes, which were extremely active in this sector. Other machines reconnoitred the battle area, bringing back information as to the positions of our own and the enemy's troops.

On the remainder of the British front the usual work in co-operation with our artillery was carried out, and a very large number of photographs taken.

In air fighting forty German machines were brought down by our airplanes, and twenty other hostile airplanes were driven down out of control. In addition, two of the enemy's machines were shot down by anti-aircraft-gun fire. Three hostile observation balloons were also destroyed. Twelve of our airplanes are missing.

After dark the incessant bombing carried out by us during the previous twelve hours was continued until dawn. Over twenty-two tons of bombs were dropped on different targets, including the Don and Douai railway stations, two important railway junctions between Mazières and

Rheims, and roads leading up to the battlefront in the neighborhood of Estaires.

Sir Douglas Haig's report next day stated that low-flying machines reconnoitred the battlefront during the day and dropped over 1,200 bombs on the enemy's troops on roads leading to the front. The numbers of German airplanes destroyed on various days evidence the intensity of the air fighting. Thus, reports of successive days showed these totals: 21, 53, (two days;) 55, 21, 30, 97, (four days.) On May 25 it was stated that many more German airplanes had been added to the total of 1,000 machines recorded as having fallen to earth, or having been sent down out of control since the opening of the drive on March 21.

WORK OF BOMBING SQUADRONS

Some slight indication of the work of the bombing planes was given in a report of the British Air Ministry, which stated that the number of bombs dropped by British airmen over enemy lines in France, opposite the British front, during March was 23,099 by day and 13,080 by night. The Germans dropped in the area occupied by British troops 517 by day and 1,948 by night. During April the British dropped 6,033 bombs behind the enemy lines along the British front, and the Germans retaliated with 1,346 in the area occupied by British troops.

By reuniting practically all their available air force in the sector of attack the enemy won a short-lived superiority. On June 4 there was a good deal of air fighting, that day turning more steadily in favor of the Allies, who by the following day had gained the upper hand over the Germans.

A brilliant exploit by French aviators was that briefly recorded in the official report of June 5 to the effect that in the valley of the Savière French bombardment squadrons threw more than seventeen tons of bombs on enemy troop concentrations. Early in the afternoon the airmen were informed that a large number of Germans were assembling in the valley of the Savière. Owing to the configuration of the ground they were sheltered from the fire of artillery and it

was evident that they intended to reinforce the German move westward into the Forest of Villers-Cotterets. Bombplanes were sent out.

The effect of the bombs was tremendous. The German soldiers broke headlong for cover, abandoning all thought of fight. Ten minutes later a bombplane group of the same strength arrived on the scene. At first no Germans were visible; then circling low, the airmen discovered the enemy hiding in the horse-shoe wood of Hautwison on the eastern side of the valley. Again the devoted battalions were subjected to a terrible bombardment amid trees that gave no protection. Before the decimated units could re-form the first squadron had returned with a new load, and once more the wood was filled with the roar of explosions.

No human morale could stand such triple strain. In vain the German officers tried to re-form their panic-stricken men. When the French infantry counterattacked they had an easy victory over the weakened forces that had made the advance. The airmen's success against the reserves had nullified an advance that might have been dangerous.

GERMANS FIGHT GERMANS

One of the most extraordinary episodes of recent aerial fighting was the battle waged on June 5 between two flights of German planes. It was an unintentional but disastrous fight between brother aviators, during which British pilots joyfully and impartially rendered assistance first to one side, then to the other, until so many of the German fliers had been destroyed or damaged that the conflict could not continue. According to eyewitnesses two British officers in a fighting machine were leading a patrol along the lines, when they sighted a German Halberstadt two-seater, which, upon their appearance, fired a green signal light. The British leaders expected a trap, and waited to see what this unusual performance meant. In a short time six German scouts came wheeling out of the blue and joined the Halberstadt. Almost at once six other enemy scouts dived out of the sun on their comrades, whom

they apparently mistook for a British patrol about to attack the Halberstadt.

What happened was this: The Halberstadt had been acting as a decoy, and the green light had been meant as a signal for assistance. But there had been no expectation that two flights of German planes would respond at the same time. Not being able to distinguish the markings of their friends—and this has happened not infrequently before—the newcomers immediately began a furious attack upon them. The British leaders then guided their patrol into this mad mêlée and took a hand. The Halberstadt was the first victim, and this was shot down by a British commanding machine. Another British fighter in the meantime had accounted for two more enemy scouts, which were sent swirling to destruction. All the time the German aircraft were continuing their bitter battle among themselves, and several of them were seen to go down out of control before the engagement finally ended. The British leaders by their good judgment had led the Germans into their own trap.

ATTACKS ON HOSPITALS

Some hundreds of the personnel and patients of British hospitals behind the battlelines were killed and wounded on May 19 in the heavy attack by German bombing planes. Among those on the casualty list were several nurses, some of whom were killed, and several medical officers who were wounded. A large American hospital in the neighborhood escaped. A great number of the bombs were of extraordinary size, digging vast craters in the hospital grounds, while others were high-explosive shrapnel bombs, which scattered bullets through the crowded hospital tents and buildings. A three-seated airplane was brought down by gunfire while flying at a low altitude, and the occupants were made prisoner. The German Captain and the pilot sustained comparatively light shrapnel wounds, while the observer was not hurt. When questioned why he had directed his men against hospitals, the Captain asserted that he did not see the Red Cross signs. He said that he was seeking military objectives and had no desire to molest hospitals. With a shrug

of his shoulders, the Captain added that if the British chose to build their hospitals near railways, they must expect to get them bombed.

The same group of hospitals was attacked again on the night of May 31. Several of them were hit and the casualty list among patients and workers was considerable. One hospital was almost demolished when an enemy aviator dropped an explosive on it after getting his bearings by letting fall a brilliant flare which lighted up the whole district. The raid lasted two hours. In one hospital one ward was destroyed and two other wards were damaged. Several attendants were killed in this place, and there were other casualties. The operating theatre of still another hospital was wrecked.

Altogether between May 15 and June 1 German airmen bombed British hospitals in France seven times, causing casualties totaling 991, as follows: Killed—Officers, 11; other ranks, 318; nursing sisters, 5; Women's Auxiliary Corps, 8; civilians, 6. Wounded—Officers, 18; other ranks, 534; nursing sisters, 11; Women's Auxiliary Corps, 7; civilians, 73.

On the night of May 28 German airmen deliberately dropped bombs on hospitals many miles in the rear of the front, in which there were scores of American and hundreds of French sick and wounded. A number of Americans were slightly injured by flying glass. One French nurse was killed and another injured. Several civilians died of wounds.

In addition to their operations against the Germans in France and Belgium, the Allies continued to carry the war into Germany. In a raid during the night of May 27 British long-distance bombing machines dropped between four and five tons of bombs on chemical works at Mannheim, the Landau railroad station, an electric power station at Kreuzwald, and on the Metz-Sablons railroad station. Very large explosions were caused and much damage done. The same night the important railway triangle at Liège in Belgium was bombarded. In spite of determined opposition by German airplanes, British aviators on May

16 dropped bombs on factories and the railroad station at Saarbrücken in Rhenish Prussia.

Cologne, the sixth largest city of Germany, was raided by British bombing planes on May 18. Bombs were dropped on railroad stations, factories, and barracks. Eighty-eight of the persons who were killed were buried in the same grave. The people of the city became panic-stricken. Aix-la-Chapelle was also attacked and factories set on fire.

TONS OF BRITISH BOMBS

British air squadrons carried out successful raids in Germany on May 31. Long-distance bombing machines crossed the Rhine and, in spite of strong opposition from enemy aircraft, dropped over a ton of bombs on the station and workshops at Karlsruhe. Another group of British airplanes dropped a ton of bombs on the railway triangle of Metz-Sablons with good effect and without losses. During the course of the day thirty-one tons of bombs were dropped on different targets behind the enemy lines. Twenty German machines were destroyed in air fighting, and six were driven out of control. During the night sixteen tons of bombs were dropped on targets in enemy territory. Six tons were dropped on the Bruges docks and on the Zeebrugge-Bruges Canal. In addition, four tons were dropped on railway junctions and the stations at Metz-Sablons, Karthaus, and Thionville.

Another typical day's work of the British aviators was that described in the official report issued on June 6. On the previous night long-distance bombing machines again attacked the Metz-Sablons station triangle and also the railway sidings at Thionville, dropping five tons of bombs with good results, although the visibility was indifferent. Next morning (June 6) the railway station at Coblenz was heavily attacked. The fine weather of June 5 enabled the British airmen to carry out much photographic, reconnaissance, and artillery work. Twenty tons of bombs were dropped on different targets, including hostile dumps and railway billets, the Armentières and Roye stations, and the

Zeebrugge seaplane base. In addition long-distance day bombing machines heavily attacked the railway station and barracks at Treves, and the Metz-Sablons railway station, and the railways at Karthaus, returning without loss. Seven hostile machines and three German observation balloons were shot down during the day, and three hostile airplanes were driven down out of control. Four of the British machines are missing. On the night of June 5 thirteen tons of bombs were dropped on the St. Quentin, Boesinghe, Cambrai, and Armentières stations.

PARIS AND LONDON RAIDED

German aviators made an ineffectual attempt on the night of May 21 to raid Paris. Three persons were killed and several wounded in the outskirts of the city, but none of the raiders reached Paris itself. The following night another attack was made, and this time one of the German aviators succeeded in reaching the city. Bombs were dropped at various places, causing thirteen casualties, with one killed. German aviators also attacked the railroads north and northeast of Paris, but the bombs dropped caused no serious damage.

Forty-four persons were killed and 179 injured in the London area during an air raid on the night of May 19. Four of the German machines were destroyed, and a fifth fell flaming into the sea. This was the sixth raid on London since the beginning of 1918, and with the exception of that on Jan. 28 the most disastrous. Many of the casualties were among persons who were on the streets or in doorways, thus disregarding the warnings to seek shelter.

AMERICAN AVIATORS

Aerial fighting is the only form of modern warfare which gives opportunities for individual deeds of heroism; and every army has its list of airmen, dead or alive, who have distinguished themselves in thrilling fights high above the earth. Here, because there were Americans fighting in the air, mainly with the French, before the United States entered the war, this nation has already a

record which can vie with that of the other belligerents. On April 27 the standing of American aviators based on the number of adversaries shot down was as follows: Major Raoul Lufbery, 18; Major William Thaw, 5; Lieutenant Frank Baer, 5; Sergeant Baylies, 5; Captain Charles Biddle, 2, and Sergeant Vernon Booth, Sergeant August Grehore, Second Lieutenant Henry Grendelass, Sergeant Thomas Hitchcock, Lieutenant Friest Lerner, Sergeant David Putnam, Sergeant W. A. Wellman, Lieutenant Allan Winslow, and Lieutenant Douglas Campbell, 1 each.

As the above list shows, Major Raoul Lufbery was easily America's leading airman, having far surpassed the initial record of an "ace," attained when an airman destroys five enemy machines. But his career was cut short on May 19, when he was killed in a dramatic combat with a German biplane behind the American sector north of Toul. Lufbery lost his life after six other American airmen had tried in vain to bring down the German machine. A German bullet set his petrol tank on fire, and Lufbery leaped from his machine.

LUFBERY'S LAST FIGHT

It was early in the morning when the German biplane appeared over the American airdromes moving slowly. Immediately the "alerte" signal was given and two Americans started up, and two others followed. When they got to a height of about 2,500 meters they found themselves face to face with a giant German biplane with a wing spread of sixty feet, carrying a pilot and two gunners, and driven by two engines. The engines were armored, and the pilot sat in a steel house. The gunners wore armor and occupied protected positions, each manning a heavy machine gun. The American fighters sent streams of bullets in vain against the new enemy.

By this time other Americans were in the air, trying to bring down the German, who loafed along, not seeming to mind bullets at all. The scene, in full view for many miles, looked like a lot of swallows pecking at a giant bird of prey. When one of the Americans landed, out of am-

munition, and reported his inability to do damage to the German machine, Lufbery asked and received permission to try. He mounted up above the German, got his machine gun going well, and swept head first at the monster plane. When part of the way had been traversed he swerved off, supposedly because his machine gun jammed. But in a few minutes he was back at the German again, dashed by with his machine gun going, but produced no effect. He was seen to turn and start up at the enemy again, when suddenly he swerved and a thin line of flame shot from his machine, which seemed to hang still for a moment and then dart down. This took place at an altitude of 2,000 meters. When his machine was at an altitude of about 1,500 meters the American ace was seen to arise and leap into midair. From long experience he knew that to stay in his seat meant to be burned to death horribly. His body fell like a plummet, landing in the midst of a flower garden back of a residence in the village of Maron, while his machine fell in flames and landed on the ground a mass of wreckage. At Lufbery's funeral it was announced that the battleplane which had caused his death had been brought down by French airmen.

Lieutenant Douglas Campbell, a Californian, by bringing down his fifth German airplane on May 31, secured the distinction of being the first American-trained ace. Besides Campbell, America then had two other aces, Major William Thaw and Captain D. M. K. Peterson, but both Thaw and Peterson got their training with the French Army.

RICHTHOFEN'S DEATH

Germany has also lost her most aggressive aviator, Captain Baron von Richthofen, who commanded the most efficient of the German air squadrons. He was killed just after bringing down his eightieth machine. He was shot down in an aerial combat near Sailly-le-Sec on the Somme. With his "flying circus" of more than twenty followers, Captain von Richthofen flew toward the British lines about noon on April 20. Here they met two British airplanes, and von Richthofen separated himself from his

followers and started on a furious pursuit of these machines. Meanwhile a score of other British planes came swirling up and engaged the Germans. The Captain kept after his man and attempted to outmanoeuvre him. The British plane, which was accompanying the one under attack, got above the German. The three machines raced toward the British lines, their machine guns chattering like mad. They kept getting lower, until at last, when they were about fifty yards back of the British trenches, they were only a few hundred feet high. Meanwhile the other German machines were fighting the British squadron more than three miles away.

Machine guns and rifles on the ground came into action against Captain von Richthofen, who was also being fired at by at least one of his adversaries in the air. Suddenly his machine turned its nose downward and crashed to the earth. Examination later showed that the German pilot had a bullet through his heart. Von Richthofen was apparently killed while trying to break through the British aerial defenses in the Ancre region in order that enemy reconnoissance machines might cross the lines to make observations on the defenses. A document captured by the British revealed the reason for his presence there. It was a communication from the "group commander of aviation" to the First Pursuit Squadron, of which von Richthofen's eleventh pursuit flight was part, saying: "It is not possible to fly over the Ancre in a westerly direction on account of strong enemy opposition. I request that this aerial barrage be forced to break in order that a reconnoissance up to the line of Marieux-Puchevillers (ten miles from the front) may be carried out."

Richthofen was buried with military honors behind the British lines. A large number of British fighting men and aviation officers, as well as Americans stationed at a neighboring airdrome, were in attendance. Mechanics of an aviation squadron had constructed a coffin, on which they placed a plate giving the aviator's name, rank, and other data. The body was carried on a motor car, with which marched a firing squad

and many officers and men. Six British air service officers acted as pallbearers. As the procession moved to the burial place, scores of busy aviation mechanics paused and stood at attention as a tribute to the dead aviator. The Baron was buried under a hemlock tree, and the squad fired the last shots across the grave.

LIST OF GERMANS KILLED

A list printed in the Berliner Zeitung am Mittag on April 24 showed that of the forty-one German aviators who had brought down fifteen or more opponents since the beginning of the war, nineteen had fallen in action and two had been reported missing. The list of the fallen German fliers, together with the alleged number of their victims and the year of their death, follows:

Captain von Richthofen.....	80	1918
Lieutenant Boss.....	50	1917
Captain Bölcke.....	40	1916
Lieutenant Gontermann.....	39	1917
Lieutenant Max Müller.....	38	1918
Lieutenant Kurt Wolff.....	34	1917
Lieutenant Schaefer.....	30	1917
Lieutenant Allmenroeder.....	30	1917
First Lieut. von Tutschek.....	27	1918
Lieutenant Böhme.....	24	1917
First Lieut. Bethge.....	20	1918
Lieutenant von Eschwege.....	20	1917
Lieutenant Frankl.....	19	1917
Lieutenant Wintgens.....	18	1916
Lieutenant Baldamus.....	18	1917
Lieutenant Hess.....	17	1917
First Lieut. Immelmann.....	15	1916
Lieutenant Dossenbach.....	15	1917
Lieutenant Schneider.....	15	1917

Lieutenant von Bülow, with twenty-eight victims, and First Lieutenant Dostler, with twenty-six, were reported missing.

At the beginning of the offensive in March, Germany claimed 102 army aviators, each of whom had brought down more than seven airplanes or balloons in battles, and that the total number of victims up to May of these star fliers was 1,698. In this period forty-three of these aces had been killed and three were missing. Others probably had been disabled and were no longer in service. Of those still alive, whether still in the service or not, the ones with the best records were then Lieutenant Bongartz with thirty-three victories, Lieutenant Buckner also with thirty-three, and Lieutenant

von Richthofen, brother of the dead ace, with twenty-nine.

FRENCH AND BRITISH "ACES"

France has produced a number of brilliant military airmen, the latest to come into special prominence being Lieutenant René Fonck, who in one day (May 10) brought down six German airplanes. This achievement had not been equaled even by the late Captain Guynemer, of whom Fonck has become the successor in daring, skill, and resourcefulness as an air fighter. On June 4 it was announced that Lieutenant Georges Madon had won his twenty-eighth aerial victory.

A British airman with an extraordinary record, Captain James B. McCudden, who is only 23 years of age, was awarded the Victoria Cross on March 29 "for most conspicuous bravery, exceptional perseverance, keenness, and very high devotion to duty." He had already won nearly every decoration awarded in the British Army, including the Military Medal, the Military Cross, and the Distinguished Service Order. He went to France with the first British army in August, 1914, and, having had some experience of the air, was pressed into service as an observer at Mons and gave valuable information of enemy movements during the retreat. As a Sergeant he was officially promoted to be an observer, and quickly won fame for his expert handling of guns in several stiff fights. As the pilot of a single-seater scout McCudden has had over 100 fights and some wonderful escapes without sustaining the slightest hurt. The crack German pilot Immelmann was a deadly rival, and they had three duels, but the fight was broken off on each occasion

without either man being able to claim an advantage. In the official announcement of the award of the V. C., it was stated that Captain McCudden had then accounted for fifty-four enemy airplanes, forty-two being definitely destroyed. The official statement added:

On two occasions he has totally destroyed four two-seater enemy airplanes on the same day, and on the last occasion all four machines were destroyed in the space of one hour and thirty minutes.

While in his present squadron he has participated in seventy-eight offensive patrols, and in nearly every case has been the leader. On at least thirty other occasions, while with the same squadron, he has crossed the lines alone, either in pursuit or in quest of enemy airplanes.

The following incidents are examples of the work he has done recently:

On Dec. 23, 1917, when leading his patrol, eight enemy airplanes were attacked between 2:30 P. M. and 3:50 P. M. Of these two were shot down by Captain McCudden in our lines. On the morning of the same day he left the ground at 10:50 o'clock and encountered four enemy airplanes; of these he shot down two.

On Jan. 30, 1918, he, single-handed, attacked five enemy scouts, as a result of which two were destroyed. On this occasion he only returned home when the enemy scouts had been driven far east; his Lewis-gun ammunition was all finished and the belt of his Vickers gun had broken.

As a patrol leader he has at all times shown the utmost gallantry and skill, not only in the manner in which he has attacked and destroyed the enemy but in the way he has during several aerial fights protected the newer members of his flight, thus keeping down their casualties to a minimum.

This officer is considered, by the record which he has made, by his fearlessness, and by the great service which he has rendered to his country, deserving of the very highest honor.

Zinc Coins in Occupied Belgium

To obviate the great shortage of fractional currency in occupied Belgium, a shortage that hindered the most modest transactions, the German authorities decided early in March, 1918, to emit a large issue of zinc coins with a face value of 50 centimes, (10 cents.) The new coins have a diameter of 24 millimeters and bear on the face a coat-of-arms with a lion above a laurel branch, and with the value of the coin on the right. The obverse bears a five-pointed star, the inscription "België-Belgique," and the date. The centre of each coin is pierced by a hole $4\frac{1}{2}$ millimeters in diameter.

Arrest of Irish Plotters

Sixty-nine Sinn Fein Members Imprisoned for Treasonable Relations With the Enemy

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June contained a brief reference to the arrest of leaders of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, May 18, 1918, for being in treasonable communication with the Germans. Among the leaders arrested was Professor Edward de Valera, President of the Sinn Fein Society and a member of Parliament, who had refused to take his seat; also George Noble Plunkett, a Count of Rome and Member of Parliament; Mme. Markievicz, wife of a Polish Count; Arthur Giffith, one of the founders of the Sinn Fein movement; William T. Cosgrove, Treasurer of the Sinn Fein and Member of Parliament from Kilkenny City; Joseph McGuinness, Member of Parliament for South Longford; Darrel Figgis, an Irish poet; Dr. Richard Hayes, Herbert Mellowes, who led the Sinn Fein rising in Galway in 1916; Professor Monaghan, President of the local Sinn Fein Club at Drogheda; Pierce McCann, President of the East Tipperary Sinn Fein Executive; Frank Drohan, President of the Clonmel Sinn Fein Club; Dr. Thomas Dillon, Sean Milroy, and Sean McEntee, members of the Sinn Fein Executive; George Nichols, Coroner for the County of Galway, and Peter Hughes, Chairman of Dundalk Urban Council and a prominent Sinn Feiner. In all sixty-nine were arrested and imprisoned in England, not 500, as at first reported. The arrests were made between midnight and dawn by domiciliary visits, and were accomplished without any disorder, being a complete surprise.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION

Preceding the arrests the following proclamation was issued by Field Marshal French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:

Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that certain subjects of his Majesty the King domiciled in Ireland have conspired to enter into treasonable communication with the German enemy;

And whereas, Such treachery is a menace to the fair name of Ireland and its glorious military record—a record which is a source of intense pride to a country whose sons have always distinguished themselves and fought with such heroic valor in the past, in the same way as thousands of them are now fighting in this war; And whereas, Drastic measures must be taken to put down this German plot, which measures will be directed solely against that plot,

Now, therefore, we, the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, have thought fit to issue this our proclamation declaring, and it is hereby declared, as follows:

That it is the duty of all loyal subjects of his Majesty to assist in every way his Majesty's Government in Ireland to suppress this treasonable conspiracy, and to defeat the treacherous attempt of the Germans to defame the honor of Irishmen for their own ends.

That we hereby call upon all loyal subjects of his Majesty in Ireland to aid in crushing the said conspiracy, and so far as in them lies to assist in securing the effective prosecution of the war and the welfare and safety of the empire.

That as a means to this end we shall cause still further steps to be taken to facilitate and encourage voluntary enlistment in Ireland in his Majesty's forces, in the hope that, without resort to compulsion, the contribution of Ireland to those forces may be brought up to its proper strength and made to correspond to the contributions of other parts of the empire.

EFFECT OF ARRESTS

News of the arrests created a profound sensation in Ireland, but no breaches of the peace followed anywhere; in fact, the excitement over conscription subsided appreciably after the episode, likewise the activities of the Sinn Feiners. The leader of the Nationalists repudiated the treasonable work of the Sinn Feiners, and, in consequence of the disclosures, the alliance against conscription that had been formed between the Nationalists and Sinn Feiners was ruptured.

On May 25 the British Government issued a statement reviewing the causes of the arrests. In this document it was

stated that definite proof was at hand that after the abortive rebellion of Easter week, 1916, plans were made for a revolt in 1917, but that this miscarried because of America's entry into the war and Germany's inability to send troops to Ireland. An uprising in Ireland was planned for 1918 after the German offensive in the west had been successful and when Great Britain presumably would be stripped of troops.

The discovery of a German-Sinn Fein plot for landing arms in Ireland was made about April of this year, and even after the capture, on April 12, of the German agent who reached Ireland by submarine, munitions were shipped from Cuxhaven in the early part of this month.

Concerning the arrests in Ireland, the statement said that facts and documents, for obvious reasons, could not be disclosed at this time, nor could the means of communication between Germany and Ireland.

DETAILS OF INTRIGUE

With reference to the activities in 1918 the text of the statement was as follows:

Professor de Valera, addressing the convention of the Irish Volunteers on Oct. 27, 1917, said:

"By proper organization and recruiting we could have 500,000 fighting volunteers in Ireland. That would be a big army, but without the opportunity and means for fighting it could only be used as a menace. There already has been too much bloodshed without success, and I would never advocate another rebellion without hopeful chances of success. We can see no hope of that in the near future, except through a German invasion of England and the landing of troops and munitions in Ireland. We should be prepared to leave nothing undone toward that end."

On another occasion in January of this year de Valera said: "As long as Germany is the enemy of England, and England is the enemy of Ireland, so long will Ireland be a friend of Germany."

For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to German-Sinn Fein plans, but about April, 1918, it was ascertained definitely that a plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution, and that the Germans only awaited definite information from Ireland as to the time, place, and date.

The British authorities were able to

warn the Irish command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12 and was arrested.

The new rising depended largely upon the landing of munitions from submarines, and there is evidence to show that it was planned to follow a successful German offensive in the west and was to take place at a time when Great Britain presumably would be stripped of troops.

According to documents found on his person, de Valera had worked out in great detail the constitution of his rebel army. He hoped to be able to muster 500,000 trained men. There is evidence that German munitions actually had been shipped on submarines from Cuxhaven in the beginning of May, and that for some time German submarines have been busy off the west coast of Ireland on other errands than the destruction of allied shipping.

It will thus be seen that the negotiations between the executive of the Sinn Fein organization and Germany have been virtually continuous for three and a half years. At first a section of Irish-Americans was the intermediary for most of the discussions, but since America's entrance into the war the communication with the enemy has tended to be more direct. A second rising in Ireland was planned for last year, and the scheme broke down only because Germany was unable to send troops.

This year plans for another rising in connection with the German offensive on the western front were maturing, and a new shipment of arms from Germany was imminent.

An important feature of every plan was the establishment of submarine bases in Ireland to menace the shipping of all nations.

In the circumstances no other course was open to the Government if useless bloodshed was to be avoided and its duty to its allies fulfilled but to intern the authors and abettors of this criminal intrigue.

LANDING FROM SUBMARINE

On June 10 it was announced that the man who was put ashore on the west coast of Ireland from a German submarine on April 12, 1918, and who is now a prisoner in the Tower of London, was Lance Corporal J. Dowling of the Connaught Rangers. The collapsible boat in which Dowling was landed was made of canvas with a bottom of twenty-three wooden slats, each four inches wide, making the boat about eight feet long and two feet wide. The canvas sides, about twenty inches high, had an inner lining

of rubber fabric, to be blown up from a valve at the rear to give the boat buoyancy. There were loops along the sides in which short wooden braces or struts kept the boat from collapsing. The whole craft when rolled up weighed less than forty pounds. When the buoyancy

chambers were pumped full of air the boat would easily support three men.

No effort had been made up to June 20 to put into execution the conscription law in Ireland, notwithstanding there had been a very meagre response to the call for volunteer enlistments.

Ireland's Food Shipments to England

A Limerick correspondent of The London Telegraph, on May 15, 1918, sent that newspaper the following table of Irish food exports to England, with other information not before made public:

Values of Foodstuffs Imported Into and Retained for Consumption in Great Britain from Undermentioned Countries. (Figures for 1917 are not available.)

	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.
	Mill-	Mill-	Mill-	Mill-	Mill-
	ions	ions	ions	ions	ions
	£	£	£	£	£
Ireland	30	36	37	46	59
United States..	30	30	42	82	116
Argentina	31	31	27	46	36
Canada	18	19	23	27	41
British India..	22	17	13	22	20
Denmark	20	22	23	20	20
New Zealand..	9	9	11	16	18
Netherlands ..	14	16	17	14	13
Australia	13	15	16	12	10
Russia	17	15	13	8	1

This shows that for years Ireland's food supply to Great Britain was only exceeded by that of the United States of America, whose people, now fighting with us, probably will want more in future for themselves.

As regards the quantities of foodstuffs exported to Great Britain from Ireland, the following table speaks:

	Average, 1912-13.	Average, 1916-17.	P.C. Inc. or Dec.
Live cattle, number..	832,000	889,000	+ 6.9
Live sheep, number..	639,000	700,000	+ 9.5
Live pigs, number..	233,000	239,000	+ 2.6
Butter, tons.....	37,000	36,000	- 4.0
Eggs, tons.....	56,000	69,000	+23.2
Poultry, tons.....	15,000	14,500	- 3.3
Bacon and hams, tons.	61,000	54,000	-11.5
Oats, tons.....	67,000	85,000	+26.9
Potatoes, tons.....	150,000	173,000	+15.3
Biscuits, tons.....	17,000	21,000	+23.5
Yeast, tons.....	7,000	11,000	+57.1
Cond. milk, tons....	13,000	12,000	- 7.7

The following shows the quantities of foodstuffs, as nearly as possible, imported from foreign countries and British possessions, and is the latest we could obtain:

	Average.		P. C. Inc. or Dec.
	1912-13.	1916.	
	Tons.	Tons.	
Beef, fresh.....	423,000	353,000	- 16.5
Mutton	256,000	182,000	- 28.9
Pork	20,000	15,000	- 25.0
Meat, preserved (mostly tinned beef)	44,000	94,000	+113.6
Butter	201,000	107,000	- 46.8
Eggs	180,000	51,000	- 71.7
Bacon and hams.	252,000	407,000	+ 61.5
Potatoes	373,000	85,000	- 77.2
Condensed milk.	57,000	65,000	+ 14.0
Margarine	68,000	130,000	+ 91.2
Wheat	5,003,000	4,620,000	- 7.6
Barley	310,000	256,000	- 17.4
Oats	890,000	617,000	- 30.7
Rice	204,000	425,000	+108.3
Maize	1,614,000	1,198,000	- 25.8

It must be remembered that Ireland has now no foreign imports, and has to feed herself as well as help Great Britain. She consumes only one-fourth of her own cattle, and with only 10 per cent. of the population supplies 40 per cent. of the cattle and 30 per cent. of the pigs of the United Kingdom, despite shortage of imported cattle cakes, &c., formerly obtainable. Ireland also, by her position with regard to Great Britain, minimizes loss by U-boats, and by her proximity also makes more trips possible, and consequently more cargoes landed in a short time than is possible by any foreign nation or British possession.

As regards increased tillage, under the 1918 orders it is required that in holdings of over ten acres the area under cultivation this year must be 15 per cent. of the total arable land of the holding, in addition to that under cultivation in 1916, and in the case of holdings of over 200 acres 20 per cent. of the arable area. The result is that at the present time there are well over 1,000,000 more acres under cultivation than in 1916, a large proportion of such cultivation being voluntary. In County Limerick alone the area under corn crops shows an increase of 148 per cent., and that of all green crops, potatoes, mangolds, and turnips, of 33 per cent.

New Austro-German Alliance

Official Declarations Regarding It by the Chief Ministers of Both Empires

THE official text of the new treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary—as a result of the meeting of the Emperors, May 12, 1918—was not made public. Baron Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, made the following declaration regarding it on May 13:

The extension of the alliance, which in long years of peace had deeply penetrated the minds of the peoples and has stood the test of hard times, not only corresponds with what has now become a historic necessity, and is not only an imperative necessity, owing to the fact that Austria-Hungary and Germany, who are surrounded by a ring of common enemies, must firmly hold together in the centre in order to be able to resist the terrible embrace, but it also corresponds with the requirement of all patriotic Austrians, Hungarians, and Germans who think clearly about our future.

Austria-Hungary and Germany do not desire to renew or extend the alliance in order to attack or oppress any one in the world, but to stand by each other when their vital interests are assailed. The new alliance will again be a defensive alliance, which today serves to bring about peace and will in future serve for its preservation. It will show the world that Austria-Hungary and Germany united are not to be beaten, and will convert our opponents to peace by the strength of our will for peace.

Dr. Wekerle, the Premier of Hungary, announced in the Hungarian lower house that the new alliance was a strengthening of the existing alliance and was for a considerable period. He added:

I think that it will be a matter for general approval by Hungarians that our interests are so well looked after, and that they will be maintained by such a proved alliance. This alliance is therefore being renewed, and very naturally it will also extend to those questions which are directly connected with it. Naturally certain military agreements will also be concluded, but these cannot be called a military convention.

Count Michael Karolyi here interjected

the inquiry, "During the war?" Dr. Wekerle proceeded:

Agreements may be concluded during the war relating to common action and common equipment, but having no connection with army organization as such. We shall in no respect give up our right of decision as regards economic rapprochement. Count Karolyi continually talks about "Central Europe," but "Central Europe" is a very vague idea. No one doubts that closer economic ties are desirable and also possible. I repeat that we shall not give up in a single respect our independent right of decision. The validity of the economic agreement will depend on the approval of the House. War aims were not discussed, for there can be no question of war aims.

The entire alliance aims only at the maintenance of peace in all directions. The alliance can but improve the mutual relations between us allies, but it is not to be regarded in any way as a hindrance to any eventual relations which may be established in the economic domain with other nations; neither is it a hindrance to an eventual entrance into the so-called League of Nations. The guarantee lies in the fact that we have arranged a purely defensive alliance.

ANDRASSY'S VIEWS

Count Julius Andrassy, one of the most influential statesmen of Austria-Hungary, in a public statement discussed the new alliance in detail. He asserted that when Bismarck and the elder Andrassy were negotiating the treaty of alliance in 1879 the Iron Chancellor expressed a wish that the two great powers should conclude a defensive and offensive alliance against every eventuality. Andrassy, however, was absolutely opposed to this, and, being convinced that the German statesman would give way, was determined to break off the negotiations altogether rather than conclude an alliance of such a general character. His view prevailed, Count Julius added, and the treaty was directed exclusively against Russia.

The treaty which was discussed by the

two leading statesmen at Gastein nearly forty years ago, and which has since then directed the events of the world, has served its purpose so well, the Count continued, that it has become superfluous in its old form. "It has smashed the adversary against whom it provided protection." The treaty in its new form, he asserted, is merely an adaptation of the original one to altered conditions. In 1879, he stated, Russian Imperialism was the only common danger for Austria-Hungary and Germany, and it was appropriate therefore that the alliance should be directed against Russia. Now, however, the situation is completely changed, and "the danger against which we must protect ourselves is no longer Russian imperialism but the permanent animosity of, and possible new attacks by, those countries which have endeavored during the last four years, while straining all their forces to the utmost capacity, to annihilate the Central Powers and split them up into their component parts."

PARTITION OF AUSTRIA

The chief aim of those powers, according to Andrassy, is the partition of Austria-Hungary, on the ground that a lasting peace can be assured only by giving autonomy on a democratic basis to the various nationalities composing the Dual Monarchy. "Our present need is thus," he added, "an alliance that will protect us against these dangers of the future as it has protected us in the past." The Hungarian statesman considers it possible also that in course of time the old danger may revive in a new form, for the idea of a union of all Slavs in a Socialist Republican Confederation is the old program of most Russian revolutionaries and agitators. For this reason, too, he contends, the alliance in its new form is imperatively necessary, though the immediate danger has to be met first.

"It is only by holding together those 'forces which have saved our two empires now,' he asserted, 'that we can protect ourselves against the future danger that menaces us in the form of a fresh attempt on the part of our adversaries to attain what they are

"this time unable to attain." The world is today divided into two parts, Count Julius observes, and he declares that it would be illusion and fanaticism to believe that things will be otherwise in the near future. He wishes to make it clear that the Central Powers are not responsible for this, and maintains that the new Dual Alliance is formed to insure that another already existing alliance shall not imperil "our existence and our future." He wishes also to point out most emphatically that the new Dual Alliance, like the old one, is purely defensive.

He believes that when this war is over no nation will be inclined to pursue an aggressive foreign policy, but he, nevertheless, maintains that guarantees must be given that neither of the contracting parties shall be involved in any plans of conquest and hegemony cherished by the other. He insists, furthermore, that the peace concluded with their defeated enemies by the victorious allied Central Powers must manifest clearly that it is no obstacle to the development of an international law which would prevent the waging of war as much as possible, and would settle the armament question on an international basis, and also that this alliance does not wish to continue to fight after peace has been concluded, but will pursue a peaceable policy in every respect; that it does not wish to be exclusive, but is desirous of effecting a friendly rapprochement with the countries today opposed to it.

Finally, he expressed the opinion that the interest of the Dual Alliance requires that "our relationship also with Bulgaria and with Turkey shall be made stable and shall be strengthened."

THE TWO EMPERORS

The following exchange of telegrams between Emperor Karl and the Kaiser was made public on May 15:

At the moment of leaving the favored soil of the German Empire on my way home I feel impelled again warmly to greet you and to express my heartiest thanks not only for the very gracious but also for the truly friendly reception which you gave me yesterday. I am highly satisfied with our harmonious conference. From my heart and in true friendship I say may we soon meet again. KARL.

The Kaiser telegraphed in reply:

Many thanks for your friendly telegram. I am exceedingly glad that you are so satisfied with your visit here. It is a great joy to me also to have seen you and to have again established in our detailed discussions our entire accord regarding aims which guide us. Their realization will bring great blessings on our empires. I hope soon to be in a position to take advantage of your kind invitation. Hearty greetings to Zita and yourself. In true friendship.

WILHELM.

CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT

Count Hertling, the German Chancellor, in a statement regarding the new understanding between the two empires, said that the agreement had not been signed, but the basic ideas had been agreed upon. He added:

The deepening and further development of the work created by the great statesman Bismarck and by Count Andrassy will assuredly have beneficial consequences for Germany and Hungary. I need not specially emphasize the fact that all efforts aiming at the improvement of German and Hungarian relations and at bringing the peoples closer together have my warmest sympathy. M. Clemenceau, who indulged in the illusion that he would be able to sever our firm alliance, will now be able to see from the results of the negotiations the fruits of his intrigues. The new Dual Alliance will, in particular, comprise two important sections, namely, the economic and military agreements.

The economic union of Germany and Austria-Hungary is not aimed at any State whatever. I am quite prepared for aggressive intentions and tendencies to be ascribed to us by our opponents, and the

watchword given out by the Entente of an economic war after the war against the Central Powers can now go ahead. This assertion, however, is entirely false. We want nothing but our place in the sun. We are quite entitled to harmonize our common interests and to act together. As regards the military side of the discussions, I must emphasize the fact that our agreements for the future have no aggressive character. We only desire the consolidation of our present relations. We also desire to remain just as closely bound together after the war as during the war, which has drawn us together.

If the world should one day unite in an International Peace League Germany would unhesitatingly and joyfully join in. Unfortunately the present conditions give very little hope of that. Our desire is to win and to preserve peace. Our policy has ever been a policy of peace, just as our alliance with the monarchy is a peace alliance; that is, an alliance for the preservation of peace. We are now fighting for our existence and for peace, which we also long for.

I am still optimistic enough to believe that we shall have peace this year. I say "optimistic," as the speeches which we hear from Entente statesmen still talk of crushing the Central Powers. It might have been thought that the attacks on Mr. Lloyd George, which, after all, indicate a strengthening of the peace idea, would have created a better basis for possibilities of peace. That, however, has not been the case. At the moment I cannot say more than that I cherish firm confidence that further events in the west will bring us nearer to a speedy end of the war, and that the alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which has been tested and extended during the war, will then bring renewed prosperity and rich blessings.

The Imprisoned ex-Czar in the Crimea

Idjubar Castle, in the Crimea, became the compulsory residence of the Romanoff family in April, 1918, after their removal from Tobolsk, Siberia. A correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung who visited the ex-Czar in May gives this account of his new prison home:

"The castle is splendidly situated with a commanding view of the sea. The vicinity is embellished by beautiful residences. Twenty-five Soviet soldiers form the special guard of the former imperial family; armed with rifles and machine guns and hand grenades, they are under the orders of one officer. These soldiers are determined to prevent any attempt at flight, but, on the other hand, they are also firmly resolved to protect the ex-imperial family against any odious attack. Till recently the Romanoffs spent money freely on their garrison, but now they have financial difficulties, and can no longer pay the soldiers so well. The presence of the Soviet soldiers is sometimes irksome to the imperial family, but at times they are also glad to show their appreciation at being protected against the raids of brigands who infest the country. * * * Grand Duke Nicholas refused to be interviewed, declaring that as a private individual he had nothing to say."

Exchanging Thousands of Prisoners

Franco-German Agreement, Signed at Berne, Provides for Release of More Than 300,000 Captives

THE exchange of certain classes of French, Belgian, and German prisoners, totaling about 330,000, began on May 15, 1918, in accordance with an agreement arranged at Berne, Switzerland, by a conference of French and German delegates held there from April 2 to April 26, and later ratified by both Governments. It was announced at the same time that Italy had completed a similar arrangement.

The news of the Franco-German agreement came as a complete surprise to Great Britain and the other allies, and aroused an instant demand for negotiations looking to a release of British prisoners on similar terms. There was a tendency in some quarters to criticise the French Government for its separate action in the matter. After a lively debate on the subject in the House of Commons on May 28, Lord Newton, head of the Prisoners of War Department, stated that the British Government had "already entered into negotiations with the German Government with a view to arranging a wide scheme of exchange, following, broadly speaking, the agreement recently concluded between France and Germany." On the same day a dispatch from Holland announced that both the British and German Governments had informed the Netherlands Government that they wished to send delegates to The Hague shortly to discuss matters relating to the exchange of prisoners.

TOTALS. OF PRISONERS

Between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 prisoners have been taken on both sides since the beginning of the war. The latest exact figures on the subject were published in the Summer of 1917, when the Central Powers held 2,874,271 prisoners, and the Entente Allies held a total of 1,284,050. Germany alone had 1,690,731 prisoners, including 17,474 officers; Austria-Hungary, 1,092,055; Bulgaria, 67,-

582, and Turkey, 23,903, a total of 2,874,271, of whom 27,620 are officers. This total was made up of the following nationalities:

	Total Number.	In Germany.
Russian	2,080,699	1,212,007
French	368,607	367,124
Serbian	154,630	25,879
Italian	98,017	.....
Rumanian	79,033	10,157
British	45,241	33,129
Belgian	42,437	42,435
Montenegrin	5,607	.....

The British prisoners of war not in Germany were divided between Bulgaria and Turkey.

The prisoners of the Allies, not including 40,000 Austrians and Bulgarians captured by the Serbians and now in Italy or 20,000 Turkish prisoners in Egypt, were distributed as follows:

	Total Number.	In Engl'd.	In France.	In Russia.	In Italy.
German.	594,050	85,000	259,050	250,000	....
Austr'n.	630,000	....	....	550,000	80,000

At the same time Switzerland was sheltering 26,000 interned war prisoners, of whom 16,000 were French, English, and Belgian, while 10,000 were German. In addition, 7,000 relatives were visiting interned men in Switzerland. Most of these interned prisoners will be released by the new agreements, while other thousands will take their place.

FRANCO-GERMAN TERMS

The Franco-German agreement, which, being the first exhaustive document of its kind in this war, will serve as a model for those that follow, provides that all privates and noncommissioned officers who have been prisoners in France and Germany for eighteen months shall be exchanged, man for man and rank for rank, in the order of priority of capture. Officers over 48 years of age are to be released, and certain other classes of officers are to be interned in Switzerland, while the French and Belgian in-



Inhabitants of Picardy who were forced to leave their homes when the German advance began.
(© International Film Service)



A town in France practically wiped out in the German offensive which began on March 21, 1918. The road was cleared subsequently for the passage of British troops

(British Official Photo from Underwood)

turned soldiers already in Switzerland are to be released. It is estimated that there are 150,000 prisoners on each side who will be exchanged under the Franco-German agreement alone, and as transportation difficulties will prevent the moving of more than 10,000 a month each way, the repatriation of the 300,000 or more who have been in captivity since 1914 will require at least fifteen months. The interned civilians, it is stated, should all be back in their own countries in six months. The release terms are to go on applying to later prisoners as soon as their captivity amounts to eighteen months.

The status of citizens of occupied territory is profoundly modified by the provisions of the agreement, which expressly stipulate that deportations shall cease. Both sides bind themselves not to use released soldiers or civilians in war work. The validity of Germany's promise on this point was a theme of bitter comment in England when the terms of the French agreement first became known.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENT

The most important articles in the Franco-German convention, which is very long, may be summarized as follows:

Article 1. Direct repatriation, without regard for rank or numbers, for sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers who have been in captivity at least eighteen months at the time when this agreement goes into force: (a) who have reached the age of 40 years and are not yet 45, and are fathers of at least three living children; (b) who have reached the age of 45, but are not yet 48.

Art. 2. Direct repatriation, man for man and rank for rank, for sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers in captivity for at least eighteen months, and not included in any of the classes mentioned in Article 1.

Art. 3. In the exchange provided for in Article 2 no distinction will be made between sub-officers. Corporals will be ranked with them.

Art. 4. Internment in Switzerland, without regard for rank or numbers, for all officers in captivity at least eighteen months: (a) who have reached the age of 40 years and are not yet 45, and are the fathers of at least three living children; (b) who have reached the age of 45 years, but are not yet 48.

Art. 5. Internment in Switzerland, man for man, regardless of rank, for sub-officers in captivity at least eighteen months and not included in the foregoing categories.

Art. 6. The order of priority for repatriation and internment shall be determined by priority of captivity and by equal duration of imprisonment after considering age. If this order cannot be followed exactly, the repatriation of the prisoner who has to remain shall not be delayed beyond two months at most.

Art. 9. Repatriation, without regard to rank or numbers, for officers, sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers who were taken prisoner prior to Nov. 1, 1916, and who on April 15, 1918, find themselves interned in Switzerland by reason of wounds or illness.

TRANSPORTING PRISONERS

Art. 10. The repatriation of these prisoners shall be effected in the following manner: Each train in either direction shall contain 700 prisoners of war to be exchanged, man for man. Each train coming from Germany, moreover, shall contain 100 French prisoners of war designated in Article 1, and each train from France shall contain 50 German prisoners of the same category, until the total in this class on both sides is exhausted. The repatriation shipments should contain a monthly average of 15 per cent. of noncommissioned officers and 85 per cent. of privates.

Art. 11. At the beginning of each series of ten trains of private soldiers there shall be formed on each side a convoy of 400 officers to be interned in Switzerland in accordance with Article 5. This convoy shall include, besides, 100 French officers coming from Germany and 50 German officers coming from France to be interned under Article 4, until the total on each side is exhausted.

Art. 12. The first two trainloads of officers provided for in Article 11 shall start from Lyons, the third from Constance, the fourth from Lyons, and so on alternately. The first ten trains of private soldiers arranged for under Article 10 shall start from Constance; the ten trains of the second series shall go from Lyons, and so on alternately.

Art. 13. Prisoners of war who do not yet come under the conditions prescribed in Articles 1-5 shall be repatriated or interned in Switzerland, as the case may be, as rapidly as the prescribed conditions are fulfilled.

Art. 14. Officers in sound health who are interned in Switzerland either under the present agreement or under the Berne agreement of March 15, 1918, cannot be repatriated save in exceptional cases and solely for serious illness or accident.

Art. 16. Article 19 of the Berne convention of March 15, 1918, concerning the employment of repatriated soldiers shall be applicable to prisoners benefiting from the present agreement. Released Belgian prisoners can be employed in France under the same conditions as repatriated French prisoners.

Art. 17. All the foregoing provisions are to apply to German prisoners of war captured by Belgian troops and to Belgian prisoners taken by German troops. The Belgian offi-

cers, sub-officers, and soldiers shall be included in the repatriated and interned French groups in the proportion of one Belgian for ten Frenchmen, up to the exhaustion of the number of German war prisoners who were captured by Belgian troops and who come under the foregoing provisions.

Art. 18. In the repatriation and internment of prisoners under Articles 1-5 only men in sound health are to be counted. Ill or wounded prisoners will continue to be repatriated directly or interned in Switzerland under the conditions laid down under Articles 7-18 of the Berne agreement of March 15, 1918.

Art. 20. The provisions contained in Articles 1-19 of the present convention shall cease to be in force on Aug. 1, 1919, if one of the two Governments shall have given notice to that effect to the Swiss Political Department before May 1, 1919.

FOOD FOR PRISONERS

The articles following those just summarized relate to the treatment of prisoners remaining in captivity. The most important are these:

Art. 25. The daily rations of officers must be sufficient in quantity and quality, especially as regards meat, vegetables, and seasoning, after taking into account the food restrictions imposed upon the civil population. The management of food supplies by the prisoner officers themselves is to be favored in every way.

Art. 26. The daily rations allotted to imprisoned privates in Germany and in France must contain a minimum of 2,000 calories for men not working, 2,500 calories for ordinary workers, and 2,850 calories for prisoners doing heavy work.

Art. 27. Prisoners of war shall, in general, receive the same ration of meat as the civil population.

Art. 28. The minimum ration of bread allotted to imprisoned German officers, sub-officers, and soldiers in France is fixed at 350 grams a day. It will be increased to 400 for prisoners working outside the camp. The minimum bread ration allotted to French war prisoners in Germany is the same as that for the civilian population and is never allowed to go below 250 grams.

Art. 29. The German Government authorizes for all war prisoners a collective assignment of bread at the rate of two kilograms (four pounds) of bread per man per week. The providing and distributing of these consignments of food will continue to be assured for all the camps and detachments affected by the present agreement. The provisions are to be sent free and by fast freight. The consignments are to be distributed without any charge whatever and by the most direct and rapid routes available. The empty sacks can be returned to the country of origin.

Art. 33. The provisions of Articles 25-32 are

applicable to Belgian prisoners in Germany as well as to German prisoners who have fallen into the power of the Belgian Government and are now in France.

LIBERATING CIVILIANS

The second part of the agreement deals solely with civilian prisoners:

Art. 1. Civilian prisoners, regardless of age or sex, are authorized, upon their own demand and under conditions hereafter stated, to leave the country where they are held; this applies alike to interned persons and to those who have been liberated after a period of internment.

Art. 2. The word internment is to include all civilians who, whatever the cause or date of their commitment, are or have been detained in any place of internment against their will.

Art. 3. Civilians who at the beginning of the war had their domicile or habitual residence either in the State where they are or on the free territory of the other State will be conducted to the Swiss frontier, whence they can proceed to Germany if they come from France or to France if they come from Germany.

Art. 4. Civilians who at the beginning of the war had their homes in a locality of the occupied regions will be sent back there. They can ask to be taken to the Swiss frontier, and the request will be complied with whenever military necessity does not stand in the way. In cases where, for military reasons, the return of such persons to their homes is impossible, the civilians in question shall be sent to the frontier or to another part of the occupied territory, which will be assigned to them, as nearly as possible, in accordance with their wishes.

Art. 5. If a civilian desires to remain in the territory or State where he now is interned, he will be authorized to do so on condition that his residence there shall be permanent.

Art. 9. The civilians interned in Switzerland at the moment when this agreement goes into effect will be freed from internment.

Art. 12. Civilians who return to their country under the present agreement cannot be employed in military service, either at the front, or in the war zone, or in the interior of occupied enemy territory, or in the territories or possessions of an allied State.

Art. 13. The arrangements for the liberation of civilians shall be put into operation immediately after this agreement goes into effect. Reckoning from that date, the transportation ought to be finished in a space of not more than three months for civilians now actually interned and six months for those interned at some time in the past. This transportation will be furnished free.

The following articles deal with the population of occupied territory:

Art. 17. The inhabitants of occupied territory cannot be compelled to work, except under the following rules: The work must be done under the best material and moral conditions, with due regard to personal aptitudes, social conditions, sex, age, and the physical status of the workers. Members of a family, so far as possible, must not be separated. Their labors must never involve any obligation to take part in war operations against their own country. Work can be demanded only (a) as service for the needs of the army of occupation, within the limitations laid down in Article 52 of The Hague Convention regarding war on land; (b) with the object of preventing idleness on the part of persons capable of working, who are supported at public expense, and who have refused voluntary employment; (c) with the object of providing, in the absence of other means, for the existence of the population.

Art. 18. Persons compelled to work under Article 17 must be employed, with the exception mentioned, in the locality of their domicile or in its immediate neighborhood. If for military or economic reasons an inhabitant has to be removed from his home in order to put him at work, this removal shall not in any case take him outside the occupied territory, nor shall it bring persons whose residence is more than thirty kilometers from the firing line within the limits of that zone.

Suitable provision shall be made for housing and food for workers who shall receive fair remuneration, and, if need be, medical service. Besides rest periods and normal changes they shall be given permission as

often as possible to visit their families, with whom they shall also be allowed to correspond and exchange parcels.

Art. 19. Aside from the cases designated in Article 18, and aside from the case of a total or partial evacuation of a locality for military reasons, an inhabitant of occupied territory cannot be displaced from his home against his will, unless, because of his personal attitude, his presence endangers military security or public order.

Art. 20. No civilian coming from one of the two States can in future be interned in the other State or in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, a civilian who, by reason of his personal attitude, and in the interest of military security or public order, has to be removed from his domicile in occupied territory, can be taken into the territory of the occupying State. The duration of his absence from occupied territory must be limited to a period of strict necessity and must not exceed six months, save in exceptional cases. At the expiration of this period the interested person is authorized to return to the occupied territory, unless the authorities should prefer to conduct him to the Swiss frontier.

The foregoing Franco-German agreement was entered into for an initial period of fifteen months, beginning May 15, 1918, and can be renewed for periods of three months each. A Belgo-German agreement of narrower scope was signed at Berne on March 22, 1918, relating only to civilian prisoners.

Horrors of Austrian Prisons

Inhuman Treatment of Civilian Women and Men at Internment Camps

A CORRESPONDENT of The London Telegraph who spent three years in captivity in Austria has told of the horrible brutalities and cruelties suffered by interned aliens in that country. He states that there are both stations and camps for the interned prisoners, but the former are employed to exploit the captives; they are more livable than the horrible camps, but to live at a station one is charged three to ten times more for food and lodging than the current rates for citizens, and the prisoners suffer greatly for want of food and decent sanitation.

He describes the experiences of prisoners at a place called Illmau, in lower Austria, as typical of Austrian methods. A party of Englishmen were taken there shortly after they had been arrested in Vienna. They were marched along for about twenty kilometers, carrying their bags or packages. It was very cold, below freezing point, and when at last they arrived at Illmau at dark they were pushed into a kind of cellar, three or four steps below the level of the ground. A soldier locked them in, telling them they could go there and die. It was a place with no windows—only a small hole in

the floor. The floor, bare earth, was wet and muddy, water trickling down the walls. For every two men was one straw sack, also damp, of course, and they were so closely packed that they could not lie straight.

During the day it was so dark that they could not see each other's faces. In the morning they were told that, if they wanted to wash, they might go to the pump from which they also got their drinking water. This pump stood in the middle of a manure heap, and could only be reached by wading knee deep through the liquid pool surrounding the manure heap. The quality of the drinking water can be rather imagined than described. The treatment was most rough; the only argument a guard ever used was the butt end of his rifle—if not the bayonet. Not many words were wasted on the "Schweine - Engländer," (Swine - English.)

One day some high officials came to inspect Illmau, and after they had seen the above-ground portion, the Englishmen, who were shut up in their cellar, could hear them asking if no one was shut up in the cellars, as by rights they ought to inspect the cellars, too. But the guard officer assured them on his solemn word of honor that the cellars were empty. And those who were there did not dare to call out—they knew what their punishment would be—"stringing up" at least. This is an old punishment, where the wrists are fettered behind the back, a cord attached and passed through a ring in the wall over the prisoner's head. This cord is then pulled tight, till the man is forced right on to his toes. He is then kept so for about an hour, or till he faints. This was often done at Illmau.

After the Englishmen had been in their wet cellar for a week, and were nearly all ill with the terrible cold, they were told they could go into an upstairs room. These rooms were occupied by Serbs and Poles, nearly all very ill with consumption and very dirty. Each man received a blanket of a kind of checked pattern. When these blankets were hung up in the yard to air it was impossible to recognize their pattern—they were all a

crawling mass. The room into which the Englishmen were put was so full that when they lay down at night they were almost one on the top of the other. The consumptives were always expectorating, and "sanitary arrangements" were unknown.

Drosendorf was a camp where, especially during the first months, prisoners endured the greatest hardships. They slept in sheds, in stables, sometimes on wet straw, sometimes without, and were treated as brutally as in other camps. "Here were also some women," says the correspondent, "and a lady I knew personally. When the latter was brought there with other prisoners, male and female, after walking for miles, they were shut into a large room—men and women together. There the 'sanitary arrangements' consisted of a large pail put down in the middle of the room. This lady was kept in this room with the men for some days, and not allowed to leave it. In this camp at present there are principally Russians, and rarely a day passes that a death does not occur from starvation. Here, as also in the large camp of Katzenau, the rations are as follows:

Breakfast.—Tea made of a mixture of dried birch and strawberry leaves, and sixty grams (about two ounces) of bread.

Midday.—Soup made of turnips, or potatoes boiled and served in the water they are boiled in, (no salt or fat,) and another sixty grams of bread.

Evening.—Same as breakfast. At some places the same vessels are used for washing the floors and for boiling the soup.

Estergom in Hungary was at the beginning a much dreaded place. It is surrounded on three sides by the Danube and barbed wire on the fourth. At the beginning there were over 30,000 prisoners—men, women, and children—there, but not sufficient accommodation, so many spent the nights out of doors in the rain and endless mud. Some lived in tents. Of course striking a match in the dark was strictly forbidden, and when once some one did strike one, the guards rushed in, striking about them blindly with their fixed bayonets. Once one unfortunate Scotchman was attacked very badly with dysentery in the middle of the night, and came out to ask the guard to take him to a doctor. The guard simply

ordered him to go back to the tent and be quiet. When the sick man begged again, the guard knocked him down with the butt end of his rifle.

One camp, which was even lately mentioned as a disgrace in the Austrian Parliament, is Thalerhof, near Graz, the capital of Styria. Here they kept principally their own refugees from Galicia.

The London Telegraph correspondent writes of Thalerhof:

"One Polish lady who had been there for eight months is now in Raabs. She was taken away from her own house in Galicia in the clothes she stood in, allowed to take nothing with her. Eventually she reached Thalerhof. Through her sufferings there the poor woman is so broken down that it is almost impossible to get her to speak of what she has been through. A little she told me. When they—she and other ladies, priests, peasants, men of all classes—were brought to Thalerhof, the ladies (not the peasant women) were told they must come and bathe. It was many degrees below freezing point, but they were taken to a shed, open all round, down the middle of which a long row of troughs half filled with dirty water was arranged. The water had already been used by soldiers for washing their clothes. Then they were ordered to undress."

"The soldiers with fixed bayonets surrounded these ladies, while they completely undressed in the open, and forced them to bathe in the troughs, threatening them with fixed bayonets all the time and torturing them with coarse jokes. The low-class women were left quiet, not forced to bathe like this. After the bath was over they were shut up in a room crowded with people full of vermin. The ladies were always chosen for the dirty work—never the peasant women, just as the priests were set to clear up the 'sanitary arrangements,' which there consisted of a long open ditch with a board along one side of it.

CIVILIANS KIDNAPPED

"At the beginning they had a cruel way of arresting people. They would march them off as they stood, not letting them communicate with wives or friends or relatives. I know of one lady who for about two months did not know where her husband was, while he knew just as little about her. Two Serbian ladies, mother and daughter, who had also been at Salzerbad, had been staying at a little watering place in Dalmatia, where they had gone for many years. One evening, when they were only dressed in cotton dressing gowns, they were asked by an official to come down to a steamer lying at the wharf. Only for a few minutes, he said; there were just a few questions to be asked. So they went just as they were, and went on the boat with several others; some one began to ask them questions, when, to their horror, they noticed the ship was moving. They were taken right away, as they were. At every port they stopped and brought in others in the same way.

"In Fiume they landed, were handcuffed two and two, and marched through the streets to the prison. There the daughter and her 65-year-old mother, who had been also handcuffed, spent the night in a cell, with only two upright chairs in it. Next day they and all the other prisoners collected up to then were packed into third-class carriages, packed as close as they would go, and in each compartment two soldiers, fully accoutred, with fixed bayonets, and smoking like chimneys. Although it was hot Summer, all the windows were kept shut. In this way they were brought to Marburg—a journey of some four or five hours in ordinary time—but they took two days for it. All this time they had nothing to eat. People came to the train selling things; but, as all their money had been taken away from them on the boat, they could get nothing. In Marburg they were put in the prison, and kept there for eight months."

Abuses in German Prison Camps

Examples of Heartless Treatment

QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT T. DUGGAN of the First Coldstream Guards, who was at the prison camp at Schneidemühl (Posen) from 1914 to March, 1918, described the horrors at that camp as follows:

Prisoners of all nationalities, Russians, French, British, and Belgians, were kept there, the majority being Russians. At the beginning they lived in holes in the ground without any covering whatever. Quartermaster Sergeant Duggan showed me a photograph illustrating this condition of things, which lasted for some time, it being a month before the prisoners had any covering over their heads. The food was so bad that the British could never eat it.

About December, 1914, a typhus epidemic began. It continued for four or five months. Schneidemühl has one camp divided into three inclosures, the whole camp containing about 40,000 prisoners. The daily average of deaths was certainly not under thirty. Another photograph was shown to me depicting a long procession of coffins during the epidemic. A gigantic German carrying a rifle headed the procession, which was mainly composed of unfortunate Russian prisoners. Anything more pathetic cannot be imagined. Photographs were also shown me of the actual funeral service and place of interment. These photographs showed many being buried at one time in one long trench. After the interment, where the bodies were deposited four deep, one above another, the Germans made mounds surmounted by crosses, intimating that only two persons were buried beneath each mound.

It is impossible to estimate now how many were buried altogether, but many thousands died from this typhus epidemic. When the epidemic broke out a terrible condition of affairs quickly ensued, and it was not until it had been raging for a fortnight that Russian doctors arrived on the scene. Some of the patients were then first sent to hospital. The camp's condition, even after the doctors' arrival, was perfectly awful.

A British merchant Captain, who was released in May from interment in a Ger-

man prison camp, asserted under oath that after his ship was torpedoed he was locked up for twenty-four hours in the U-boat for refusing to answer questions. On the following day he was searched, and for still refusing to answer was sentenced to be shot on reaching port, or before if he should cause any annoyance. One of the principal officers called him a liar and an English swine.

Some days later the submarine put into Heligoland, and the Captain was transferred to an underground cell ashore. Later, after scanty and bad food had made him ill, he was marched with other prisoners from merchant ships to a camp. Kept naked in intense cold for three hours while his clothes were being searched, German officers stood about laughing. His garments were returned to him wet, and he was put in barracks, where his only covering was verminous blankets.

In another compound the conditions were better, but the food uneatable. The prisoners were skeletons in rags. If they fell down from weakness they were kicked and clubbed, beaten with the flat of swords, and kept standing at attention in freezing weather. They had to fight like wild beasts for food that a dog would refuse. Funerals were a daily occurrence.

Transferred to Brandenburg, where he lived five and a half months, the fare was such that, by the time his own parcels of food arrived, he had lost twenty-eight pounds in weight. Twenty degrees of frost have been registered on the inside wall of the barrack in the mornings, and in Summer the heat was intolerable and the flies and mosquitos very trying. Sanitation was almost nil; 850 Russians died at that camp earlier in the war, and several were burned to death there shortly before the Captain arrived.

Rebuilding Disabled Soldiers

Wonderful Work That Italy Is Doing to Render Maimed Men Self-Supporting

By PROFESSOR RICCARDO GALEAZZI

[Lieutenant Colonel Italian Royal Medical Corps]

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OUR idea is that the future prospects of a disabled soldier must not be built upon his assurance of obtaining a pension, but upon the rebuilding of him physically, and the retraining of him technically, to take up a self-supporting position in life.

Therefore, there must be no scrapping of the broken soldier. When we bring him from the battlefield, and find that a limb or limbs have to be amputated, the soldier thus wounded is placed in a special category, and we cannot discharge him from the army until every care has been taken to rebuild him physically, morally, and professionally. Then, having given him his limbs and his re-education gratuitously, we also give him gratuitously whatever implements or machinery may be necessary for him to practice his new trade. Not until then do we put him on his new road of life.

The organization for the different stages of this treatment is interesting. In Italy each army corps has its special province or district. And each of those geographical sections has a complete organization for the care of the disabled. There is the surgical hospital, the orthopedic institute, and the school for retraining the soldier in whatever trade he may be capable of following.

When the amputation wound is sufficiently healed in the surgical hospital, we give the soldier a month's leave, fitting him with a temporary limb for use during that time. When the month is out—that is, before he has had time to get into lazy habits at home or suffer from the effects of misdirected sympathy—he must enter the school for the re-education of the disabled.

To this school is also attached the orthopedic institution. Here he has his definite set of limbs fitted. A plaster cast is taken and each limb is made with particular individual care; and during the first weeks of its use the soldier is under the constant supervision of the doctors, so that they can alter the artificial limbs according as any defects become manifest.

I may also say, for it is an important point, that the limbs made for the common soldier are the same as those made for the Colonel, and the one gets them gratis just as the other does. Not only that, but we have a National Institute whose duty is to take care of these limbs, renew them and alter them free of cost, as long as the soldier lives.

What are the limbs like? Well, for instance, even where a man has lost both hands, we have fitted artificial ones which enable him to write with pen or pencil, to use knife and fork, to button his clothes, and to shave with a safety razor. Thus we get rid of the constant depression from which a soldier would otherwise suffer were he to feel dependent upon some friend for every hand's turn in his daily life.

One of the great sources of success in applying these limbs is the special Italian system, the theory of which was laid down by Vanghetti, of making the amputation so that the muscles from the living part of the arm can be attached in such a way to the artificial limb as to get an organic muscular connection. Thus the natural muscles of the living arm actually can be got to work the artificial fingers or leg, as the case may be. I have made several of these connections

with full success. And the system is now becoming almost the rule all over the country. It is a special Italian invention, though some of the German professors want to claim the credit for it.

The most important feature, however, of our Italian system is the insistence on retraining. If the soldier's disablement does not allow him to follow his ordinary calling in life, and if he be not of independent means, he is absolutely bound to spend at least a month or six weeks in the training school. There he is asked to choose a trade or calling in keeping with his physical ability. We keep him for at least about six weeks, and show him the whole system in working order. Of course, if he cannot be persuaded, we must allow him to go home, for, after all, we are a free country. But when he remains he is put through a thorough course of training.

During these first weeks in the school the new limbs are fitted, for the school works in connection with the orthopedic institute. In the school we teach the illiterate peasants to read and write. We teach all sorts of designing and drawing, all commercial subjects, all the artisan trades, and also technical farming. Generally we give preference to these trades that can be practiced at home; and we do not encourage largely such trades as would call for work in large factories. In the case of farmers or farm laborers, who are too seriously injured to undertake the heavy work in the fields, we teach them the finer technique of vine culture, wine making, cheese making, &c.

And it generally happens that these disabled men return to life better fitted for their work than they were before the war.

Sneezing Powder in Gas Attacks

A report from a correspondent on the Picardy front, dated May 6, 1918, described how the Germans launched a heavy gas attack against the Americans, sending over within a short period 15,000 shells, containing chiefly mustard gas. This attack was notable for a new German device, which is described as follows:

The Germans introduced gas warfare, forcing modern soldiers to wear gas masks. Now after the use of masks has proved an effective weapon against gas they are using a new weapon to force the allied soldiers to take off masks that they may be easily killed by lethal phosgene and diphosgene gases.

The weapon is nothing more or less than sneezing powder fired in high explosive shells. This powder percolates through mask respirators and brings on sneezing spells which lead the men to take off their masks and to receive the full effect of lethal gases. It has been used against the Americans. The method in use is to fire a number of sneezing powder shells just before a gas attack or to scatter them along among lethal gas shells.

The German now uses his gases in four methods: First, clouds, which depend on a favorable wind; second, projectors, also depending on the wind; third, long-range artillery gas shells, and, fourth, hand grenades. Deadly gases, such as phosgene and diphosgene, are used in short-range guns, while neutralization gas, intended only to prevent activities of allied soldiers far back of the lines, is used at long range. Mustard gas is much used in this way. The latest perfection in the use of lethal gases is to fire twelve or more mortars shooting large-calibre shells at the same time by an electrical arrangement, thus producing great concentration.

Russia Under Many Masters

A Month's Events Amid the Chaos Produced by Bolshevist Misrule and German Invasion

THE State Department at Washington on May 16, 1918, published the text of a protest to Germany made by the Russian Government on April 26. The document opened with the following statement: "The Russian Government has taken every measure possible strictly to fulfill the Brest-Litovsk treaty from the Russian side, and in this way to secure for our people the chief aim of this treaty—a state of peace. But in reality no such state of peace exists." The message then enumerated the grievances of the Russians. It pointed out that by advancing upon Kursk and Voronezh the German and Ukrainian troops infringed the Russo-Ukrainian frontier line, "which was one-sidedly established by the Ukrainian Rada itself, and officially made known to us by the German Government." At the same time, the protest said, Russian military property in Finland was being seized by the White Guards, operating in agreement with German detachments and under instruction from the German staff.

The document also called attention to the fact that, although the Soviet authorities had declared their readiness to open peace negotiations with the Ukrainian Central Rada, neither the Ukrainian Government, "which is now directed by Germany," nor the Berlin Government itself, had given any answer to the Russian offer. "Owing to such circumstances," the message declared, "the Soviet Government considers itself compelled to mobilize all necessary forces in order to secure the freedom and independence of the Russian Republic, which is now menaced beyond the limits established by the Brest-Litovsk treaty." The document concluded by reiterating the complete readiness of the Russian people to fulfill the conditions of the Brest-Litovsk pact, and by de-

manding that the German Government should formulate the new demands, "in the name of which it directs Ukrainian, Finnish, and German troops against the Russian Soviet Government."

GERMAN PROMISES

In response to this protest, Berlin, on May 13, advised the Soviet Government through the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, that Germany would stop the invasion of Russian territory, and that it would observe the Brest-Litovsk treaty and restore the rights of Russians residing in Germany. In spite of this assurance, however, the advance of the German Army in Great Russia did not cease. According to a Moscow dispatch, dated May 25, the Germans occupied the district town of Valuyki, in the Government of Voronezh, which is Great Russian territory, and made further advances. The occupation was preceded by a battle which lasted four days. The Teutons also continued their operations in the Don region, where a battle occurred near Bataisk, and in the Caucasus. They mined the Strait of Kerch, or Yenikal, known to the ancients as the Cymmerian Bosphorus, which is the only passage from the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov. German airships appeared over Novorossysk, on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, and their submarines entered its port. This was done apparently to intimidate the Transcaucasian Government, which refused to cede Novorossysk to Turkey. About the same time Bolshevik detachments crossed the Caspian, attacked the Turks and recaptured the port of Baku. Another battle was won by the Russians over the Turco-German troops in the Kars district of Transcaucasia on May 24. The enemy retreated along the Ardahan road, massacring the population as they went.

Early in June the Germans made a

further advance in the south, namely, in the Roslav region and in the district of Rylsk, Government of Kursk. They advanced from the Rostov Railway toward Voronezh and captured Roventki. They also made an attempt to cut the Tsaratsyk Railway near the Kumyigar River. On June 10 the Germans started a new movement eastward along a front sixty miles wide, between Valyiki, captured previously, and Zhukovo.

BLACK SEA FLEET

A large part of the Russian Black Sea fleet fell into the hands of the Germans when they captured Sebastopol, but two large ships and two destroyers escaped. A telegram to the Berliner Tageblatt, dated May 12, said that the majority of the captured vessels had been so neglected that only two battleships were in good condition. One dreadnought and four cruisers had previously been captured at Odessa. On June 6, the Moscow Government offered to surrender the Black Sea fleet to Germany on the following conditions: 1. The ships to be restored after the war is over. 2. Germany to refrain from using the vessels. 3. Invasion of Russia to stop.

According to a memorandum sent on May 21 by Foreign Minister Tchitcherin to the Bolshevik Ambassador Joffe in Berlin, Russian merchantmen and even a hospital ship were attacked by the Germans in the Black Sea, and the menace of German attack constituted a serious obstacle to navigation in the Baltic and Arctic.

On June 6, Germany delivered an ultimatum to the Soviet Government, demanding the return of the remainder of the Russian Black Sea Fleet from Novorossysk to Sebastopol, as a condition for the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Central Powers. The Commissary for Foreign Affairs expressed himself in favor of acceding to the demand, and Lenine ordered the surrender of the ships.

The Soviet Government had no illusions as to the stability of the Brest-Litovsk peace, but in its opinion the time for a new clash with the Central Powers was not yet ripe. Consequently, in the

face of German aggression, it pursued a policy of preserving this "bad peace" by all manner of concessions and compromises.

The tasks which the Soviet Government were facing were outlined by Nikolai Lenine in several speeches made before the Central Executive Committee of the Councils, in the middle of May. His words were to the effect that war was threatening the Soviet Republic from many quarters. Either of the belligerent groups of imperialistic powers might, in his opinion, at any moment attack Russia. The ambitions of Skoropadsky and of the new Caucasian Government, which was under the influence of German militarism, was regarded as another source of danger. "We shall do the little we can," said Lenine, "all that diplomacy can do to put off the moment of attack. * * * We shall not defend the secret agreements which we have published to the world; we shall not defend a 'Great Power,' for there is nothing of Russia left but Great Russia, and no national interests, because for us the interests of the world's socialism stand higher than national interests. We stand for the defense of the socialistic fatherland."

Lenine professed belief that this defense was facilitated by the profound schism which divided the capitalistic Governments, by the fact that "the German bandits" were pitted against "the English bandits," and that there were economic rivalries between the American bourgeoisie and the Japanese bourgeoisie. "The situation is," said Lenine, "that the stormy waves of imperialistic reaction, which seem ready any moment to drown the little island of the Soviet Socialist Republic, are broken one against another." It was his intention to take full advantage of this situation, and to keep Russia out of the war for as long a time as possible, with a view to curing her economic wounds and building up her military power for the coming clash with world capitalism. Economic recuperation, in the largest sense of the word, was thus declared to be the immediate problem of the revolution. The expropriation of capital became a matter of

secondary importance in comparison with the task of consolidating the gains of the proletariat and putting them to good use. "We have accomplished two tasks," said Lenine in concluding his speech before the Central Executive Committee on May 16. "We have seized the power, and we have divided it among all Russia. We point to the realization of the third and most difficult task, namely, the disciplining of the proletariat to such a degree that every corner of Russia shall be permeated thereby."

NO PEACE WITH UKRAINE

The Bolshevik Government made efforts to come to terms with the Ukraine, and also with Finland. In the middle of May a Russian peace delegation arrived in Kiev. Germany appointed Baron Mumm von Schwarzenstein, Ambassador to the Ukraine, as its representative to the peace conferences, with almost dictatorial powers, especially in questions relating to boundaries. The efforts of the Soviet Government to make peace with the Ukraine remained ineffectual. The delegates were unable to agree regarding the frontier line. Repatriation of Ukrainians living in Great Russia was another stumbling block. The removal of property by repatriated Ukrainians, it was objected, would conflict with the Soviet regulation allowing only small sums of money to be exported from Russia. Besides, said the Bolsheviks, this would give propertied Russians a simple means of escape from the Soviet Republic.

According to a London dispatch, dated June 7, Germany was responsible for the delay in the negotiations. The German command at Kiev was reported to have declared Russo-Ukrainian peace inopportune before all important points in the Ukraine were occupied.

It was reported on June 10 that Germany and Russia had entered into an agreement under which Finland ceded to Russia the fortresses of Ino and Raivola, with the understanding that they were not to be fortified, while Russia surrendered to Finland a part of the Murman Peninsula, with an outlet to the ocean, thus bringing German influence

close to Russia's arctic ports and to the railroads connecting them with the interior of the country.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS

Upon the whole, conditions in Russia showed no signs of improvement. Famine existed in Petrograd and in other, particularly urban, districts of Great Russia, while civil war was still raging in Siberia and in some parts of European Russia. According to information made public by the State Department at Washington on May 21, cholera broke out in Astrakhan and in the Caspian Sea region. Observers of Russian life also noted the growing moral laxity of the population and its complete indifference to public affairs.

Reports from Eastern and Central Russia indicated that in many districts less than half the usual acreage was plowed. This was attributed to the shortage of seed, horses, and implements. Even where seed was available the peasants, uncertain of the disposition of the land and the crops, did not plant extensively. Breadstuffs were scarce even in grain centres, and prices were very high. The attitude of the farmers to the city people continued to be one of distrust and hostility, and the exodus of the city dwellers into the country continued.

A recent article in Maxim Gorky's daily *Novaia Zhizn* (New Life) speaks of the conditions prevailing in the Russian village in the following terms:

All those who have studied the Russian village of our days clearly perceive that the process of demoralization and decay is going on there with remarkable speed. The peasants have taken away the land from its owners, divided it among themselves, and destroyed the agricultural implements. And they are getting ready to engage in a bloody internecine struggle for the division of the booty. In certain districts the population has consumed the entire grain supply, including the seed. In other districts the peasants are hiding their grain underground, for fear of being forced to share it with starving neighbors. This situation cannot fail to lead to chaos, destruction, and murder.

The article gives also a glimpse of what is going on in the remnants of the Russian Army:

There are numerous reports to the effect

that the soldiers are dividing among themselves the military property of the country and committing unspeakable acts of violence. Wild rumors are current about the troops returning from Asia Minor. It is said that they have brought with them into the Crimea a large number of "white slaves" and that there is in Theodosia a veritable slave market. The supply is so great that the price has fallen from 100 or 150 rubles to 15 or 30 rubles apiece.

RUSSIA A MADHOUSE

A terrible picture of the chaos in Russia is given by an educated woman in Petrograd, the daughter of a Russian diplomat formerly in Washington, and the widow of an officer in the Russian Army. To a former classmate in the United States she wrote:

It was bad enough before the March revolution, when our unhappy, half-witted Emperor, under the influence of his German wife, seemed to do everything possible to make people lose patience. But now we have a thousand anonymous potentates, the top ones paid by Germany, and the lower ones lured into supporting them by money, money, and money.

The present Government has abolished all laws, all courts, the police, land ownership, all private real estate in towns, all distinction of castes and grades in the army and navy. They have seized all the banks, are opening all the private safes, and confiscating all gold and silver found therein, though it had never been said before that it was criminal to have it. Of course, everything they "decree" is so mad that it is quite sure not to last forever, but the chaos they make will take centuries to forget. The country is going back to a savage state. And we will not live to wait for better times.

All Russia is suffocating—every day brings new surprises that show that there is but one way out of it—the grave. On the ground of liberty they abolish all laws, Judges, attorneys, and substitute for it "people's courts of justice," with only soldiers, workmen or peasants, often quite illiterate and always without the slightest knowledge of court proceedings, taking the places of the former judiciary.

On the same ground they abolish all police, let loose all the criminals from the prisons, arm them, constituting from their number, together with workmen, deserters and hooligans, a "red guard," and fill the prisons to their utmost with all those who crave for order and will not work together with them toward the total ruin of the country.

On the pretense of equality they abolish all grades in the army and navy and make all posts elective by the simple soldiers. In most places it is understood as complete extermination, lynching of the officers, who, for being better educated, are under suspicion of being "counter-revolutionary." The highest posts are occupied by elected soldiers who very often can hardly sign their names, and the former officers are made simple soldiers, with a soldier's pay of \$3.50 a month, and ordered to the lowest tasks, cleaning of the barracks, cooking food, taking care of the horses.

Our great country could only exist when all the wheels of the Government were working in harmony. Now everything is a perfect chaos. Everybody was willing to throw over the Czaristic Government, but not in order to change it for this one, of loot, anarchy, and treason toward our allies! Ah, the shame, the disgrace, and the folly of it!

LOOTING AND DESTROYING

The army, which now consists of young boys, (the regular one is long ago killed,) without any sense of duty, morals, and discipline, see their acquired "freedom" in the freedom to go home when they want to. And so all the trains, all the stations, are attacked and destroyed by this horde of savages, who kill engineers, if it seems to them the train goes too slowly, who martyrize the railway agents who tell them of the impossibility of starting their train, for there is another one coming toward them on the same track. As this human flood goes home without any organization, everything is looted and destroyed.

Some months ago I was believing myself to be quite well off. I have a house in Petrograd. Last Spring I was offered \$125,000 for it, but was advised not to sell and go over to America to have my little girl become a happy American school girl. Now—I have on hand about \$2,000 and no other resources; the house, like other private property, is being confiscated, the revenue going to the Government, that is to say, to the private pockets of the usurers. The Government bonds annulated (repudiated)—and even if I had more money—believe me—there is nothing to buy.

Life in Petrograd is horrible—all the criminals, all the workmen, and demoralized soldiers rob the few cars that still bring some kind of products. In the very heart of the city, in daytime, you have your clothes taken off your back literally. Just think that there is no police, nobody to call for help, for those who would like to help have had their firearms confiscated, even the officers, even the highest Generals. All the soldiers, &c., are armed

and have become highwaymen. At any moment you can expect a number of them to come into your private lodging and, under the pretense of "perquisition," take away all your money and valuables.

Our money is not accepted anywhere abroad. Russia is bankrupt, so that it is impossible to escape. All my friends and relatives are in the same awful position. Everybody lives on his last money, even those who were quite rich. Their money was in Government or private bonds, and, as they are declared void, where will you get money from? My poor mind cannot grasp the whole thing; it is too great a madness. My only chance to save my little girl's life and my own would be to get away from here and go to the United States. Here, if we do not die in the next months, we will be slaves, regular slaves, of our lowest classes.

RAILROAD SITUATION

Some light was shed on the railroad situation in Russia by the report made on June 2 to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets by the Assistant Commissioner of Railroads. The percentage of disabled locomotives, he stated, was about 30, that of crippled cars being higher. In 1917 Russia had 560,000 cars and upward of 20,000 locomotives. The Germans seized a large number of cars and locomotives. Nevertheless, there was no scarcity of rolling stock, for the mileage had been reduced from 45,000 to 35,000. The general conclusion of the report was that the situation had slightly improved, especially in Siberia.

On April 22, Leon Trotzky made a report to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on the newly organized Russian Army. He defended the employment of officers of the old army on the ground that they were just as valuable as the military property taken over by the Soviet Government, and pointed out the eventual necessity of conscription. According to a London dispatch, dated June 8, the Soviet Government decided to introduce conscription. "One of the most promising things," said a Bolshevik diplomat in an interview on June 5, "is the steady growth of the new Red army. Its discipline already is better than that of the old one. Its members have so far been recruited from town and factory workers. * * * We

"shall nevertheless take measures to provide for military training in villages and towns and all necessary steps toward raising the fighting capacity of our new army, which already is by no means negligible."

BOLSHEVIKI AND THE JEWS

A statement bearing on the situation of the Russian Jews under the Bolshevik régime was issued by the celebrated Russian jurist and former Senator, Oscar Grusenbergh, and made public on June 10. The document follows:

Those who think that the Jews are at present ruling Russia are profoundly mistaken. The new laws, or rather administrative regulations, which the Bolsheviks have promulgated, have hurt the Jewish population more than other citizens, for the Bolshevik legislation has ruined the commerce and industry of the country.

After the Bolshevik insurrection we lived through events similar to those of October, 1905. In October, 1917, pogroms occurred in 200 Jewish towns and hamlets.

The tragedy of the Jews in Russia is heart-breaking. The united Russian Jewry, counting upward of 6,000,000, exists no longer. With the secession of the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, the number of Jews in Russia is reduced to a million and a half. The situation of the Jews in the Ukraine, and particularly in Poland and Lithuania, under German domination, is very sad. The Jews have lost in this war, in killed and wounded, the majority of their youth. A great many Jewish soldiers are pining in prison camps, others are locked up in jails on slanderous charges of treason.

The Jews are almost the only nationality in Russia which, by every means available, is seeking to arrest the process of splitting up the Russian Empire, and which works for the reunion of the portions that have seceded.

Hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews were ruined at the moment when the Bolsheviks took over the Governmental power. The population visited its wrath on the Jews, because some of the Bolshevik leaders are or are said to be Jews. But the Russian Empire has been demoralized, not by the Jews, but by the old régime. Russia lacks great leaders with heroic characters, who know how to act in an hour of distress. This made possible the triumph of men like Lenin and Trotzky.

The Jewish leaders of the Bolsheviks are themselves a product of the old régime. Czarism persecuted and exiled them. Education they were forced to seek

abroad, and there, in foreign lands, they lost all connection with and love for Judaism and Russia. Every country is to them but a railroad station. It is these former Jews and present Bolsheviks that are responsible for the appalling misery which has befallen the Russian Jews.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIST MOVEMENTS

An official French dispatch received in Washington on May 16 asserted that the opposition to the Soviet régime was growing stronger. On June 2 a Russian wireless message announced the discovery of a vast counter-revolutionary conspiracy, with ramifications throughout the country. Moscow was declared in a state of siege, a large number of persons were arrested, and stringent measures were taken to restrain the press. Boris Savinkov, Chief of the War Department under Kerensky, and Prince Kropotkin, the famous revolutionist and writer, were reported to have taken part in the conspiracy. A week later a Moscow dispatch reported that factory workers were boycotting Soviet delegates, that some provincial towns elected anti-Bolshevik Deputies to the Soviets, and that a general political strike appeared imminent.

In the middle of May the Central Committee of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party addressed to the National Council of the French Socialist Party and to the Parliamentary Socialist group the following message:

The Bolshevik Government, which exists but by the grace of our German masters, assumes, under the pressure of Germany's Ambassador, a provoking attitude toward the allied powers, and particularly toward France, addressing to them insulting ultimatums which are in striking contrast with the servile docility they manifest in executing the orders of German imperialism. The Russian Social Revolutionary Party sends its socialist greetings to the French section of the Labor International, and protests against the spirit of the foreign policy of the present dictators of Russia.

The Social Revolutionary Party declares at the same time that the newly formed Communist group, formerly Bolsheviks, must on all accounts be excluded from the International for having called upon the most elementary principles of democracy to resuscitate forms of despotism and violence. They have betrayed the cause of

international socialism by an infamous separate peace with the crowned despots of Central Europe, transforming Russia, disarmed, humiliated, and crushed, into an administrative supply house destined to sustain the German offensive in the west.

The Social Revolutionary Party expresses the hope that all the national sections of the Labor International will determine their attitude as regards the Bolshevik usurpers, taking into consideration this declaration of our party, which itself has the right to speak for all Russian labor, having held an absolute majority in the Constitutional Convention, whose powers will be resuscitated in spite of the sanguinary repressions made by the usurpers of power. We beg our French comrades to send this declaration to the Socialist parties of the allied countries.

FIGHTING IN SIBERIA

Armed opposition to the Soviet Government was confined chiefly to Eastern Siberia. In the first week of June clashes occurred in Transbaikalia between the Government troops and the anti-Bolshevik forces led by General Semenoff. The Soviet troops were apparently mastering the situation. It was reported that they included armed Teuton prisoners, and that General Semenoff was expecting Japanese reinforcements. The other leaders of anti-Bolshevik forces, Admiral Kolchak, Colonel Orloff, and General Kalmakoff, co-operated in protecting the railways and massed their troops, which include Russians and Chinese, for an offensive. The Soviet Government repeatedly protested to China against the assistance it had given to General Semenoff, requesting that the Chinese Government should either close the Manchurian frontier to the General's forces or permit the Bolshevik troops to cross into Manchuria and subdue the rebel. On May 25 Ambassador Francis published a statement from Secretary Lansing to the effect that American Consuls had given no aid to General Semenoff, or any other anti-Bolshevik leader. The message contained an assurance of "the friendly purposes of the United States toward Russia, which will remain unaltered so long as Russia does not willingly accept autocratic domination by the Central Powers."

Late in May a new Government ap-

peared in the south of Russia. It claimed to represent the regions of Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, and Northern Caucasus, and was emphatically Bolshevik in its orientation. It was headed by a dictator, General Krasnoff, who had served under Kerensky up to the fall of the Provisional Government. His manifesto declared that the Don Government was a sovereign State, at war with the Soviet Republic, and on friendly terms with the Ukraine. This manifesto contained the following statement: "Yesterday's foreign foes, the Austro-Germans, have entered our territory in alliance with us to fight against the Red Guard and for the establishment of order on the Don."

Another anti-Bolshevik Government was formed, early in June, in Eastern Siberia. The new State, which proclaimed itself an independent republic, purported to include the entire territory stretching from Lake Baikal to the Pacific, as well as the district of Irkutsk and the Island of Sakhalin, comprising a population of 2,500,000.

Violent clashes occurred between the Soviet forces and the Czechoslovak troops, which had joined the Russian Army to fight for the allied cause. The Czechoslovaks defeated the Soviet army, which was trying to enforce Trotzky's order to disarm them, seized the railway stations at Penza, on the Volga, in an effort to force their way to Vladivostok, and penetrated into the Ural region.

DISMEMBERING RUSSIA

During the month under record Germany made further steps in pursuance of her policy of subjugating the *membra disiecta* of the former Russian imperium.

On May 13 it was reported that Berlin planned to turn Lithuania into a "semi-federal" German State. The next day Emperor William issued a proclamation declaring Lithuania a free and independent State, on the basis of the action of the Lithuanian Landsrat, which, on Dec. 12, 1917, had announced "the restoration of Lithuania as an independent State, allied to the German Empire by an eternal, steadfast alliance, and by conventions chiefly regarding military

matters, traffic, customs, and coinage, and solicited the help of the German Empire." The declaration assumed that Lithuania would "participate in the war burdens of Germany, which secured her liberation." According to information made public by the State Department at Washington, the Germans were forcing the Lithuanian peasants to work for the landowners at a starvation wage and were taking stringent measures against city workers.

Similar conditions prevailed in Livonia. A message sent on May 21 by Tchitcherin to Ambassador Joffe stated that the Germans had created a reign of terror there, persecuting labor and assisting the Barons in suppressing their political adversaries.

In the Ukraine the Germans disarmed the troops of the overthrown Rada and backed Skoropadsky's dictatorial régime with bayonets. Sporadic uprisings of peasants against the Teutons continued. In the Province of Kiev the Germans used gas bombs against several revolted villages, and whole communities were asphyxiated. Revolts also broke out in the Governments of Podolia and Poltava. Resistance was offered mainly in connection with German food requisitioning. It was reported that the Germans had twelve army corps in the Ukraine. In the middle of May the Central Powers granted a loan of 4,000,000 marks to the Ukraine.

GERMAN ATROCITIES

The German atrocities in White Russia are thus described in a Russian Government dispatch received in London on May 14:

In the Bobrinsk district entire villages have been set afire and plundered. In the village of Buda a Uhlan patrol extorted a contribution of several thousand rubles, and, when the peasants had paid part of it and were unable to pay more, the Uhlans surrounded the village and bombarded it.

In other villages peasants, women, and children who endeavored to escape from fires were pursued by Uhlans and cut to pieces with swords or flogged with whips. In one village an old Jew was first flogged and then hanged in the presence of all the villagers. Most savage acts were perpetrated in Jewish villages. All

persons suspected of belonging to the Bolsheviks and those in military uniforms were immediately shot.

In Finland the Germans helped the White Guards to suppress the revolution, and strengthened their grip on the country. Some of the captured Red Guards were shot—7,000 were reported executed on June 6—others were to appear before twenty-one specially created courts. The reprisals of the White Guards were directed particularly against the Russians in Finland. A Russian wireless, dated May 14, contained the following statements: "Even 12-year-old children have been shot. At Viborg one witness saw 200 corpses, mainly Russian officers and mere schoolboys. According to other witnesses, more than 600 persons were executed in two days." The German headquarters in Finland estimated the number of persons massacred at 70,000. The Finnish High Court of Justice ordered the arrest of all Socialist members of the Finnish Diet. In contravention of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the German commander demanded the control of the Russian war supplies at Helsingfors, which were valued at 150,000,000 rubles.

On June 12 the Finnish Government introduced into the Diet a bill providing for the establishment of a monarchic form of government in Finland. The Finnish King, who is to be a hereditary ruler, shall be invested with broad powers regarding treaties with foreign States, and shall have the absolute veto in several important matters.

The new Finnish Government is emphatically pro-German. This was illustrated by the membership of the new Cabinet formed by Paaskivi. There were signs, however, that anti-German sentiment was developing among the masses of the people. General Mannerheim, Commander of the White Guard, resigned late in May, apparently as a protest against the Germanization of the Finnish Army. This army is now commanded by German officers. The Germans also took over the control of the Finnish Military College, and undertook to organize the Finnish coast fleet. They are constructing two railways in Northern Finland.

In the middle of May the White Russian Republic was proclaimed with the consent of Germany. The new Government seemed to favor a union with Lithuania, under the military protectorate of Germany. On June 4 it was reported that the new republic had been recognized by the Ukraine.

Early in May the Tartar National Council met at Bakhchisaray, Crimea, and issued a statement protesting against the entrance of the Austro-German troops into the Crimea. The council declared that the Crimea, whose population is 70 per cent. Tartar, intends to maintain its complete independence till conditions in Russia grow more settled.

According to a London dispatch, dated June 7, fierce fighting was going on between the troops of the Caucasian Government and the Turks. These are reported to have massacred 10,000 Armenians in a fortnight. The Government had ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 19 and 42.

ALLIED INTERVENTION

The subject of allied military intervention in Russia for the purpose of freeing the country from German domination attracted a great deal of attention in June. The allied Governments did not define their attitude toward this matter, but it seemed certain that the United States did not favor sending an interallied military expedition into Russia. Japan refrained from any action in this direction. The only measure it took was to enter into an agreement with China for the protection of the general peace in the Orient from possible German and Bolshevik aggression. The principal clauses of the military treaty between China and Japan, signed May 16, 1918, are in substance as follows:

The two Governments, with a view to warding off the danger constituted for them by the penetration of German influence toward the eastern frontier of Russia, have decided to regulate their conduct in regard to the enemy by placing themselves in agreement on a footing of perfect equality, and in according each other mutual aid in that region where their common action is to be exercised.

The Chinese authorities will facilitate the task of the Japanese authorities, who will be enabled to conduct the transport

of troops and establish in the occupied territories works which shall be removed at the conclusion of military operations, and, moreover, undertake to supply war material and munitions, as well as engineers and a medical staff and other necessary specialists.

The Japanese must in return respect Chinese sovereignty and local customs, and will evacuate Chinese territory as soon as the operations are terminated. The agreement will automatically cease to be valid as soon as the state of war between the two contracting parties and the Central Powers is terminated.

One article of the agreement provides that Chinese troops may be employed outside the national territory, and another stipulates that the two Governments shall come to an understanding with the Chinese Eastern Railway Company if this railway should have to be used during the course of the operations.

RUSSIAN OPINION

In Russia proper the Soviet authorities and radical public opinion opposed foreign intervention of any kind. Late in May the official Bolshevik organ printed an article asserting that Russia desired from the Allies no help intended to drag her back into the war, but that "Russia would appreciate in the highest degree any assistance toward the improvement of transportation and communication facilities and the rehabilitation of her economic life." Even the moderate press found foreign military intervention undesirable. The Moscow *Prizyv*, the official organ of the Social Revolutionaries, however, declared editorially that "the intervention of the Allies alone can give us the real military strength and indispensable support for thrusting back the yoke of the German, and for reconstituting Russia." On June 11, Boris Bakhmeteff, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, transmitted to the State Department a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrats, (also known as Cadets,) the Russian Liberal Party. The resolution pointed out that the Cadet Party did not recognize the Brest peace, and looked to the Allies for the amelioration of Russian conditions. The statement emphatically denied the assertion that the Russian democracy was opposed to allied aid. It insisted, however, that the success of the

allied action would depend upon "the support of national feeling in Russia." The resolution concluded: "It is further imperative for Russian public opinion to receive assurances that the expedition will be co-ordinated with the inviolability of the rights and interests of Russia, and that the actions of all the Allies on Russian territory will be performed under international control."

SENATOR KING'S RESOLUTION

On June 10 a resolution favoring intervention in Russia was offered in the Senate by Senator King of Utah. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The full text of the resolution follows:

Whereas, The people of Russia after centuries of political servitude are finally about to realize their aspirations for liberty and the constitution of a federal republic; and,

Whereas, The innate sense of justice, desire for public order, and the community life of the Russian people promise a sound moral basis for the institutions of liberty and the equal rights of men under the law as incorporated in a republican form of government; and,

Whereas, It is the traditional policy and the interest of the United States of America to promote and protect the progress of liberty and the principles of democracy as incorporated in republican institutions; and,

Whereas, The people and the Government of the United States hailed with great and sincere good-will the prospects for the establishment of these principles in the great domains of Russia for the permanent welfare, political dignity, and beneficence of the Russian people; and,

Whereas, The Imperial Government of Germany, by intrigues and propaganda, and in perfidious violation of the pretended peace with Russia, designs to destroy the Government of Russia and the unity and nationality of the Russian people, and for this purpose is attempting to separate Russia into small vassal States in order to more effectually bring the people, territory, and resources of Russia within the German power; and,

Whereas, In the pursuit of this perfidious purpose, Germany is now subjecting Russia to industrial and economic servitude, and is attempting to recruit troops from among the people of Russia to replenish her depleted armies, and to promote her felonious purpose in the world; and,

Whereas, The Russian people desire to establish a republican form of Govern-

ment and are in sympathy with the cause of the United States of America and of the Allies, and would welcome assistance in neutralizing German intrigue and propaganda, and in repelling the intrusion of German power; and,

Whereas, German troops are now operating in Russia and are making advances, with a view to taking possession of Russian territory, including Siberia, and subjecting the same to political domination and industrial servitude; and,

Whereas, The cause of the Allies and the principles for which they wage war are thus placed in jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that a commission be sent to Russia to co-operate with the American Ambassador and other representatives of our Government to overcome and neutralize German propaganda in Russia and to aid in Russia's economic, industrial, and political freedom; and be it

Further Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that a military expedition be organized and sent by the United States of America, in conjunction with the Allies, including Japan and China, to co-operate with the armies of the Russian people to repel the advance of German arms and to expel from Russia German military power and establish therein the authority of the people and Government of Russia.

The policy of the Washington Government in June remained one of nonintervention in Russia, but there was a strongly representative and widely increasing public opinion that the United States should join with Japan, China, and the Allies to aid Russia and prevent further German penetration. This sentiment was especially outspoken and vigorous in the West and on the Pacific slope, where previously anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese prejudices had predominated.

INTERVENTION URGED

A Supreme Council was held at Tokio June 7, attended by Prince Fushimi, Field Marshals Yamagata and Terauchi, (the Premier,) and Lieut. Gen. Oshima, the Minister of War. A joint conference of the Field Marshals and the Admirals was summoned for June 10.

The Entente Governments of Europe were declared in a Tokio dispatch dated June 15 to be bringing increasing influence to bear to induce Japan to intervene in Russia. Among the several French

officers who arrived in Tokio to consult with the General Staff was Major Pichon, who was head of the French military mission to Russia, and whose recall was demanded by the Bolsheviks. Major Pichon was reported to be striving for intervention in Siberia as a military necessity with the same energy that he opposed Rumania's entrance into the war as an ill-advised step. Major Pichon formerly was Military Attaché at Bucharest. The partisans of intervention were finding support from A. I. Konovaloff, formerly Minister of Trade and Industry in the Russian Provincial Government, and especially from Jules Destrée, who was appointed Belgian Minister to Petrograd in August, 1917. M. Destrée, who is a Socialist, arrived in Japan after vainly seeking to return to Europe across Finland.

"It is urgently imperative for the defense of the interests of the Entente that there shall be a liberation of the Russian people from Germanic domination," M. Destrée declared. "The Trans-Siberian Railroad is the only remaining communication with the outside world, and this could be destroyed at any time by the German prisoners, of whom there are 20,000 under arms in Siberia. I saw armed Germans at every station, ostensibly allies of the Bolsheviks. The destruction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad would mean the complete abandonment of Russia to the Teutons."

CZECHS IN SIBERIA

It was reported on June 15 that the Czechoslovak troops operating against the Russian Soviet Government in Siberia and the Ural region continued their successes. During the 9th and 10th of June, having occupied Samara, they advanced rapidly toward Oufa.

On the Siberian railroad from Theliansk to Tomsk (a distance of 1,250 miles) all the towns were reported to be in the hands of the Czechoslovaks. Omsk was occupied on June 8 by a united force of Slavs and Cossack peasants under command of Colonel Ivanoff, the Soviet forces having retired from Omsk and Tunen.

The new Siberian Government estab-

lished in the Omsk-Nicholaevsk region notified the Soviet Government at Moscow of the abolition of the government of soldiers and deputies in Siberia and of the creation of the new Provisional Government. The notification stated that the Siberian Government, which is joined by Commander Ivanoff in the forwarding of communication, does not intend to work for the separation of Siberia from

Russia, and is ready to negotiate for a supply of provisions to the northern district of Russia.

Should the Council of Commissioners at Moscow, however, attempt to re-establish the Soviet power in Siberia, it was declared, the Siberian Government would resist and would discontinue the sending of bread grains to Northern Russia.

Letters From Trotzky and From Kerensky's War Minister

Two letters from Russian officials, very different in contents but both of historical significance, were brought to the outside world by Herman Bernstein, who had been sent to Petrograd by The New York Herald. One is a confidential letter from Trotzky to Lenine, written at Brest-Litovsk at the end of the peace conference, as follows:

It is impossible to sign their peace. They have already agreed with fictitious Governments of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and others concerning territorial concessions, military and customs treaties, in view of self-determination. These provinces, according to the German interpretation, are already independent German States, and as independent States have already concluded territorial and other agreements with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Today I put these questions squarely and received a reply leaving no room for misunderstandings. Everything was stenographed. Tomorrow we shall present the same questions in writing. We cannot sign their peace.

My plan is this: We announce the termination of the war and demobilization without signing any peace. We declare we cannot participate in the looting war of the Allies nor a looting peace. Poland's, Lithuania's, Courland's fate we place upon the responsibility of the German working people. The Germans will be unable to attack us after we declare the war ended. At any rate, it would be very difficult for Germany to attack us because of her internal conditions. The Scheidemannists adopted a formal resolution to break with a Government that makes annexationist demands of the Russian revolution. The Berliner Tageblatt and the Vossische Zeitung demand an understanding with Russia by all means; Centrists favor an agreement. Internal strife is demoralizing the Government, a bitter controversy is raging in the press about the struggle on the western front;

we declare that we end the war, but do not sign peace.

They will be unable to make an offensive against us. Verteidigungskrieg. If they attack us our position will be no worse than now, when they have the opportunity to declare us agents of England and Wilson, after his speech and comments on attack. I must have your decision. We could well drag negotiations one, two, three, or four days; afterward they must be broken off. I see no other solution than that proposed.

I clasp your hand.

Your TROTZKY.

Answer by direct wire: "I agree to your plan" or "I do not agree."

This letter is in accordance with the published circumstances. Trotzky apparently endeavored to persuade Lenine that if Russia should declare the war at an end, while refusing to sign a formal peace, the Germans would not attack. They, on the contrary, attacked at once, and Trotzky collapsed. History must determine whether he was honestly mistaken or was merely seeking a means of "saving his face," while acting in the German interest.

FROM BORIS SAVINKOV

The other letter is by Boris Savinkov, Kerensky's Minister of War, and for many years a leader in the terrorist wing of the Social Revolutionary Party. It was published last April in the Russky Viedomosti. The Lenine Government promptly suppressed it and confiscated the paper, but Mr. Bernstein succeeded in smuggling a copy out of Russia. It reads as follows:

We are vibrating with indignation at the Bolshevik decrees and their ignominious peace. We feel ourselves humil-

lated and disgraced. We are mercilessly handed over "Kamerad" to any one. Nevertheless, we are doing nothing, because we do not even venture to say, "God be praised, it was not we but our neighbor who was shot." Yet we shall never forget that Lenine, Nathanson and company arrived in Russia via Berlin. The German Government helped them. The gift demands a gift in return. Lenine and his satellites have repaid Germany handsomely, first through the subsidized journal *Pravda*, next by the naked front, then by Brest-Litovsk, and finally by an incredible peace.

What have they done with my Russia? It is necessary to be a fanatic or a paid agent to be able seriously to maintain that the international proletariat would help us. Only criminals and lunatics could base a political computation upon such support when Lenine and his coadjutors entirely destroyed Russia's former means and power. The Germans lifted the mailed first and Lenine instantly gave way, but others commenced howling about the necessity to defend the fatherland, not only my Russia, but the newly invented fatherland. Who can believe the men who destroyed the army and declared that the idea of fatherland is a prejudice? Who can believe that they would defend Russia? They are impotent. Nor do I believe that they are sincere. The Soviet admitted that the declaration of Lenine was right that we Russians ought to put up with the loss of Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, White Russia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and part of the Caucasus districts. The rights of Russia exist no longer. There are only separated towns and villages, economically dependent upon foreigners. The position of Russia is like that of Poland after the partition. Has not William realized his dream? Have not the People's Commissaries deserved the Iron Cross?

The Bolsheviks have served Germany and serve Germany still. It is no secret that Russia is covered with a net of German organizations, and that the Russians who are wishing for the restoration of the monarchy are working hand in hand with the Germans. It is no secret that many Russians dream of the day on which the Germans will enter Petrograd and German policemen appear in the Nevsky Prospekt. They prefer the devil

himself to the Bolsheviks. What have they done with my Russia?

The Bolsheviks are our national misfortune, but Russia must be saved, not by our enemies, not by German bayonets, but by ourselves. We Russians must again be masters of Russia. It must never be said that we are weak without the imperial assistance of William and are unable to organize a State. It was not to reach this goal that we sacrificed streams of Russian blood throughout three years, nor was it in order to follow the program of the Bolsheviks or to stretch out our hand toward the enemy. As sure as it is treason against Russia to compromise with the Bolsheviks, so sure is the agreement with Germany under which we are now living worse treason against Russia. We must not forget that the Russian Nation does not die. Sooner or later it will dawn upon the people of Russia what my Russia ought to be, and the treason will never be pardoned. It is an aberration to believe that Nicholas will be able to return. But when will my Russia stand forth again vigorous and free? I only know one thing. I learned when young: Through work and fight thou shalt win thy right. We must work and fight against the Germans and the Bolsheviks.

After the revolution of March, 1917, had achieved what terrorism had been powerless to accomplish, M. Savinkov threw himself heart and soul into the task of saving the army. He realized more clearly than did any of his revolutionary associates, Kerensky included, that a surrender to the Germans with the Socialists in power would inevitably compromise the Socialist cause in Russia. As Chief Commissioner of the Coalition Government with the armies of the southwestern front he strongly supported General Korniloff in taking stern measures to restore discipline. Kerensky quarreled with Savinkov because the latter, becoming Minister of War, continued to support General Korniloff. Savinkov is a comparatively young man, of great determination and resource. He is well known as a writer.



Growth of the Yugoslav Movement

Project for a South Slavic State, Aided by the Czechs, Threatens to Disrupt Austria-Hungary

For the many internal troubles tending toward the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the one that has grown most rapidly in the last year is the Yugoslav movement—the movement for an independent State to be known as Jugoslavia, and to include all the Southern Slavic provinces of Austria-Hungary, as well as Serbia and Montenegro in the Balkans. This project assumed a new phase in May, 1918, when it received the active support of the millions of Czechs in Bohemia, Austria's northwest border province. The Czech demand for a free Bohemia and Jugoslavia helped to precipitate a political crisis at Vienna, which Emperor Charles met by summarily suppressing Parliament. All indications pointed to the existence of a united effort of the Slavs, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Croatsians, and Italians to throw off the Teutonic yoke, completely dismembering the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The only session of the Reichsrat that has been held in Austria-Hungary since the war began was opened on May 31, 1917, and closed abruptly by imperial order on May 4, 1918. Throughout that period the Slavic Deputies in the lower house showed increasing hostility to the war methods and plans of the Teutonic minority which rules the empire. The house consisted of 516 members, of whom only 233 were Germans. The dominant nationality has for years managed to keep its control of the Reichsrat through alliance with the Poles, who hold 80 or 90 seats, but in the Spring of 1918 the Poles broke away from the Germans, and suddenly the Government discovered that it was in a minority and that its war budgets were in serious danger of being defeated. Then it resorted to the drastic measure of adjourning Parliament under threat of force.

Already the Czechs, Slovaks, and Ju-

goslavs had been working together in Parliament, generally getting the support of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and the Italians. In the closing months of 1917 this tendency was accentuated, when the Polish leaders came into closer alliance with the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugoslavs. This was cemented by a congress of Czech Deputies, held in Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, which adopted unanimously the declaration given below. The document was at first suppressed by the Austro-Hungarian censor, and the few publications that got hold of it were not allowed to leave the country.

THE CZECH DECLARATION

Despite this attempt at suppression the text of the document reached the outside world through the Czecho-Slovak National Council. It is as follows:

In the fourth year of this terrible war, which has already cost the nations numberless sacrifices in blood and treasure, the first peace efforts have been inaugurated. We, the Czech members of the Austrian Reichsrat, which, through the verdicts of incompetent military tribunals, has been deprived of a number of its Slav Deputies and Czech Deputies to the dissolved and as yet unsummoned Diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and to the equally unsummoned Diets of Moravia and Silesia, recognize the declarations of the Czech Deputies in the Reichsrat, and deem it our duty emphatically to declare, in the name of the Czech Nation and of its oppressed and forcibly silenced Slovak branch of Hungary, our attitude toward the reconstruction of international relations.

When the Czech Deputies of our regenerated nation expressed themselves during the Franco-Prussian war on the international European problems they solemnly declared in their memorandum of Dec. 8, 1870, that "all nations, great or small, have an equal right to self-determination, and their complete equality should always be respected. Only from the recognition of the equality of all nations and from mutual respect of the right of self-determination can come true equality and fraternity, a general peace and true humanity."



SHADED AREA SHOWS THE PROJECTED STATE OF JUGOSLAVIA, INCLUDING SERBIA, MONTENEGRO, AND SLAVIC PORTIONS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

We, the Deputies of the Czech Nation, true even today to these principles of our ancestors, have, therefore, greeted with joy the fact that all States based upon democratic principles, whether they are belligerent or neutral, now accept with us the right of nations to free self-determination as a guarantee of a general and lasting peace.

Also the new Russia accepted the principle of self-determination of nations during its attempts for a general peace as a fundamental condition of peace. The nations were freely to determine their fate and decide whether they want to live in an independent State of their own or whether they choose to form one State in common with other nations.

DEMANDS INDEPENDENCE

On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian delegate declared, in the name of the Quadruple Alliance, that the question of self-determination of those nations which have not hitherto enjoyed political independence should be solved in a constitutional manner within the existing State. In view of this declaration we deem it our duty to declare, in the name of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, that this point of view of the Austro-Hungarian representative is not our point of view. On the contrary, we have in all our declarations and proposals opposed this solution, because we know, from our own numberless bitter experiences, that it means nothing but the negation of the principle of self-determination. We in-

dignantly express our regret that our nation was deprived of its political independence and of the right of self-determination, and that by means of artificial electoral statutes we were left to the mercy of the German minority and of the Government of the centralized German bureaucracy.

Our brother Slovaks became the victims of Magyar brutality and of unspeakable violence in a State which, notwithstanding all its apparent constitutional liberties, remains the darkest corner of Europe, and in which the non-Magyars, who form the majority of the population, are ruthlessly oppressed by the ruling minority, extirpated, denationalized from childhood, unrepresented in Parliament and civil service, deprived of public schools, as well as of all private educational institutions.

The Constitution, to which the Austro-Hungarian representative refers, falsified even the justice of the general suffrage by an artificial creation of an over-representation of the German minority in the Reichsrat, and its utter uselessness for the liberty of nations was clearly demonstrated during the three years of unscrupulous military absolutism during this war. Every reference to this Constitution, therefore, means, in reality, only a repudiation of the right of self-determination for the non-German nations of Austria who are at the mercy of the Germans; and it means an especially cruel insult and injury to the non-Magyar nations in Hungary, where the Constitution

Austria-Hungary Sketch Map Showing Slavic Populations in Threatened Revolt

THE SLAVS IN ALL PARTS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY SINCE THE TREATY HAVE DEVELOPED AN ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO THE RULE OF THE GERMAN MINORITY AT VIENNA. IN THE NORTHWEST THE CECCHS OF BOHEMIA AND THE SLOVAKS OF MORAVIA, CONSTITUTING THE CZECHO-SLOVAK MOVEMENT, HAVE TAKEN PART IN SERIOUS RIOTS AT PRAGUE AND ELSEWHERE ON BEHALF OF INDEPENDENCE. THE POLES AND RUTHENIANS OF GALICIA AND BUKOWINA ARE SUPPORTING THEM POLITICALLY. IN THE SOUTHWEST THE SLOVENS, CROATS, AND SERBIANS HAVE DEVELOPED A STRONG JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT, DEMANDING THE CREATION OF A NEW STATE HEADED BY THE KING OF SERBIA. THIS MOVEMENT RECENTLY GAINED THE SUPPORT OF THE ITALIANS BOTH IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND IN ITALY.



is nothing but a means of shameful domination by the oligarchy of a few Magyar aristocratic families, as was again proved by the recent electoral reform proposal.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Our nation longs with all the democracies of the world for a general and lasting peace. But our nation is fully aware that no peace can be permanent except a peace which will abolish old injustice, brutal force, and the predominance of arms, as well as the predominance of States and nations over other nations, and which will assure a free development to all nations, great or small, and which will liberate especially those nations which still are suffering under foreign domination. That is why it is necessary that this right of free national development and to self-determination of nations, great or small, to whatever State they may belong, should become the foundation of future international right, a guarantee of peace, and of a friendly co-operation of nations, as well as a great ideal which will liberate humanity from the terrible horrors of a world war.

We, deputies of the Czech nation, declare that a peace which would not bring our nation full liberty could not be and would not mean a peace to us, but only a beginning of a new, desperate, and continuous struggle for our political independence, in which our nation would strain to the utmost its material and moral forces. And in that uncompromising struggle it would never relax until its aim had been achieved. Our nation asks for independence on the ground of its historic rights, and is imbued with the fervent desire to contribute toward the new development of humanity on the basis of liberty and fraternity in a free competition with other free nations which our nation hopes to accomplish in a sovereign, equal, democratic, and socially just State of its own, built upon the equality of all its citizens within the historic boundaries of the Bohemian lands and of Slovakia, guaranteeing full and equal national rights to all minorities.

Guided by these principles, we solemnly protest against the rejection of the right of self-determination at the peace negotiations, and demand that, in the sense of this right, all nations, including, therefore, also the Czecho-Slovaks, be guaranteed participation and full freedom of defending their rights at the Peace Conference.

WAGRAM GATHERING

On March 2 a gathering of Jugoslavs met at Zagreb (Wagram) which included the Yugoslav Deputies of the Reichsrat, practically the entire mem-

bership of the Croatian Sabor, (the Legislature which exercises a limited amount of local autonomy,) and other representatives of the nation. According to the Hrvatska Drzhava, extracts from whose accounts have been translated by the Serbian Press Bureau in Geneva, they contained the following statement:

After having discussed the general political and national situation the assembly has agreed on the necessity of a concentration of all parties and groups which, from the point of view of national self-government, demand the creation of a national and independent States of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs founded on the principle of democracy.

The language of this passage parallels the Declaration of Corfu, by which exiled leaders of the Yugoslav movement demanded the union of the Yugoslav territories in Austria-Hungary with Serbia and Montenegro into one kingdom under the Karageorgevitch dynasty. Austrian papers at once became agitated because there was no reference to the carrying out of this aim within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire. The fact that many, if not most, of those present were known to be in accord with the Declaration of Corfu, and the suspicion that practically all of them favored it at heart, caused many protests against the "introduction of the policy of Belgrade" in the Viennese press.

The matter was further complicated by the activity of the police in the affair, they having broken up the first session of the assembly and posted a guard around the hall. Demonstrations of the students against this, which seem to have gone no further than parading up and down the streets singing Slavic national songs, were broken up by the police with the utmost violence, and many were arrested.

This did not prevent a large gathering, principally of students, at the station the next day to bid farewell to Dr. Koroshetz, leader of the Yugoslav Club in the Reichsrat. Dr. Koroshetz is taking the lead in the organization of a Yugoslav National Council of some twenty-four members, whose aims are euphemistically described for the present

as "to arrange the tactics of the general Yugoslav policy."

The economic conditions which contribute to the revolutionary ferment in the Yugoslav countries were set forth in a speech in the Reichsrat in the course of a budget discussion just before this assembly by Dr. Matko Leginja, Deputy from Istria and Vice Chairman of the Yugoslav Club. He quoted the appeal from an Istrian commune which ended:

We beg, ask, and demand bread, peace, and the return of our brethren, fathers, and sons to console us, to see that our fields are worked properly, and that there should be some one with us to close the eyes of the dying parents.

Of many instances of starvation which he gave was one of a parish in which in 1912 there were 67 births and 23 deaths. In 1917 there were 23 births and 68 deaths, without counting those who died in military service.

CONFERENCE AT ROME

The significance of the whole movement was deepened by the Conference of Oppressed Austrian Nationalities held at Rome on April 10, when a full understanding with Italy was reached. The territorial and other questions at issue between the Italians and Yugoslavs were settled, and the Poles joined the other delegates in the demand for a complete overthrow of the present Austrian Empire, declaring that the future of Poland lay in a firm alliance with the reconstituted nations of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Yugoslavs, and the Rumanians. The text of the formal declaration then adopted, is as follows:

1. Every people proclaims it to be its right to determine its own nationality and national unity and complete independence.

2. Every people knows that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is an instrument of German domination, and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its rights to free development and self-government.

3. The Congress recognizes the necessity of fighting against the common oppressors.

The representatives of the Yugoslavs agree:

That the unity and independence of the Yugoslav Nation is considered of vital importance by Italy.

That the deliverance of the Adriatic

Sea and its defense from any enemy is of capital interest to the two peoples.

That territorial controversies will be amicably settled on the principle of nationality, and in such a manner as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations; interests which will be taken into account at the peace conferences.

The Polish delegates added their declaration that they considered Germany to be Poland's chief enemy, and that they believed the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to be indispensable for the obtaining of their independence from Germany.

ITALY'S ACTIVE HELP

As a result of this important conference, a separate section was established by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to look after the propaganda in favor of the Allies in the Austro-Hungarian countries and in their armies. The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seidler, stated in his last speech before the adjourning of the Reichsrat that the Austro-Hungarian Government was fully aware of this propaganda and had taken measures to combat it. A Slovene paper, the Slovenic, commented as follows:

The German newspapers have begun at the same time to call the attention of the Yugoslavs to Italian imperialistic aims and to show all at once great devotion to our country, which, they say, is menaced by the Italian peril. With a special affection for our people, an affection never known before, they urge us to beware of our Italian neighbors, enumerating all the points of the London understanding with regard to our territory.

In publishing this agreement the Grazer Tagblatt, that ultra national German organ, wished to give us a political lesson of which they might have saved themselves the trouble. It was superfluous, if for no other reason, because it came from German nationalists, whose counsels we can never follow.

The Austrian Government and the German newspapers are troubling themselves in vain as to how to circumvent the Italian propaganda. It would be of more importance if they would take care to improve their system of government, the oppression and injustice of which only help the work of the propaganda. (Further thirty lines censored.)

PROTEST IN REICHSRAT

The Czecho-Slovak Deputies in the Reichsrat introduced a motion on April

23 which was suppressed by the Vienna censorship. In the name of the Slovak Parliamentary Union, the motion, introduced by Deputy Kalinov, demanded that the Reichsrat refuse to sanction the imperial ordinance of May 1, 1915, which extended the age of service in the Landsturm from 43 to 50 years. The arguments presented in support of this demand, as summarized by a Berne correspondent of the *Paris Temps*, constitute a protest of all the Czecho-Slovak nations:

1. Against the war.
2. Against the militarism which, directed by the absolute will of the monarch, has enchained the free will of nations.
3. Against the military tyranny that has installed itself in Bohemia, and which is militarizing every stratum of society.
4. Against the spirit and tendencies of the army leaders, who have made of the army an instrument of Germanization and Magyarization.
5. Against absolutism, because the law has been interpreted in an unconstitutional manner, without the consent of the Reichsrat.
6. Against the dual system and the will for annexation, against peace based on violence, and, still more emphatically, against the shameful exploitation of Czecho-Slovak territory through requisitions and incessant contributions.

The Czecho-Slovak Deputies added:

An attempt is being made to starve our country, which was the granary of the whole Hapsburg Monarchy, and whose population, alike in villages and cities, is now suffering atrociously from famine and misery.

Our declaration is, above all, a unanimous manifestation of the collective will of the nation. It proves:

That the Czecho-Slovak Nation is firmly resolved to dispose henceforth of its own life and goods and children by the sole agency of its freely elected representatives.

That our nation and, first and foremost, our women demand a general and just peace, which alone can bring liberty and independence to the nation, and which alone can cause justice to reign in the whole world.

That we wish henceforth to live our own life in a State of our own, as a member of a society of free nations, a society that will solve without violence the questions that arise between peoples, depending upon a friendly understanding, and thus bringing happiness to liberated humanity.

When the Austro-Hungarian Govern-

ment under Premier von Seidler found itself confronted by a hostile Slavic majority in the Reichsrat, threatening the defeat of its war budgets, Emperor Charles empowered the Premier to "adjourn Parliament forthwith and inaugurate measures to render impossible the resumption of its activities." This was done on May 4. The Parliament had been composed of 233 Germans, 108 Czechs, 92 Poles, 33 Ruthenians, 42 Jugoslavs, and 19 Italians. The Germans had considerably less than a majority.

In another respect the suppression of Parliament was viewed as a concession to the Magyars. Those holding reign in Hungary since 1867 had been resentful at the claims of the Czechs and the Jugoslavs, fearing that the Government would be forced to make some concessions to them. If the project of unity were realized Hungary would be reduced to about half of its present size. On several occasions the Magyars had called on the Government at Vienna to suppress the Parliamentary agitation, threatening to form a separate Hungarian army and impose restrictions on the exportation of foodstuffs.

The Government, in a public statement, ascribed its action to the food crisis, which was very acute, adding: "The Government will devote its entire strength to the economic problem and will try to create conditions required to enable the population to hold out."

THE PREMIER'S ADMISSION

A Vienna dispatch stated that the Premier, addressing a conference of party leaders, had demanded that the Parliamentary sittings be postponed, and added that, unless they took this step, the Government would prevent the sessions by force. In the debate that followed he had admitted the existence of many problems which must receive consideration, especially that of the agitation for a South Slavic State, but had added:

Discussion of this problem, however, is impossible at present, because it concerns not only Austria but also Hungary and Bosnia. But one thing is certain—If such a State were created it could be only under the sceptre of his Majesty, as a

component part of the monarchy. It could not include those parts of Austrian territory which border on the Adriatic and are closely connected with districts where the German language is spoken. But national aspirations exist also in these districts, and it is only natural that the national wishes of the Southern Slavs be duly considered.

In the course of discussion of the question of revising the Constitution on the basis of national autonomy, Premier von Seidler announced that in Bohemia the Government would speedily issue regulations providing for the appointment of administrators for districts inhabited by distinct nationalities. After sounding a warning against inciting nationalities against one another, he said:

Our entire military and political situation has reached a climax. The next few months will bring a big decision. I am firmly convinced the decision on the battlefield will be in favor of Austria and her allies. Our economic, especially our food, conditions are very serious, but they are not at all desperate. To hold on now to a final happy decision is the vital question for the State. It therefore is necessary that, unhampered by Parliamentary confusion, the Government be left in a position to devote all its strength to these tasks.

FOOD SHORTAGE

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was at that time facing a dozen different crises, all aggravated by the problem of food. Even the racial animosities, always threatening to overturn the unstable rule of the German and Magyar minority over the Slavic majority, was inflamed into bitterness by sectional jealousies over food distribution. These crises reached a culmination in the decision of the Government to prorogue Parliament.

What straits the empire had reached were partially revealed by the Premier's speech to the party leaders, and also by the German official statement that all food supplies from the Ukraine during the month of May would be given to Austria-Hungary, on account of its greater need. Still more significant was Dr. von Seidler's admission, made public on May 4, that Austria was unable to feed the populations of North Tyrol and Northern Bohemia, and that he had, therefore, consented that the former be

attached for provisioning purposes to Bavaria, and the latter to Saxony. This concession, the dispatch added, had been wrung from him by leaders of the German parties after a conference lasting six hours. It meant that for food supply purposes these portions of Austria were being annexed to Germany. The Austrian Government yielded with the greatest reluctance, realizing that the political consequences might be far-reaching. It was pointed out that this would accentuate the feud between the German and non-German races in Austria-Hungary, since the provinces affected are German-speaking, and would strengthen the agitation for the incorporation of Austria into a German federation.

The meeting of the German and Austrian Emperors at the German Great Headquarters on May 12 did not tend to allay fears of this nature. Though the results of the meeting remained secret, the belief was expressed in many quarters that it had constituted a formal acknowledgment of the subservient relations of Austria-Hungary toward the German Empire.

MARTIAL LAW IN PRAGUE

Shortly after the beginning of the war the Hungarian authorities suppressed the Slovak press almost in its entirety. Thus the Slovaks came to depend upon the Czech newspapers of Bohemia for their political and other information. On May 5 the Hungarian Government issued an order forbidding Czech newspapers from Bohemia and Moravia to circulate in Slovakia.

The whole Czech and Slovak population, indeed, was seething with hostility to the Imperial Government and its war policies. Prague, the capital of Bohemia, had become a centre for leaders of the Czecho-Slovaks, Yugoslavs, and Poles in their agitation for independence. Demonstrations of an anti-German character became frequent, and Czechs and Yugoslavs paraded the streets shouting "Long live Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George!" The manifestations against the Austrian State began afresh on the evening of May 17, when the police made

many arrests, and culminated on May 20, when the Government declared Prague under martial law. All political meetings were prohibited, and the police issued a proclamation announcing that any further disorders would be met with violent measures.

One of the events that had aroused popular hostility was the suppression of the Czech newspaper *Narodni Listi*. The last copy of this paper contained the text of the oath taken at Prague by the Czecho-Slovak, Yugoslav, and Polish journalists, as follows:

Gathered at Prague while the world war has made necessary a new reorganization of the world on the basis of a higher authority given to the people, we proclaim that we shall remain in the front line of battle for the freedom of peoples, that we shall fight together in favor of each other's interests, that we shall repulse together any despotic measure, and that we shall denounce together the oppression of the Austrian State.

We want to promote together the confidence of our people in the achievement of their aspirations, to encourage them to express their will more positively.

We raise our right hand and solemnly swear that we shall give all that we own, all our strength, all our possessions, for the liberation of our people and for the achievement of the political unity of the Czecho-Slovak people, the political unity of the Yugoslavs, and the political unity of the Polish people.

RIOTS IN WENSEL SQUARE

The disorders leading to the declaring of martial law were described by the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger a few days later in these terms:

The chief demonstration in the new outbreak occurred in Wensel Square in Prague on May 20. The demonstration was a big one and reached such pitch that in the evening the police had to interfere. The Czechs sang their patriotic hymn with its additional anti-German verses and raised cheers for President Wilson and Professor Masaryk, the Bohemian delegate now in the United States. Although Wensel Square was thereafter barred to the demonstrators by the police, the demonstrations were repeated at 10 o'clock at night, and not until midnight did the mounted and foot police succeed in restoring order.

Another account gave other details:

At the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Czech National Theatre speeches violently attacking Germany

were delivered, and the renewal of the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary was denounced. Several deputies addressed the crowd, urging resistance to the end and the sacrifice of wealth and blood for Bohemia. The theatre was then closed and rioting occurred in the streets outside. The Yugoslavs who had participated in the Bohemian festivities were ordered to leave the city. Crowds singing patriotic songs accompanied them to the railway station.

In the next week about 800 Czechs were arrested at Prague and other Bohemian cities on a charge of seditious conspiracy.

REVOLT IN AUSTRIAN ARMY

Riots and disorders in Bohemia continued to increase during the following weeks. Crowds at Chozen, exasperated by police brutality, set fire to barracks and to the City Hall, where the mounted police were lodged. Eight of the officers were burned to death. At Kolin the people pulled down the Austrian and raised the Bohemian flag. Public buildings were burned at Tabor and in other Bohemian towns, also at Olmutz, Moravia. At Prague the offices of two German newspapers were sacked. The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna declared: "Only the tenacity and union of those who desire the preservation of the State can make the monarchy survive this great crisis."

Mutinies among the Slavic troops in the Austrian Army also assumed serious proportions. A Vienna dispatch to the Berliner Tageblatt on May 3 gave the following details:

The troubles began in the Slovene Battalion of the 9th Infantry Regiment at Judenburg. The German officers were killed, after which the troops gave themselves up to acts of anarchy. In time they were driven into the mountains, where they finally were disarmed after a combat.

The Czechs of Pilsen, stationed at Fumberg, also revolted. The rising was put down by the sword. Part of the rebels, having succeeded in passing the frontier, took refuge in the mountains of Saxony, where they were made prisoner by the Germans.

A third case of serious revolt took place at Funkirchen, where a Serbian regiment from Austria revolted and massacred the officers. The exact details of these revolts are difficult to obtain. It appears,

however, the instigators were Austrian soldiers returned from the prisoners' camps in Russia.

GERRYMANDERING BOHEMIA

On May 22 the Austro-Hungarian Government issued a decree dividing Bohemia into twelve districts, under a system giving new administrative and electoral advantages to the Germanic population. The German minority in the Imperial Parliament had been about to be completely isolated by a union of the Czechs, Slovaks, Jugoslavs, Ruthenians, and Poles. The electoral redistribution sought to avoid this by reducing the Czech strength in the Reichsrat at Vienna as well as in the Bohemian Diet. An official French bulletin dated May 22 said:

The law bulletin of the Austrian Empire publishes a decree according to which the district Governments which were so long demanded by the Germans are established in Bohemia. The twelve district Captains who are nominated will represent the Statthalter of Prague in each district and will have the same powers.

The boundaries of the districts are fixed, so far as possible, according to the national grouping. In the words of the decree, "the aim is to take the first steps toward the re-establishment of order in Bohemia." This decree foreruns undoubtedly a policy of repression, the first act of which tends to dismember Bohemia by granting to the German elements the guarantees or, better, the privileges which they demand.

Up to the present, Bohemia comprised thirteen districts, only two of which had a majority of German population, according to statistics from Vienna. In four of the districts there are hardly any Germans. The new plan aims at creating in each of the twelve new districts a German minority and to grant to this minority, however small it may be, considerable advantages in the administrative and electoral domains.

This method is meant to bring about as a first result a considerable increase in the number of German deputies in the Diet to the prejudice of the Czechs, who until now have held the majority of the seats. It is clear that this device of the Pan Germans is bound to arouse the most violent opposition on the part of the Czechs.

A dispatch printed in all the Wagram papers calls attention to the fact that martial law has been proclaimed in several districts of Bohemia because in certain regions serious riots have occurred. More than 150 persons have been put in

prison. The estate of Prince Furstenberg was ransacked. Riots occurred at Marsch, Ostrau, Pilsen, and Nachod. The Czech press expresses itself very violently. The Vetcher writes:

"The Government is trying in vain to present its reform under bright colors, but it is evident at first sight, in fact, that nothing but the dismembering of Bohemia is under way. The Ministerial decree is preparing the parceling out of our fatherland and the foundation of a German province made of our own flesh."

The Narodni Listi, which was suppressed by the censorship as guilty of "criminal dealings," has written:

"It is in vain that threats are hurled at us to divert us from the line of conduct which we have decided to follow according to our proclamation. It is in vain that the sessions of Parliament are adjourned. Our indignation will not be less in June (the Austrian Chamber is to resume its sittings on June 19) and our opponents will have the opportunity of realizing it. The chart which, according to von Seidler, is to be granted to us will not change our resolution: 'We shall fight on without any consideration, with compromise, for the defense of the Czech State.'

"This evidently shows the attitude of all the nationalities crushed by the Germans and the Magyars in the Dual Monarchy. The movement was not entirely unexpected, but it is possible that the fact of threatening them with a pitiless repression has advanced it and made it more formidable.

"Emperor Charles is away from Vienna, and on his return he will find political conditions which the food situation will make even more distressing. Once more the frightfulness of German methods, so dear to the Germans, will bear its fruit by arousing rebellion of the people oppressed."

AUSTRIAN OFFICIAL VIEW

An official Austrian note, referring to the decree, said:

Certain events, which were a danger to the safety of the State and presented even a character of high treason, took place during the first days of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the National Bohemian Theatre, and led the authorities to take repressive measures.

Swiss commentators explain that this alludes to a note from the police posted in Prague, which declared that mob gatherings and processions would be dispersed by force if necessary. Jugoslav guests, who had come to Prague to participate in the celebration, were obliged

to leave the city, and the newspaper *Narodni Listi* was suspended because the Austrian authorities declared: "The manner in which this paper is worded tends to arouse sympathy in favor of the Entente States."

Accounts of the great gathering at Prague, which caused the Austrian Government to declare martial law, stated that the city was adorned with the Czech colors and the Slav tricolor flag. The Czech press expressed regret at the absence of Russians and great satisfaction at the presence of Poles. It was reported that the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia were prevented by the authorities from attending.

The festival was organized by the recently formed Independence Party of Dr. Kramarcz, and the ceremonies consisted generally of a glorification of the union of the Slavic peoples.

WEAKENING NATIONALISM

It is stated by American sympathizers of the Czechs that the new decree is intended also to weaken the Bohemian national movement by decentralizing the forces of the nation and partly to prepare for the possible establishment of a province of "German Bohemia," such as has been talked of in case the national movement is so strong as to force the Austrian Government to try to compromise on some sort of federalization.

The Czecho-Slovak Nation, which has declared its demands for unity and complete independence, includes the Slovaks in the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Czechs, now divided among Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, three of the seventeen crown lands of Austria.

There has been much reference in German-Austrian papers recently to the possible establishment of a German Bohemia, to include the districts with the largest German population. Any rearrangement on this basis would be beset with obstacles, for the Czecho-Slovaks refuse to consent to any partition and the Germans demand not only the border districts for their German Bohemia, but the City of Prague itself.

It was recently reported that in April

the Pope, acting through the Papal Nuncio at the request of the Vienna Government, had caused the arrest of Dr. Yeglicht, Prince Archbishop of Laibach, on account of his activities in behalf of the Yugoslav movement. Dr. Yeglicht was the head of the Slovene Catholic party in Parliament, and his arrest produced an outburst of indignation in Croatia and Slovenia. A Vatican dispatch later declared the report of the Pope's connection with the matter to be entirely without foundation.

BOHEMIANS IN ITALY'S ARMY

Troops from Bohemia began joining the Italian Army in April to fight against Austria. The first detachments of this Czecho-Slovak army, which is being formed in many centres out of the one-time subjects of Emperor Karl, have taken up their positions in various parts of the Italian line. They wear the Italian uniform, with certain distinctive signs. The effect upon their fellow-Slavs who are still fighting under the Austrian colors is a subject of considerable interest on both sides. The new position of affairs is being assiduously explained to them by airplane propaganda, and committees of their own race are accredited to and working with the Italian high command. G. Ward Price, a British correspondent, telegraphed from Italian headquarters on May 1:

One night recently some of the Czechs fighting with the Italians were in the front line at a place where the Austrian battalion holding the trenches opposite consisted largely of their fellow-countrymen. After some preliminary conversation by megaphone one of the allied Czechs crawled out to the other lines and urged his compatriots to come over to our side, where they would be treated not as prisoners or deserters but as friends. The Austrian Czechs replied that they would willingly do so, but that the line behind their own was held by Hungarians, who would almost certainly see them moving out of the trench and open fire on them with machine guns.

The allied Czech brought this message in to his friends, whereupon the Italian guns were asked to put down a barrage between the Austrian front trenches and their support line, driving the Hungarians to cover and isolating them from the Czechs, of whom some were thus able to cross over in safety to our side.

RACIAL DIVISIONS IN HUNGARY

Hungary in no less degree than Bohemia presents a problem of racial antipathies which has been a cause of serious unrest for centuries; aggravated by the present worldwide aspiration for independent nationalism it has thrown the country into turmoil and given a strong impetus to a revolutionary movement by the non-Magyar inhabitants. In a recent issue of *The New Europe*, D. Draghicescu, in discussing the situation in Hungary, gives the following facts regarding its racial divisions:

Hungary is a country of 22,000,000 souls, of whom approximately 9,000,000 are Magyars and 13,000,000 non-Magys, belonging to four or five different races. The Magyars have always insisted upon the fact that in Hungary they form by themselves a block of 9,000,000, while the other nationalities, taken altogether, are but 13,000,000, and that each of these, taken separately, constitute beside the Magyars a negligible minority. Naturally, if the 9,000,000 Magyars lived dispersed in all the provinces of Hungary, mingled with other nationalities in the proportion of 9 to 13, or 41 per cent., or if in each or in the majority of these provinces they formed a majority over the non-Magys, or even an overwhelming majority over the most important of these nationalities, nothing could be done; the racial question in Hungary should not and would not arise. In that case, no doubt, the Hungarian State would properly bear the impress of the most numerous race, and would be, in fact, a national Magyar State, and the minority races would necessarily be sacrificed, even although their blood-brothers across the frontier might form powerful and prosperous States, (Rumania, Serbia, &c.) However objectionable might be the measures taken by the Magyars against these nationalities, they would, in such conditions, be up to a certain point excusable. It is impossible to create a strong and workable State and to insure peace and prosperity in a country so heterogeneous and containing an *imbroglio* of peoples each facing in its own direction and gravitating toward other neighboring States.

EACH RACE ISOLATED

He states that the Magyars, however, have never allowed it to be understood how the various races have been distributed in the kingdom, and he elucidates this as follows:

Hungary consists of several provinces,

each of which is inhabited by a separate nationality, homogeneous and compact. Of these provinces one of the most important beyond question is the Hungarian Pousa, situated on the banks of the Theiss and the middle Danube, and inhabited by 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 Magyars. The remaining 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 Magyars are scattered over the other provinces, forming the ruling caste and providing officials, magistrates, and police. Their business is to dominate the nationalities of these provinces and bend them under the yoke of the Magyars.

In these other provinces each race is at home, and is as compact and homogeneous as the Magyars in the Pousa. Transylvania, for example, with the neighboring plains of the Banat, of Chrisana and Mamaramuresh is peopled by 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 Rumanians, among whom there are to be found here and there small bodies of Magyars. The Southern Slavs in their turn dwell in compact masses of between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 in the southern part of Hungary; and there are at least 2,000,000 Slovaks in the north, who also form a compact group. The Magyars are determined that the 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 of the Hungarian Pousa shall rule the 13,000,000 of non-Magys in Transylvania, Jugoslavia, and Slovakia, and that these nationalities shall disappear, losing their language and individuality and adopting those of the Magyar people. It is nothing less than national suicide which the Magyars demand from these races, and, since this is refused, the jingoes of Budapest, enjoying carte blanche from the Emperor and the European powers, have for sixty years been carrying out a veritable campaign of murder against the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

TRANSYLVANIA'S CASE

The problem is intensified by the fact that the Serbs and Rumanians of Hungary see 5,000,000 of their brother Serbs and 7,500,000 of their brother Rumanians across their frontiers in Serbia and in Rumania under separate sovereignties of their own people. Mr. Draghicescu continues as follows:

Doubtless, if Transylvania and Jugoslavia were merely isolated provinces without affinity or resemblance to neighboring States, as is, for example, the case of Ireland in the United Kingdom, we should admit that, however great might be the majority of these races over the Magyars, the racial question would not and could not arise. It would in that case be merely a question of domestic politics and administration without international interest. But this is far from being

the case in Transylvania, for instance, where the Rumanian population touches upon three sides the Rumanians of the kingdom, and where it has no contact with the Magyars, except on one-third of its racial frontier. Moreover, assuming the Magyars to have a certain superficial claim to ascendancy in Hungary, where they are 41 per cent. of the whole population, this claim cannot be admitted in Transylvania, where they are but 15 per cent. to 18 per cent. In Jugoslavia the proportion of Magyars is even smaller. Now, if we imagine the reunion of Transylvania to Rumania to be an accomplished fact, the proportion of races in Greater Rumania would be 92 per cent. Rumanians to 8 per cent. Magyars; for if to the 7,500,000 Rumanians of the kingdom there are added 4,500,000 Rumanians of Hungary among whom there live scattered bodies of Magyars to the number approximately of 1,000,000, we shall have 12,000,000 Rumanians to 1,000,000 Magyars.

In this case, in place of the crying injustice of a 15 per cent. Magyar population seeking to dominate and exterminate a Rumanian population of 60 per cent., we should have a liberal State in which the Rumanians would constitute 93 per cent. and the Magyars between 6 and 7 per cent. In Jugoslavia the same process would give similar results. It is impossible for Serbs and Rumanians to be indifferent to the fate of their kinsmen

threatened with Magyarization. If they desire to save their captive brethren, if they desire to liberate them and unite with them, it is not because they are themselves impelled by a spirit of conquest and inspired by a reprehensible imperialism. In them such aims would be absurd. They are roused against the Magyars by legitimate fears for their own fate and liberty in the future. If the Rumanians and Serbs of Hungary were finally Magyarized it would be a proof that the Serb and Rumanian Nations were ephemeral and might easily disappear without harm to any one. Once the resistance of the Serbs and Rumanians of Hungary was broken, the fate of the Serbian and Rumanian Kingdoms would be sealed. The Magyars, with the help of their German allies and masters, would soon overcome the Serbs and Rumanians in the free kingdoms, exposed as these would be to the treacherous onslaughts of Bulgaria.

Therefore, the true terms and proportions of this question may be stated as follows: It is a war of life or death between 9,000,000 Magyars and some 25,000,000 Slavs and Latins. The former are vigorously upheld by the Germans and the Bulgars. And the others? Surely they should have for allies all who desire that Germany and her vassals should not destroy the liberties of the world.

Supreme War Council Favors Free Poland and Jugoslavia

The session of the Supreme War Council of the allied Governments, held at Versailles on June 4, 1918, was attended by the Premiers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. At the close of its deliberations it issued the following statement:

The Supreme War Council held its sixth session under circumstances of great gravity for the alliance of free peoples. The German Government, relieved of all pressure on the eastern front by the collapse of the Russian armies and people, has concentrated all its effort in the west. It is now seeking to gain a decision in Europe by a series of desperate and costly assaults upon the allied armies before the United States can bring its full strength effectively to bear.

The advantage it possesses in its strategic position and superior railway facilities has enabled the enemy command to gain some initial successes. It will undoubtedly renew its attacks and the allied nations still may be exposed to critical days.

After a review of the whole position, the Supreme War Council is convinced that the Allies, bearing the trials of the forthcoming campaign with the same fortitude as they have ever exhibited in defense of the right, will baffle the enemy's purpose and in due course bring him to defeat. Everything possible is being done to sustain and support the armies in the field. The arrangements for unity of command have greatly improved the position of the allied armies and are working smoothly and with success. The Supreme War Council has complete confidence in General Foch. It regards with pride and admiration the valor of the allied troops.

Thanks to the prompt and cordial co-operation of the President of the United States, the arrangements which were set on foot more than two months ago for the transporting and brigading of American troops will make it impossible for the enemy to gain victory by wearing out the allied reserve before he has exhausted his own.

The Supreme War Council is confident of the ultimate result, and the allied peoples are resolute not to sacrifice a single



The scene in the Coliseum at Rome on April 7, 1918, when the Italian official celebration of the anniversary of America's entry into the war took place

(Photo Audigier)



The third anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania May 7, 1915. Three large graves at Queenstown, Ireland, where 178 of the victims were buried

(British Official Photo from Underwood)

one of the free nations of the world to the despotism of Berlin. Their armies are displaying the same steadfast courage which has enabled them on many previous occasions to defeat a German onset. They have only to endure with faith and patience to the end to make victory for freedom secure. The free peoples and their magnificent soldiers will save civilization.

A supplemental official statement announced that the following declarations had been unanimously agreed to by the Premiers of the three nations:

The creation of a united, independent Polish State, with free access to the sea, constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and the rule of right in Europe.

The Allies have noted with satisfaction the declaration of the American Secretary of State, to which they adhere, expressing the greatest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czechs and Jugoslavs for freedom.

AMERICA AND JUGOSLAVS

The American declaration referred to above was made public by Secretary Lansing on May 29 in these words:

The Secretary of State desires to announce that the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government of the United States, and that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slovacs and the Jugos-

slavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this Government.

Secretary Lansing's declaration was greeted with enthusiasm by Jugoslavs in both Europe and America. Premier Pashitch of Serbia a few days later communicated to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Corfu his profound appreciation of the action of the United States. Another result was a formal offer of military service by Jugoslavs residing in this country. The offer was made to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on June 5 by Don Niko Grskovich and John J. Grgurevich, acting as spokesmen for their fellow-Slavs. They explained that the Slovenians, Croats, and other South Slavs in the United States were intensely hostile to the German-Austrian cause, and were eager to cast their lot with the Allies, but because they were technically subjects of the Austrian Crown they occupied the status of enemy aliens and were unable to join the army.

"If Congress will enact a law taking this stigma from our people 50,000 enlistments in the American Army will be the immediate result," Mr. Grskovich told the committee. "Ultimately, nearly 500,000 of our people will be found fighting under the American flag."

Rumania's Thralldom

Subjection of the Nation to German Tyranny Under a Supplementary Economic Treaty

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June contained the text of the main treaty imposed on Rumania by Germany, known as the Peace of Bucharest. On May 10 it was announced that a "legal and political supplementary agreement" had been exacted, which completed the economic subjection of the country. The main clauses of this treaty follow:

CLAUSE I.—This provides for the resumption of Consular relations and the admission of Consuls. The treaty demands that a further Consular treaty shall be concluded as

soon as possible, and stipulates for the indemnification of all damage suffered during the war by Consular officials or done to Consular buildings.

CLAUSE II.—This clause says that Rumania renounces indemnifications and damages caused on Rumanian territory as the result of German military measures, including all requisitions and contributions. Amounts which Germany has already paid for damages of the nature just described will be refunded by Rumania in so far as these have not been refunded from the country's means, or paid in the newly issued notes of the Banca Generale of Rumania, (note issue department.)

Within six months after the ratification of

the peace treaty Rumania will redeem out of her own means (with notes of the Rumanian National Bank or other legal means of payment) the notes issued by the Banca Generale, on the order of the occupation administration, and will not put them into circulation again, so that the balances and deposits which are held by the German Reichsbank for the covering of the same may become free.

Until redemption, the notes of the Banca Generale shall be recognized as legal tender. After the ratification of the peace treaty such notes shall no longer be issued.

Another article, under the same clause, provides that Rumania shall indemnify the Germans for all damages suffered by them on Rumanian territory as the result of the military measures of one of the belligerent powers. This stipulation also applies to the losses which the Germans have suffered as participants, and especially as shareholders, of undertakings situated in Rumanian territory. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty a commission shall meet in Bucharest to fix the amount of such losses. The contracting parties will each appoint a third of the members, and the President of the Swiss Federal Council will be asked to designate neutral personages to make up the other third, which is to include the Chairman.

Rumania will also indemnify neutral nations for damage which has been caused them on Rumanian territory as a result of German military measures, and which must be made good according to the principles of international law.

CLAUSE III.—This clause stipulates for the restoration of treaties and agreements between the contracting parties which were in force before the war, except for those cases in which the peace treaty provides otherwise, and in cases where such instruments are unenforceable for a certain period. This period is prolonged by the period of the duration of the war.

The contracting parties reserve until after the conclusion of a general peace the fixing of their attitude toward separate and collective treaties of a political character.

CLAUSE IV.—This contains prescriptions governing the restoration of ordinary relations between debtor and creditor. It says, too, that each contracting party will, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, resume the payment of its obligations, particularly the public debt service, to subjects of the other party.

Restoration and compensation for concessions and privileges in land and other rights are also dealt with.

CLAUSE V.—This deals with compensation for damage suffered during or immediately before the outbreak of war by civilian subjects of the respective parties in life, health, liberties, or property through acts contrary to international law.

Germans who were in the Rumanian public service before the war, and who were dis-

missed as enemy foreigners, shall, on their request, be restored to equal rank and equal salary, or, if this is impracticable, they shall be given fair compensation.

CLAUSE VI.—This clause says that the respective prisoners of war shall be sent home in so far as they, with the assent of the State concerned, do not desire to remain in its territory or to proceed to another country. The exchange of prisoners is to follow as soon as possible, at definite times to be further agreed upon.

The expenditure of each party for prisoners of war belonging to the other party up to April 1, 1918, will be calculated on the basis of an average rate of 2,000 marks (£100) for each officer in Germany, and 1,000 for all other prisoners in Germany, and 2,500 (£100) and 1,250 lei respectively for prisoners in Rumania. Immediately on the ratification of the treaty a commission composed of three members of each party is to meet in Bucharest to arrange details and to supervise the carrying out of the agreement.

Interned civilians will also be gratuitously sent home as soon as possible, in so far as they do not wish to remain in the country of their internment or go elsewhere.

CLAUSE VII.—This relates to the right of subjects of the contracting parties to return to the country of their origin without suffering prejudice.

CLAUSE VIII.—This stipulates an amnesty for offenses committed by prisoners of war, interned men, and certain others. It incidentally stipulates that Rumania shall grant an amnesty to its subjects for their political conduct or military conduct based upon political grounds during the war.

CLAUSE IX.—This provides that captured river craft, merchant ships, and cargoes shall be returned, or, if no longer in existence, be paid for, and compensation shall also be paid for the period they were in the captor's possession. Here, too, a commission will be appointed.

CLAUSE X.—This stipulates that various rights shall be accorded to German churches and schools in Rumania.

CLAUSE XI.—This says: "Rumania, after having obtained the assent of the Rumanian National Bank, agrees that the balances and deposits of the National Bank now at the German Reichsbank shall remain in the Reichsbank's charge for five years (and if Rumania falls behind with an installment, for ten years) as a security for Rumania's Public Debt Service, as regards the subjects of Germany; and may also, if necessary, be drawn on to pay interest and redeem drawn bonds."

The representatives of the contracting parties will meet in Berlin within four weeks after the signature of the treaty to make further arrangements regarding the fulfillment and further guaranteeing of Rumania's financial obligations.

CLAUSE XII.—This provides that the respective representatives shall meet in Berlin

within four months after the ratification of this treaty, further to supplement it.

CONTROL OF OIL FIELDS

Under the petroleum agreement between the Central Powers and Rumania, the Central Powers' controlling company, the Oil Lands Leasing Company, is endowed with exclusive rights of the most far-reaching character for thirty years, with the right of prolongation for two subsequent periods of thirty years, making ninety in all.

Up to one-quarter of the foundation shares will be offered to the Rumanian Government with the right of transfer to private interests, but Germany and Austria-Hungary insure their control by the creation of preference shares with a fifty-fold voting right, and these shares are exclusively at their disposal.

A State trading monopoly in oil in Rumania is also provided for, the exercise of the monopoly to be intrusted to a company that is to be formed by a financial group designated by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments.

All kinds of privileges are stipulated for the Oil Lands Leasing Company, the position of which is most carefully hedged around.

The parties are agreed by the terms of Article IV. of the foregoing agreement that immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty the Rumanian Government will enter into negotiations with the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary regarding the manner in which Rumania's surplus oil and oil products can be placed at the disposal of Germany and Austria-Hungary without endangering the vital interests of Rumania in respect of the country's industries and its own needs. The provisions of Article IV., therefore, only enter into force should no other understanding have been arrived at before Dec. 1, 1918.

COST OF RUMANIA'S PEACE

A correspondent who was at Jassy for years and left there only a few days before the peace treaty was signed thus writes of Rumania's hard fate:

"What is the balance sheet of Rumania after eighteen months' hard strug-

gle? Before August, 1916, she had absolute economic freedom and could sell her harvests to any one she pleased at any price she wanted. In 1915 and 1916 the Rumanian exporters sold wheat to Germany and Austria at from 10s. to 12s. a bushel. The Austro-German importers had to pay, besides, a heavy export tax in gold to the Rumanian Government. Now Germany has secured for herself and her allies practically the whole Rumanian harvest for years to come, at a price which she is going to fix, and in such conditions that 'no diplomatic intervention should be necessary in the future for securing the grain necessary for the allied Central Powers.'

"Rumania had in Europe, after Russia, the richest oil fields and the greatest production of oil. The fields were in American, German, and English hands, but the Rumanian Government had full control of the production and drew very large benefits. When the war broke out in 1914 the Rumanian Government at once prohibited the export of petrol and heavy oils to Germany. The German companies tried hard to send the much-needed petrol to their countries, but succeeded in smuggling only a small quantity through at enormous cost. After a year the production of petrol increased so much that the Government was compelled to allow the export of a small quantity, asking Germany in exchange to agree that Rumania should receive a certain quantity of goods the export of which was prohibited in Germany. The Germans will not forget that they had to pay for the petrol at the rate of about \$200 a ton.

GERMAN OIL MONOPOLY

"Since November, 1916, the Rumanian oil industry has been destroyed. In the last ten days before the Germans penetrated into the rich Prahova Valley the British mission under Lieut. Col. Norton Griffiths destroyed everything — wells, tanks, refineries were burned, smashed to pieces, or blown up, so that even now, after a year and a half, the Germans have not been able to reconstruct them. According to statements made by German prisoners in November last, none of

the obstructed wells had been put in order again. The German engineers have worked hard, boring new wells, but have not succeeded in getting more than 10 to 15 per cent. of the normal production. However, although the refineries and wells have been destroyed, the oil fields exist, and I think that not even 50 per cent. of them have yet been worked in Rumania. The Germans know this, and the clause in the peace treaty that they should have the control and monopoly of the oil fields for ninety-nine years will make them the real owners and entirely independent of the American market. These two assets—the corn and the oil—on which the whole wealth of the Rumanian Kingdom was based, are thus under direct German control.

“Furthermore, Rumania has suffered much during the war. Towns and villages have been destroyed, and nearly the entire stock of railway carriages, vans, and locomotives has been lost. The productive capacity of the country has been enormously diminished. About 60 per cent. of the horned cattle and more than 70 per cent. of the horses have gone. Famine and disease have made ravages among the rural population, nobody having paid any attention to them. I have seen villages of 300 to 500 inhabitants reduced to 40. All the rest died from spotted typhus or other scourges. This shows how reduced are the means of national recovery after peace is signed. The financial situation is probably worse than the economic. At the outbreak of the war the budget amounted to 500,000,000 lei, (\$100,000,000,) while the national debt was about 1,500,000,000 lei, (\$300,000,000.) A few weeks before I left Jassy the Minister of Finance told me that the debt had increased to about \$1,250,000,000. In the period from August, 1916, to February, 1918, the revenue had been very greatly reduced. As the military situation was always critical and the Government had decided twice, before the Russian disaster, to move to Russia, everybody who had a little money kept it at home and did not invest it in Government securities. Therefore only a small amount had been raised in Rumania by loans; the greatest part of the

money had to be obtained from abroad, mainly from England, but also from France and the United States, at a rate of 4 to 5 per cent. Thus the interest which Rumania had to pay on her national debt represented about \$62,500,000, or more than three-quarters of her budget in the pre-war days.

VON KUEHLMANN'S EXPLANATION

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, who forced the treaty, in an address before the Berlin Chamber of Commerce May 24, explained the advantages which the peace of Bucharest had brought to Germany. He said:

Two points must be taken into consideration: First, guaranteeing Rumanian agricultural and petroleum production as urgently necessary for the carrying on of the war by the Central Powers and for the transition period; and, secondly, the important rôle which Rumania has to fill in providing a thoroughfare to the East, especially as she dominates the lower course of the Danube.

It is here that there comes into effect the International Danube Delta Committee, upon which only States on the banks of the Danube can be represented. Only if the States agree to it will the countries lying on the Black Sea be able to come into it. Therefore, it is especially important for the German seaboard traffic that we have been able to secure sites for dockyards.

Along with the Danube, the importance of the Rumanian railways must be considered, especially the Bucharest-Czernavoda-Constanza line, over which Germany must have control. It has been agreed with Bulgaria that this railway to Constanza, which is to be made a free port with grain silos and petroleum tanks, is to be leased to a German company for ninety-nine years.

The cable between Constantinople and Constanza played an important rôle before the war. This cable is to be developed to the utmost and secured from enemy control.

Alluding to the agreement by which Germany had secured the Rumanian harvest of 1918-19, and the far-reaching option upon the entire Rumanian harvest for the next seven years, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

One can look forward to the whole food question with a certain amount of confidence. * * * Formal war indemnities were not demanded by Germany, but the numerous privileges we secured

are equivalent, in the opinion of experts, to anything which would have been yielded by indemnities. When, some day, the damage caused by the U-boat warfare shall have been made good by newly-built ships, the sea route from Constanza will regain its importance. Whether traffic on the Danube will be able to compete with it is a question of the distant future. For the present we shall have to rely on the Danube.

MODEL PEACE TERMS

Discussing this treaty on June 1, the *Nachrichten* of Munich declared:

The peace concluded with Rumania

should serve as a model for the general peace terms to be concluded by the Central Powers. Germany has found a method of making conquered countries share her enormous war burdens without actually inflicting a crushing war indemnity. This method consists in enforcing on them a stipulation for preferential treatment to be accorded to Germany over a long period, so that Germany may be fully supplied with goods she needs. In this way Rumania will furnish the Central Powers with wheat and petroleum on advantageous terms for ninety years. A similar happy solution must also be adopted in all peace treaties to be conducted in the future.

Armenia's Sufferings in a New Phase

Turkish Invasion of the Caucasus Under the Brest Treaty—Struggle of the Georgians

BY the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty the Bolshevik Government of Russia gave up to Turkey the districts of Batum, Kars, and Erivan, comprising the southwestern portion of the Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas. This region includes the Russian part of the former Kingdom of Armenia, with Turkish Armenia adjoining it on the south. It is inhabited largely by Armenians and by that other ancient people, the Georgians, between whom and the Turks there has been an age-long and deadly feud. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian refugees from Turkish persecution in Asia Minor had taken refuge here under the Russian flag in the last three years, especially after the first Petrograd revolution gave promise of liberty under a republic. Now Georgians and Armenians alike find themselves betrayed into the hands of their Turkish enemies.

Soon after the signing of the treaty on March 3, 1918, the Turks sent armed forces to take possession of the three districts named. They met with resistance both from the Armenians and from the Georgians, but neither of the betrayed nationalities had an army competent to cope with the enemy. The result was a new reign of terror, similar to that of the

massacres in Turkish Armenia, and the world was horrified anew by the atrocities that ensued.

PROTEST OF ARMENIANS

The Armenian National Council on April 14 addressed the following protest to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the President of the Reichstag:

The Armenian National Council, as the supreme body for the expression of the will of the Armenian people, is addressing you in connection with the tragic state of things in Armenia. Armenia is flooded with blood and, only recently saved from centuries of slavery, is again condemned to fresh sufferings. Following upon the withdrawal of the Russian troops, Turkish troops have already invaded the undefended country and are not only killing every Turkish Armenian but also every Russian in Armenia.

In spite of the terms of the peace treaty, which recognizes the right of self-determination for these Caucasian regions, the Turkish Army is advancing toward Kars and Ardahan, destroying the country and killing the Christian population. The responsibility for the future destiny of the Armenians lies entirely with Germany, because it was Germany's insistence that resulted in the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Armenian regions, and at the moment it rests with Germany to prevent the habitual excesses of the Turkish troops, increased by revengefulness and anger.

It is hard to believe that a civilized State like Germany, which has the means for preventing the excesses of her ally, will permit the Brest-Litovsk treaty to be used by the German people, who have been involved in war against their own will, as a means for the creation of incalculable sufferings.

The National Council firmly believes that you will undertake the necessary measures, which depend solely upon you, to influence the Turkish authorities with a view to saving the Armenian people from fresh horrors.

POLICY OF ANNIHILATION

To this protest the Bolshevik Government of Russia added the following:

The offensive of the Turkish troops and detachments on the Caucasian front has been followed by the murder of the whole Armenian population. The peaceful population of women and children have been killed without mercy and their property has been plundered and burned.

The peace treaty, which we were forced to sign at Brést-Litovsk, left the determination of the future destiny of the people of the provinces of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum to themselves. The events which have taken place in these provinces testify that the old policy of the annihilation of the Armenian people is still to be applied.

On the Turkish front the advantage of the war was on the side of Russia, and Russia was forced to give up Ardahan, Kars, and Batum only because Germany was the ally of Turkey. The responsibility for all the horrors which the Armenian population is now suffering in those regions already occupied by the Turkish troops lies, therefore, with the German Government, which directly helped Turkey to secure these regions.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs protests against such abuse of the right of self-determination of the population of these provinces, and expresses the hope and insists on the necessity of immediate and energetic intervention on the part of Germany in the Caucasus, with a view to stopping further murders and the annihilation of the peaceful population, such as has taken place in Ardahan.

The Armenians and Georgians fought the advancing Turks, but their efforts were in vain; on April 17 Batum fell to the Turks, and the Ottoman troops were said to have a firm grip on these and other portions of the Caucasus.

STORY OF THE GEORGIANS

The rugged mountain region between the Black and Caspian Seas, known as the Caucasus, covers 180,603 square miles

and consists of 14 provinces. The population in 1914 was 11,735,100, of whom 87 per cent. were illiterate; there are no less than 46 distinct nationalities among the inhabitants, chief of which are the Georgians and Armenians. The Georgians were the only nationality to maintain their independence up to the end of the eighteenth century. Georgia existed as a State long before the Christian era; Alexander the Great conquered the country. In 1080 the Kingdom of Georgia was established by David III. Peter the Great of Russia, recognizing its importance, entered into an alliance with the kingdom, and in 1721 Russian and Georgian troops penetrated to Baku, the rich industrial district bordering on the Caspian Sea. King Heraklius II., who reigned during the middle and end of the eighteenth century, received high praise from Catherine the Great and Frederick the Great for his military prowess and intellect, and in 1768 Russia and Georgia took joint action against the Turks.

In 1783 the Turks and Persians invaded Georgia, and Russia again concluded a treaty of protection, in which Georgia's independence was guaranteed. In 1801 Russia violated this treaty by annexing Georgia as a Russian province. The people revolted, but the uprising was unsuccessful. The Georgian mountaineers, however, never became reconciled to Russian dominion, and in connection with the Circassians carried on guerrilla warfare for forty years. In 1864 they were finally defeated and given the choice of submitting or emigrating to Turkey. Only 90,000 submitted and 418,000 emigrated to Turkey.

The jubilee of 100 years' alliance between the Kingdom of Georgia and Russia was celebrated in Tiflis, Sept. 26, 1901. At that time Czar Nicholas II. issued a manifesto acknowledging the loyalty of the Georgian people, who "voluntarily placed the kingdom under our protection," expressing imperial thanks to the Georgian Nation, and extending the promise of "my special attention and care for this brave nation, which is united with us by common ties of religion." This in face of the further fact that in 1811 the independence of the



RUSSIAN CAUCASUS REGION, INCLUDING GEORGIA AND RUSSIAN ARMENIA, PARTS OF WHICH WERE HANDED OVER TO THE TURKS BY THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK

Georgian Church, which had existed since the year 542, was abolished by the Russians and only six Bishoprics out of twenty-eight were allowed to remain, while more than \$350,000,000 of church property was confiscated!

PROGRESS AMONG GEORGIANS

D. Ghambashidze, in a recent statement regarding the Georgian Nation, alludes to the progress made in the second half of the nineteenth century as follows:

The number of daily papers and weeklies in 1913 was twenty-four, and the number of books published in the same year on various subjects was about 240, amounting to 460,000 copies. It must also be remembered that 75 per cent. of the total population can read and write, and there are many schools and libraries. Eighty-five per cent. of the total population is composed of peasantry, whose chief occupation is very intensive agriculture, tobacco, wine, cotton, and silk being included in their products. The co-operative movement is also very strong in Georgia, there being about 400 co-operative societies, nearly 70 per cent. of the peasants being members.

During the last eight centuries the nobility of Georgia has devoted its attention

chiefly to military occupations. There were about 5,700 officers in the Russian Army, among whom may be mentioned the very distinguished Generals, Princes Bagration, Amilakhvari, Tchavachavadze, Orbelliani, and Amiradjebi. Prince Imeretinski has acted as Governor General of Poland, and through his wise rule won great respect among the Poles. He was instrumental in obtaining the permission of the Emperor for the erection of a monument to the great Polish poet Mickewits in Warsaw. General Kazbek was commander of the fortress of Vladivostok and General Orbelliani was Commander in Chief of the Russian troops stationed in Finland.

Among the Georgian Bishops the most celebrated was Bishop Gabriel, whose famous sermons have been translated into English by the Rev. Dr. Malan, one-time Vicar of Oxford. There were also a great many Georgian professors at various Russian universities, among them the celebrated physiologist, Professor Tarhanov; the philologist, Professor D. Tchubinov, and Petrie, the late Dean of Odessa University. Distinguished Georgians like Prince Tchavachavadze and Eristov were members of the Russian House of Lords, while Mr. Tsereteli, the celebrated Georgian Deputy in the Duma, acted as one of the leaders during the present revolution.

The Armenian Nation also goes far



ARMENIA, SCENE OF EARLIER TURKISH ATROCITIES

back into ancient history. Six centuries before Christ the texts engraved on the rocks by King Darius mentioned Armenia by its present name. During centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era Armenia was an independent kingdom occupying the region between Mesopotamia and the valleys south of the Caucasus Mountains. This kingdom became Christian about the same time as the Roman Empire, and since then the Armenian Church has not ceased to be independent, not only of the Eastern, Greek, and Slavic Churches, but also of the Roman Church.

Professor Meillet of the Collège de France, Paris, states that there has been an Armenian literature since the fifth century of our era, and that the old Armenian writings are more original and interesting than the ancient Slavic literatures, which date from several centuries later. Historians of art agree that in architecture, from the fifth to the ninth century, the Armenians were creators of new forms. Professor Meillet adds that at a time when the very name of Franco did not yet exist, and when the French language had not been dif-

ferentiated from the Latin, Armenia was playing a great part in history and had an important literature of its own.

At the period of the Crusades the Armenians founded a kingdom in Cilicia and aided the Crusaders. Since the last of the Crusades there have been no independent Armenians. Mussulman, Persian, and Turkish States have dominated their former country. In the nineteenth century the Caucasus portion was taken by Russia. But the Armenian Nation had its own customs, language, literature, and church, and all these it has kept. It had the will to live, and in spite of its subjugation it has lived.

SUCCESSFUL EMIGRANTS

Armenians, hindered by persecution from tilling their lands, emigrated to other countries, where they developed eminent qualities. Industrious farmers, attached to their native land, they have yet known how, under necessity, to adapt themselves to all the professions of the modern world. Thus they came to fill a large place in Constantinople, in Egypt, in Transylvania, in Poland, and more recently in Baku, in the whole basin of

the Mediterranean, and even in America. Everywhere they have made useful citizens; it was an Armenian, Althen, who introduced the cultivation of madder in Southern France. In their own country, where they had preserved a patriarchal system, most of them remained farmers.

The Armenian Church, which has not ceased to be autonomous, is the most democratic of the ancient Christian Churches; it is the only one in which laymen take part with the priests in the election of the head of the Church, the Catholicos, who lives in the Convent of Etchmiadzin, in Russian Armenia.

In the nineteenth century, though possessing no intellectual centre of their own, the Armenians found means for giving a modern literature to Russian Armenia and another to Turkish Armenia. Occupying a part of Asia that is a natural passageway between the Orient and the Occident, says Professor Meillet, they have been, since the fifth century, carriers of European civilization. Their vanguard position has made of them the martyrs of Western culture. Their success and their European character made them odious to their Turkish masters, who were less industrious than they. By the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Turkey pledged herself to introduce reforms and ameliorations in Armenia, and to protect these people from attacks by the Kurds and Circassians; but the pledge was never kept. After the massacres at Sassun in 1894 Europe made a more imperious demand for reforms; Sultan Abdul Hamid promised them—and immediately ordered the great massacres of 1895 and 1896, which won for him the name of the Red Sultan.

UNDER THE YOUNG TURKS

The Young Turk revolution promised to improve the lot of the Armenians by instituting liberty in the Ottoman Empire; in reality the Young Turks desired only to make a unified empire of which they should be masters; they tried to "Turkify" all the races under them by persecuting those who wished to keep their own character; in 1909 they caused the Armenians at Adana to be massacred.

When the Young Turk Government allied itself with the Central Empires, learning organization from the Germans, it organized the destruction of the Armenians in 1915 on scientific lines. It ordered the deportation of these people from land which they had occupied for more than 2,000 years, and, after massacring the men and seizing the young women, it caused the rest of the women and the children to perish of hunger, thirst, and fatigue along the highways into which they had been driven; it sent them to die in the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were thus destroyed. When the victorious Russian troops entered Erzerum and Trebizond they found only a few dozens of Armenians out of the tens of thousands who had inhabited those cities. The German authorities knew of these massacres; they made no protest.

In Syria the Christian population was destroyed by other methods; all the food was taken away, and then the district was isolated and the entrance of new food supplies forbidden. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians died of hunger. Germany knew of this crime; it did not protest.

EXTERMINATING A RACE

The great war gave the Young Turk leaders their long-desired opportunity to crush the Armenians. Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador at Constantinople at that time, says in a recent statement:

During the Spring of 1915 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race. They criticised their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism at the time when they first subjugated them. Now, as four of the great powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of their ancestors in the fifteenth century. They drafted the able-bodied Armenians into the army without, however, giving them arms; they used them simply to build roads or do similar work. Then, under the pretext of searching the houses for arms, they pillaged the belongings of the villagers. * * * The final and worst measure was the wholesale deportation of the entire population from their homes

and their exile to the desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way. * * * The facts contained in the reports received at the embassy from absolutely trustworthy eyewitnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world.

BARBAROUS TORTURES

Many of these horrors were told in detail in the monumental report of Viscount Bryce, portions of which were published in *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, November, 1916. To these may be added a statement made to Mr. Morgenthau personally by an eyewitness—a German missionary!—and put into writing at the American Embassy in Constantinople, which reads in part as follows:

It was that very afternoon that I received the first terrible reports, but I did not fully believe them. A few millers and bakers, whose services were needed by the Government, had remained, and they received the news first. The men had all been tied together and shot outside of the town. The women and children were taken to the neighboring villages, placed in houses by the hundreds, and either burned alive or thrown into the river. (Our buildings being in the main quarter of the town we could receive the news quite promptly.) Furthermore, one could see women and children pass by with blood streaming down, weeping. * * * Who can describe such pictures? Add to all this the sight of burning houses and the smell of many burning corpses.

Within a week everything was nearly over. The officers boasted now of their bravery, that they had succeeded in exterminating the whole Armenian race. Three weeks later when we left Moush, the villages were still burning. Nothing that belonged to the Armenians, either in the city or the villages, was allowed to remain. In Moush alone there were 25,000 Armenians; besides, Moush had 300 villages with a large Armenian population.

We left for Mezreh. The soldiers who accompanied us showed us with pride where and how and how many women and children they had killed.

We were very pleased to see upon our arrival at Harpoot that the orphanages were full. This was, however, all that could be said. Mamuret-ul-Aziz has become the cemetery of all the Armenians; all the Armenians from the various villages were sent there, and those who had not died on the way came there simply to find their graves.

Another terrible thing in Mamuret-ul-Aziz were the tortures to which the people

had been subjected for two months, and they had generally treated so harshly the families of the better class. Feet, hands, chests were nailed to a piece of wood; nails of fingers and toes were torn out; beards and eyebrows pulled out; feet were hammered with nails, as they do with horses; others were hung with their feet up and heads down over closets. * * * Oh! How one could wish that all these facts were not true! In order that people outside might not hear the screams of agony of the poor victims, men stood around the prison wherein these atrocities were committed, with drums and whistles.

On July 1 the first 2,000 were dispatched from Harpoot. They were soldiers, and it was rumored that they would build roads. People became frightened. Whereupon the Vali called the German missionary, Mr. —, and begged him to quiet the people; he was so very sorry that they all had such fears, &c. They had hardly been away for a day when they were all killed in a mountain pass. They were bound together, and when the Kurds and soldiers started to shoot at them some managed to escape in the dark. The next day another 2,000 were sent in the direction of Diarbekr. Among those deported were several of our orphans (boys) who had been working for the Government all the year round. Even the wives of the Kurds came with their knives and murdered the Armenians. Some of the latter succeeded in fleeing. When the Government heard that some Armenians had managed to escape they left those who were to be deported without food for two days in order that they would be too weak to be able to flee.

All the high Catholic Armenians, together with their Archbishop, were murdered. Up to now there still remained a number of tradesmen whom the Government needed and therefore had not deported; now these, too, were ordered to leave, and were murdered.

TOTAL NUMBER MURDERED

The total Armenian population in the Turkish Empire in 1912 numbered between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000. Of these 182,000 escaped to the Russian Caucasus, where now again they have been placed in peril of extermination at the hands of the Turks. About 4,200 escaped into Egypt, while 150,000 still remain in Constantinople. To these figures must be added the relatively small number of survivors still in hiding or scattered in distant provinces. Mr. Morgenthau concludes that 1,000,000 Armenians were harried out of their homes in Asia Minor,

and that the murdered number between 600,000 and 800,000. The remainder, in pitiful want of the barest necessities of life, hold out their hands to the Christian fellowship of America for aid.

In how far was the German Government responsible for the murder and deportation of the Armenians in Turkey? Mr. Morgenthau, summing up the story

of his own fruitless efforts to get Baron Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, to intervene in their behalf, says: "Let me say most emphatically, the German Government could have prevented it." Now again it is the German Government that has handed over the Armenian refugees in the Russian Caucasus to the tender mercy of the Turks.

President Wilson's Addresses

Important Utterances on War Themes

President Wilson delivered two public addresses in May, 1918, the first in New York City, May 17, to inaugurate the second Red Cross campaign, the second before a joint session of the United States Congress, May 27, on the subject of a Federal revenue bill. The speeches are given herewith.

Red Cross Speech in New York

[DELIVERED IN THE METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 17, 1918]

THERE are two duties with which we are face to face. The first duty is to win the war. And the second duty that goes hand in hand with it is to win it greatly and worthily, showing the real quality of our power not only, but the real quality of our purpose and of ourselves. Of course, the first duty, the duty that we must keep in the foreground of our thought until it is accomplished, is to win the war. I have heard gentlemen recently say that we must get 5,000,000 men ready. Why limit it to 5,000,000?

I have asked the Congress of the United States to name no limit, because the Congress intends, I am sure, as we all intend, that every ship that can carry men or supplies shall go laden upon every voyage with every man and every supply she can carry. And we are not to be diverted from the grim purpose of winning the war by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace. I can say with a clear conscience that I have tested those intimations and have found them insincere. I now recognize them for what they are, an opportunity to have a free hand, particularly in the East, to carry out purposes of conquest and exploitation.

Every proposal with regard to accommodation in the West involves a reservation with regard to the East. Now, so far as I am concerned, I intend to stand by Russia as well as France. The helpless and the friendless are the very ones that need friends and succor, and if any men in Germany think we are going to sacrifice anybody for our own sake, I tell them now they are mistaken. For the glory of this war, my fellow-citizens, so far as we are concerned, is that it is,

perhaps for the first time in history, an unselfish war. I could not be proud to fight for a selfish purpose, but I can be proud to fight for mankind. If they wish peace let them come forward through accredited representatives and lay their terms on the table. We have laid ours and they know what they are.

But behind all this grim purpose, my friends, lies the opportunity to demonstrate not only force, which will be demonstrated to the utmost, but the opportunity to demonstrate character, and it is that opportunity that we have most conspicuously in the work of the Red Cross. Not that our men in arms do not represent our character, for they do, and it is a character which those who see and realize appreciate and admire; but their duty is the duty of force. The duty of the Red Cross is the duty of mercy and succor and friendship.

WHAT THE WAR IS DOING

Have you formed a picture in your imagination of what this war is doing for us and for the world? In my own mind I am convinced that not a hundred years of peace could have knitted this nation together as this single year of war has knitted it together, and better even than that, if possible, it is knitting the world together. Look at the picture. In the centre of the scene, four nations engaged against the world, and at every point of vantage, showing that they are seeking selfish aggrandizement; and, against them, twenty-three Governments representing the greater part of the population of the world, drawn together into a new sense of community of interest, a new sense of community of pur-

pose, a new sense of unity of life. The Secretary of War told me an interesting incident the other day. He said when he was in Italy a member of the Italian Government was explaining to him the many reasons why Italy felt near to the United States.

He said: "If you want to try an interesting experiment go up to any one of these troop trains and ask in English how many of them have been in America, and see what happens." He tried the experiment. He went up to a troop train and he said, "How many of you boys have been in America?" and he said it seemed to him as if half of them sprang up. "Me from San Francisco"; "Me from New York"; all over. There was part of the heart of America in the Italian Army. People that had been knitted to us by association, who knew us, who had lived among us, who had worked shoulder to shoulder with us, and now friends of America, were fighting for their native Italy.

Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together. And this intimate contact of the great Red Cross with the peoples who are suffering the terrors and deprivations of this war is going to be one of the greatest instrumentalities of friendship that the world ever knew, and the centre of the heart of it all, if we sustain it properly, will be this land that we so dearly love.

SERVICE BY GIVING

My friends, a great day of duty has come, and duty finds a man's soul as no kind of work can ever find it. May I say this? The duty that faces us all now is to serve one another, and no man can afford to make a fortune out of this war. There are men among us who have forgotten that, if they ever saw it. Some of you are old enough—I am old enough—to remember men who made fortunes out of the civil war, and you know how they were regarded by their fellow-citizens. That was a war to save one country—this is a war to save the world. And your relation to the Red Cross is one of the relations which will relieve you of the stigma. You can't give anything to the Government of the United States; it won't accept it. There is a law of Congress against accepting even services without pay. The only thing that the Government will accept is a loan, and duties performed; but it is a great deal better to give than to lend or to pay, and your great channel for giving is the American Red Cross.

Down in your hearts you can't take very much satisfaction in the last analysis in lending money to the Government of the United States, because the interest which you draw will burn your pockets, it is a commercial transaction, and some men have even dared to cavil at the rate of interest, not knowing the incidental commentary that constitutes upon their attitude.

But when you give, something of your

heart, something of your soul, something of yourself goes with the gift, particularly when it is given in such form that it never can come back by way of direct benefit to yourself. You know there is the old cynical definition of gratitude as "the lively expectation of favors to come." Well, there is no expectation of favors to come in this kind of giving. These things are bestowed in order that the world may be a fitter place to live in, that men may be succored, that homes may be restored, that suffering may be relieved, that the face of the earth may have the blight of destruction taken away from it, and that wherever force goes there shall go mercy and helpfulness.

And when you give, give absolutely all that you can spare, and don't consider yourself liberal in the giving. If you give with self-adulation, you are not giving at all, you are giving to your own vanity; but if you give until it hurts, then your heartblood goes with it.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

And think what we have here! We call it the American Red Cross, but it is merely a branch of a great international organization, which is not only recognized by the statutes of each of the civilized Governments of the world, but it is recognized by international agreement and treaty, as the recognized and accepted instrumentality of mercy and succor. And one of the deepest stains that rests upon the reputation of the German Army is that they have not respected the Red Cross.

That goes to the root of the matter. They have not respected the instrumentality they themselves participated in setting up as the thing which no man was to touch, because it was the expression of common humanity. We are members, by being members of the American Red Cross, of a great fraternity and comradeship which extends all over the world, and this cross which these ladies bore today is an emblem of Christianity itself.

It fills my imagination, ladies and gentlemen, to think of the women all over this country who are busy tonight and are busy every night and every day doing the work of the Red Cross, busy with a great eagerness to find out the most serviceable thing to do, busy with a forgetfulness of all the old frivolities of their social relationships, ready to curtail the duties of the household in order that they may contribute to this common work that all their hearts are engaged in, and in doing which their hearts become acquainted with each other.

When you think of this, you realize how the people of the United States are being drawn together into a great intimate family whose heart is being used for the service of the soldiers not only, but for the service of civilians, where they suffer and are lost in a maze of distresses and distractions. And you have, then, this noble picture of justice and mercy as the two servants of liberty. For only where men are free do they think the

thoughts of comradeship; only where they are free do they think the thoughts of sympathy; only where they are free are they mutually helpful; only where they are free do they realize their dependence upon one another and their comradeship in a common interest and common necessity.

MAKING THE WORLD DEMOCRATIC

I heard a story told the other day that was ridiculous, but it is worth repeating, because it contains the germ of truth. An Indian was enlisted in the army. He returned to the reservation on a furlough. He was asked what he thought of it. He said: "No much good; too much salute; not much shoot." Then he was asked: "Are you going back?" "Yes." "Well, do you know what you are fighting for?" "Yes, me know; fight to make whole damn world Democratic Party." He had evidently misunderstood some innocent sentence of my own.

But, after all, although there is no party

purpose in it, he got it right as far as the word "party"—to make the whole world democratic in the sense of community of interest and of purpose; and if you ladies and gentlemen could read some of the touching dispatches which come through official channels, for even through those channels there come voices of humanity that are infinitely pathetic; if you could catch some of those voices that speak the utter longing of oppressed and helpless peoples all over the world, to hear something like the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," to hear the feet of the great hosts of liberty going to set them free, to set their minds free, set their lives free, set their children free, you would know what comes into the heart of those who are trying to contribute all the brains and power they have to this great enterprise of liberty.

I summon you to the comradeship. I summon you in this next week to say how much and how sincerely and how unanimously you sustain the heart of the world.

Address on Revenue Legislation

[DELIVERED BEFORE CONGRESS MAY 27, 1918, BY PRESIDENT WILSON]

It is with unaffected reluctance that I come to ask you to prolong your session long enough to provide more adequate resources for the Treasury for the conduct of the war. I have reason to appreciate as fully as you do how arduous the session has been. Your labors have been severe and protracted. You have passed a long series of measures which required the debate of many doubtful questions of judgment and many exceedingly difficult questions of principle, as well as of practice. The Summer is upon us, in which labor and counsel are twice arduous and are constantly apt to be impaired by lassitude and fatigue. The elections are at hand, and we ought as soon as possible to go and render an intimate account of our trusteeship to the people who delegated us to act for them in the weighty and anxious matters that crowd upon us in these days of critical choice and action. But we dare not go to the elections until we have done our duty to the full. These are days when duty stands stark and naked, and even with closed eyes we know it is there. Excuses are unavailing. We have either done our duty or we have not. The fact will be as gross and plain as the duty itself. In such a case lassitude and fatigue seem negligible enough. The facts are tonic and suffice to freshen the labor.

And the facts are these: Additional revenues must manifestly be provided for. It would be a most unsound policy to raise too large a proportion of them by loan, and it is evident that the \$4,000,000,000 now provided for by taxation will not of themselves sustain the greatly enlarged budget to which we must immediately look forward. We cannot in fairness wait until the end of the

fiscal year is at hand to apprise our people of the taxes they must pay on their earnings of the present calendar year, whose accountings and expenditures will then be closed. We cannot get increased taxes unless the country knows what they are to be and practices the necessary economy to make them available. Definiteness, early definiteness, as to what its tasks are to be is absolutely necessary for the successful administration of the Treasury. It cannot frame fair and workable regulations in haste; and it must frame its regulations in haste if it is not to know its exact task until the very eve of its performance. The present tax laws are marred, moreover, by inequities which ought to be remedied. Indisputable facts, every one; and we cannot alter or blink them. To state them is argument enough.

WAR PROFITS AND LUXURIES

And yet, perhaps, you will permit me to dwell for a moment upon the situation they disclose. Enormous loans freely spent in the stimulation of industry of almost every sort produce inflations and extravagances which presently make the whole economic structure questionable and insecure, and the very basis of credit is cut away. Only fair, equitably distributed taxation of the widest incidents and drawing chiefly from the sources which would be likely to demoralize credit by their very abundance can prevent inflation and keep our industrial system free of speculation and waste. We shall naturally turn, therefore, I suppose, to war profits and incomes and luxuries for the additional taxes. But the war profits and incomes upon which the increased taxes will be levied will be the profits and incomes of the calendar year 1918.

It would be manifestly unfair to wait until the early months of 1919 to say what they are to be. It might be difficult, I should imagine, to run the mill with water that had already gone over the wheel.

Moreover, taxes of that sort will not be paid until June of next year, and the Treasury must anticipate them. It must use the money they are to produce before it is due. It must sell short-time certificates of indebtedness. In the Autumn a much larger sale of long-time bonds must be effected than has yet been attempted. What are the bankers to think of the certificates if they do not certainly know where the money is to come from which is to take them up? and how are investors to approach the purchase of bonds with any sort of confidence or knowledge of their own affairs if they do not know what taxes they are to pay and what economies and adjustments of their business they must effect? I cannot assure the country of a successful administration of the Treasury in 1918 if the question of further taxation is to be left undecided until 1919.

The consideration that dominates every other now, and makes every other seem trivial and negligible, is the winning of the war. We are not only in the midst of the war, we are at the very peak and crisis of it. Hundreds of thousands of our men, carrying our hearts with them and our fortunes, are in the field, and ships are crowding faster and faster to the ports of France and England with regiment after regiment, thousand after thousand, to join them until the enemy shall be beaten and brought to a reckoning with mankind. There can be no pause or intermission. The great enterprise must, on the contrary, be pushed with greater and greater energy. The volume of our might must steadily and rapidly be augmented until there can be no question of resisting it. If that is to be accomplished, gentlemen, money must sustain it to the utmost. Our financial program must no more be left in doubt or suffered to lag than our ordnance program or our ship program or our munition program or our program for making millions of men ready. These others are not programs, indeed, but mere plans upon paper, unless there is to be an unquestionable supply of money.

A TAX ON PROFITEERING

That is the situation, and it is the situation which creates the duty; no choice or preference of ours. There is only one way to meet that duty. We must meet it without selfishness or fear of consequences. Politics is adjourned. The elections will go to those who thing least of it; to those who go to the constituencies without explanations or excuses, with a plain record of duty faithfully and disinterestedly performed. I for one, am always confident that the people of this country will give a just verdict upon the service of the men who act for them when the facts

are such that no man can disguise or conceal them. There is no danger of deceit now. An intense and pitiless light beats upon every man and every action in this tragic plot of war that is now upon the stage. If lobbyists hurry to Washington to attempt to turn what you do in the matter of taxation to their protection or advantage, the light will beat also upon them. There is abundant fuel for the light in the records of the Treasury with regard to profits of every sort. The profiteering that cannot be got at by the restraints of conscience and love of country can be got at by taxation. There is such profiteering now, and the information with regard to it is available and indisputable.

I am advising you to act upon this matter of taxation now, gentlemen, not because I do not know that you can see and interpret the facts and the duty they impose just as well and with as clear a perception of the obligation involved as I can, but because there is a certain solemn satisfaction in sharing with you the responsibilities of such a time. The world never stood in such a case before. Men never before had so clear and so moving a vision of duty. I know that you will begrudge the work to be done here by us no more than the men begrudge us theirs who lie in the trenches and sally forth to their death. There is a stimulating comradeship knitting us all together. And this task to which I invite your immediate consideration will be performed under favorable influences, if we will look to what the country is thinking and expecting and care nothing at all for what is being said and believed in the lobbies of Washington hotels, where the atmosphere seems to make it possible to believe what is believed nowhere else.

SPIRIT OF THE NATION

Have you not felt the spirit of the nation rise and its thought become a single and common thought since these eventful days came in which we have been sending our boys to the other side? I think you must read that thought, as I do, to mean this, that the people of this country are not only united in the resolute purpose to win this war, but are ready and willing to bear any burden and undergo any sacrifice that it may be necessary for them to bear in order to win it. We need not be afraid to tax them, if we lay taxes justly. They know that the war must be paid for, that it is they who must pay for it, and, if the burden is justly distributed and the sacrifice made a common sacrifice from which none escapes who can bear it at all, they will carry it cheerfully and with a sort of solemn pride. I have always been proud to be an American, and was never more proud than now, when all that we have said and all that we have foreseen about our people is coming true. The great days have come when the only thing that they ask for or admire is duty, greatly and adequately done; when their only wish for

America is that she may share the freedom she enjoys, when a great, compelling sympathy wells up in their hearts for men everywhere who suffer and are oppressed, and when they see at last the high uses for which their wealth has been piled up and their mighty power accumulated, and, counting

neither blood nor treasure, now that their final day of opportunity has come, rejoice to spend and to be spent through a long night of suffering and terror in order that they and men everywhere may see the dawn of a day of righteousness and justice and peace. Shall we grow weary when they bid us act?

The President's Appeal for Economy

Secretary McAdoo, realizing that to carry the war through to a successful issue may test this nation's resources to the extreme limit of endurance and self-denial, inaugurated a campaign in the middle of May, 1918, for fuller conservation of food, fuel, labor, and money. In support of this campaign President Wilson issued the following signed letter on May 29:

This war is one of nations—not of armies—and all of our 100,000,000 people must be economically and industrially adjusted to war conditions if this nation is to play its full part in the conflict. The problem before us is not primarily a financial problem, but rather a problem of increased production of war essentials, and the saving of the materials and the labor necessary for the support and equipment of our army and our navy. Thoughtless expenditure of money for nonessentials uses up the labor of men, the products of the farm, mines, and factories, and overburdens transportation, all of which must be used to the utmost and at their best for war purposes.

The great results which we seek can be obtained only by the participation of every member of the nation, young and old, in a national concerted thrift movement. I therefore urge that our people everywhere pledge themselves, as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the practice of thrift; to serve the Government to their utmost in increasing production in all fields necessary to the winning of the war; to conserve food and fuel and useful materials of every kind; to devote their labor only to the most necessary tasks; and to buy only those things which are essential to individual health and efficiency; and that the people, as evidence of their loyalty, invest all that they can save in Liberty bonds and war savings stamps.

The securities issued by the Treasury Department are so many of them within the reach of every one that the door of opportunity in this matter is wide open to all of us. To practice thrift in peace times is a virtue and brings great benefit to the individual at all times; with the desperate need of the civilized world today for materials and labor with which to end the war, the practice of individual thrift is a patriotic duty and a necessity.

I appeal to all who now own either Liberty bonds or war savings stamps to continue to practice economy and thrift and to appeal to all who do not own Government securities to do likewise and purchase them to the extent of their means. The man who buys Government securities transfers the purchasing power of his money to the United States Government until after this war, and to that same degree does not buy in competition with the Government.

I earnestly appeal to every man, woman, and child to pledge themselves on or before the 28th of June to save constantly and to buy as regularly as possible the securities of the Government; and to do this, so far as possible, through membership in war savings societies. The 28th of June ends this special period of enlistment in the great volunteer army of production and saving here at home. May there be none unenlisted on that day!

WOODROW WILSON.

Memorial Day Proclamation, 1918

Following is the proclamation issued by the President of the United States for Decoration Day observance, May 30, 1918:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States on the second day of April last passed the following resolution:

Resolved, by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That, it being a duty peculiarly incumbent in a time of war humbly and devoutly to acknowledge our dependence on Almighty God

and to implore His aid and protection, the President of the United States be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to recommend a day of public humiliation; prayer, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of our cause, His blessings on our arms, and a speedy restoration of

an honorable and lasting peace to the nations of the earth; and,

Whereas, It has always been the reverent habit of the people of the United States to turn in humble appeal to Almighty God for His guidance in the affairs of their common life;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the 30th day of May, a day already freighted with sacred and stimulating memories, a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting, and do exhort my fellow-citizens of all faiths and creeds to assemble on that day in their several places of worship and there, as well as in their homes, to pray Almighty God that He may forgive our sins and shortcomings as a people and purify our hearts to see and love the truth, to accept and defend all things that are just and right, and to purpose only those righteous acts and judgments which are in conformity with

His will; beseeching Him that He will give victory for our armies as they fight for freedom, wisdom to those who take counsel on our behalf in these days of dark struggle and perplexity and steadfastness to our people to make sacrifice to the utmost in support of what is just and true, bringing us at last the peace in which men's hearts can be at rest because it is founded upon mercy, justice, and good-will.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this eleventh day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighteen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

Mexico and the United States

The President's Pledge

PRESIDENT WILSON delivered the following important speech to a delegation of Mexican editors at the White House June 7, 1918:

I have never received a group of men who were more welcome than you are because it has been one of my distresses during the period of my Presidency that the Mexican people did not more thoroughly understand the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. I think I can assure you, and I hope you have had every evidence of the truth of my assurance, that that attitude is one of sincere friendship—not merely the sort of friendship which prompts one not to do his neighbor any harm, but the sort of friendship which earnestly desires to do his neighbor service.

My own policy and the policy of my own Administration toward Mexico was at every point based upon this principle; that the internal settlement of the affairs of Mexico was none of our business; that we had no right to interfere with or dictate to Mexico in any particular with regard to her own affairs.

Take one aspect of our relations which at one time may have been difficult for you to understand. When we sent our troops into

Mexico our sincere desire was nothing else than to assist you to get rid of the man who was making the settlement of your affairs for the time being impossible. We had no desire to use our troops for any other purpose, and I was in hopes that by assisting in that way and thereupon immediately withdrawing the troops I might give you substantial proof of the truth of the assurances that I had given your Government through President Carranza.

GERMAN INTRIGUES

And at the present time it distresses me to learn that certain influences, which I assume to be German in their origin, are trying not only to make a wrong impression, but to give an absolutely untrue account of the things that happen.

You know distressing things have been happening just off our coast; you know of vessels that have been sunk. I yesterday received a quotation from a paper in Guadalajara which stated that thirteen of our battleships had been sunk off the Capes of Chesapeake.

You see how dreadful it is to have the people so radically misinformed. It was added that our Navy Department was withholding the facts with regard to these sinkings. I



An American patrol under a French officer in the trenches in France. Some of the rifles are equipped for firing grenades

(C) Committee on Public Information, from *International Film Service*



Pont-à-Mousson, in the Toul sector, showing the Church of St. Laurent. The transparent fabric hung across the street is for the purpose of misleading enemy aerial observers

(French Pictorial Service)

have no doubt that the publisher of the paper printed this in perfect innocence and without intending to convey a wrong impression, but it is evident that allegations of that sort proceed from those who wish to make trouble between Mexico and the United States.

Now, gentlemen, for the time being at any rate, and I hope that it will not be a short time, the influence of the United States is somewhat pervasive in the affairs of the world, and I believe it is pervasive because those nations of the world which are less powerful than some of the greatest nations are coming to believe that our sincere desire is to do disinterested service.

We are the champions of those nations which have not had the military standing which would enable them to compete with the strongest nations in the world, and I look forward with pride to the time which I hope will come when we can give substantial evidence not only that we do not want anything out of this war, but that we would not accept anything out of this war; that it is absolutely a case of disinterested action.

And if you will watch the attitude of our people you will see that nothing stirs them so deeply as the assurances that this war, so far as we are concerned, is for idealistic objects. One of the difficulties that I experienced during the first three years of the war, the years when the United States was not in the war, was in getting the Foreign Offices of the European nations to believe that the United States was seeking nothing for herself, that her neutrality was not selfish, and that if she came in she would not come in to get anything substantial out of the war—any material object, any territory or trade or anything else of that sort.

In some Foreign Offices there were men who personally know me and they believed, I hope, that I was sincere in assuring them that our purposes were disinterested; but they thought that these assurances came from the academic gentleman removed from the ordinary sources of information and speaking the idealistic purposes of a cloister. They did not believe I was speaking the real heart of the American people, and I knew all along that I was. Now I believe every one who comes in contact with American people knows that I am speaking their purposes.

READY TO HELP RUSSIA

The other night in New York at the opening of the campaign for funds for our Red Cross I made an address. I had not intended to refer to Russia, but was speaking without notes, and in the course of what I said my own thought was led to Russia, and I said that we meant to stand by Russia just as firmly as we would stand by France or England or any other of our allies.

The audience to which I was speaking was not an audience from which I would have expected an enthusiastic response to that. It was rather too well dressed. It was an audi-

ence, in other words, made up of a class of people who would not have the most intimate feeling for the sufferings of the ordinary man in Russia; but that audience jumped to its feet in enthusiasm. Nothing else that I said on that occasion aroused anything like the enthusiasm that single sentence aroused.

Now that is a sample, gentlemen. We cannot make anything out of Russia. We cannot make anything out of our standing by Russia at this time—the remotest of European nations so far as we are concerned, the one with which we have had the least connections in trade and advantage—and yet the people of the United States rose to that suggestion as to no other that I made in that address.

That is part of America as we are ready to show it by any act of friendship toward Mexico. Some of us, if I may speak so privately, look back with regret upon some of the more ancient relations that we have had with Mexico long before our generation; and America, if I may now so accept it, would now feel ashamed to take advantage of her neighbor.

NO SELFISH AGGRESSION

So I hope you can carry back to your homes something better than assurances and words. You have had contact with our people. You know of your own personal reception. You know how gladly we have opened to you the doors of every establishment that you wanted to see and have shown you just what we are doing, and I hope you have gained the right impression as to why we are doing it. We are doing it, gentlemen, so that the world may never hereafter have to fear the only thing that any nation has to dread—the unjust and selfish aggression of another nation.

Some time ago, as you probably all know, I proposed a sort of Pan-American agreement. I had perceived that one difficulty in our past relations with Latin America was this: The famous Monroe Doctrine was adopted without your consent and without the consent of any Central American or South American States. If I may adopt a term that we so often use in this country, we said: "We are going to be your big brother whether you want us to be or not."

We did not ask whether it was agreeable to you that we should be your big brother. We said we are going to be. Now, that was all very well as far as protecting you from aggression from the other side of the water, but there was nothing in it that protected you from aggression from us, and I have repeatedly seen an uneasy feeling on the part of representatives of States of Central and South America that our self-appointed protection might be for our own benefit and our own interest and not for the interest of our neighbors. So I have said:

"Very well, let us make an arrangement by which we will give bonds. Let us have a common guarantee that all of us will sign a declaration of political independence and ter-

ritorial integrity. Let us agree that if any one of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or territorial integrity of any of the others, all others will jump on her."

I pointed out to some gentlemen who were less inclined to enter into this arrangement than others that that was, in effect, giving bonds on the part of the United States that we would enter into an arrangement by which you would be protected from us.

PEACE BY MUTUAL TRUST

Now, that is the kind of agreement that will have to be the foundation of the future life of the nations of the world, gentlemen. The whole family of nations will have to guarantee to each nation that no nation shall violate its political independence or its territorial integrity. That is the basis—the only conceivable basis—for the future peace of the world, and I must admit that I was anxious to have the States of the two Continents of America show the way to the rest of the world as to how to make a basis of peace.

Peace can only come by trust. If you can once get a situation of trust then you have got a situation of permanent peace. There-

fore, every one of us, it seems to me, owes it as a patriotic duty to his own country to plant the seeds of trust and confidence instead of seeds of suspicion.

That is the reason I began by saying to you that I had not had the pleasure of meeting a group of men who are more welcome than you are, because you are our near neighbors. Suspicion on your part, or misunderstanding on your part, distresses us more than we would be distressed by similar feelings on the part of those less near to us.

It is you who can see how Mexico's future must depend upon peace and honor, so that nobody shall exploit her. It must depend upon every nation that has any relation with her and the citizens of any nation that has any relations with her keeping within the bounds of honor and fair dealing and justice, because so soon as you can admit your own capital and the capital of the world to the free use of the resources of Mexico it will be one of the most wonderfully rich and prosperous countries in the world.

And when you have foundations of established order and the world has come to its senses again we shall, I hope, continue in connections that will assure us all permanent cordiality and friendship.

In Flanders Fields

By Lieut. Col. JOHN D. McCRAE

[Written during the second battle of Ypres, April, 1915. The author, Dr. John McCrae of Montreal, Canada, was killed on duty in Flanders, Jan. 28, 1918.]

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.
We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow.
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from falling hands, we throw
The torch. Be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

America's Answer

By R. W. LILLARD

[Written after the death of Lieut. Col. McCrae, author of "In Flanders Fields," and printed in *The New York Evening Post*.]

Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up. And we will keep
True faith with you who lie asleep
With each a cross to mark his bed,
And poppies blowing overhead,
Where once his own life blood ran red.
So let your rest be sweet and deep
In Flanders fields.

Fear not that ye have died for naught.
The torch ye threw to us we caught.
Ten million hands will hold it high,
And Freedom's light shall never die!
We've learned the lesson that ye taught
In Flanders fields.

Secretary Lansing on War Themes

Why the United States Is at War

ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State of the United States, delivered an address in New York on May 23, 1918, in honor of the third anniversary of Italy's entrance into the war. He said in part:

Oh, you of the blood of a people who have given so much to civilization, no greater task has ever fallen upon you, no greater duty has ever been the lot of the Italian race, than that which is yours today. You are called forth to defend the land which is enshrined in the hearts of the world as the cradle of justice and liberty. Fail you cannot, fail you must not, fail you will not in such a cause and such a crisis.

This is no time to measure the price which must be paid in blood and treasure. No price is too large, no sacrifice too great for the protection of your sacred heritage from the invaders.

Today, America, youngest of the great powers of the earth, is proud to cross the seas and to stand side by side with the most ancient power of Europe in upholding the standard of democracy, and to unite in proclaiming to the nations tortured by war that peace must be won and will be won by the might of liberty-loving men, a glorious peace which will endure throughout the ages because it is written in the book of destiny that freedom will rise triumphant from the ashes of this desolated world.

To gallant Italy, to our loyal associate and friend, we of America extend greetings on this day of reconsecration to a noble cause, on this day when the Italian people renew their solemn pledge to resist to the uttermost the accursed ambitions of the military rulers of Germany and Austria.

Italy's decision was the decision of a people who preferred the horrors of war to dishonor, who preferred to die rather than to be enslaved by Prussian masters or by Prussia's vassals. It breathed anew the valor of Rome.

United with you of the Latin race are we who could desire no prouder title than "the Romans of the West." A citizen of this young Republic could crave no higher public virtue nor covet a more devoted patriotism than that which inspired a dweller on the Seven Hills in the brave days of the old Roman Republic.

My friends of America and of Italy, we will win this war. It may be on the wasted fields of Flanders and Picardy; it may be in the valley of the Piave and

amid the snow-crowned peaks of the Alps; or it may be on German lands beyond the Rhine. Somewhere and somehow and some time we will win. It cannot be otherwise, for we fight for justice, for liberty, and for humanity.

AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Secretary Lansing delivered another address in New York on June 5 at the commencement exercises of Columbia University. In accepting an honorary degree from that institution he said:

Today this Republic stands with the democracies of the earth arrayed in battle against the most relentless enemy of human liberty which the ages have produced. To save this country of ours and to save the civilized world from Prussianism has become the supreme duty of the American people and of all other peoples who love justice and freedom.

In this titanic struggle we are joined not only with France, our historic ally, but also with Great Britain, our ancient foe. On the blood-stained fields of France we three, together with Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, are standing shoulder to shoulder against the plunderers. Our traditional friendship for France, which can never be forgotten, and our traditional enmity for Great Britain, which is forgotten, are swallowed up in this supreme crisis of liberty, our common heritage. The grave perils to our lives as nations unite us with bonds of steel as our armies face the foe of all mankind.

I am proud that in these terrible days we are associated with the tenacious warriors of Britain; I am proud that with our blood we can on French soil prove the affection which we cherish for the French people; I am proud that Italy, superb in her determined resistance, is our partner in this conflict, and that the indomitable spirit of the Belgians and Serbs is a living inspiration to gallant deeds and noble sacrifice. I am proud, as I know every American is proud, to be thus united with the nations which hate Prussianism and loathe the evil desires which it engenders in the hearts of men.

Prussianism has appealed to the sword, and by the sword Prussianism must fall. It is the divine law of retribution which we as the instruments of justice must enforce so that the world may be forever rid of this abomination. * * *

Let us understand that a Prussian-made peace would not be the end; that it would only postpone the final struggle. Now that this war has come upon us we must carry it through to a decision. We must not transmit to future generations the germs of militarism. From the spirit of despotism, which has caused this awful tragedy, this war must free the world. We have suffered enough. The nations must never endure such black days of agony as those in which we are living.

It is the supreme task of civilization to put an end to Prussianism. To listen to proposals for a Prussian peace, to compromise with the butchers of individuals and of nations so that they would by agreement gain a benefit from their crimes would be to compound an international felony, which this Republic will never do.

Force is the one way to end Prussianism, for it is the only thing which the Prussian respects. This war for democracy must be waged to a successful conclusion to make liberty and justice supreme on the earth. It will be a bitter struggle, with lights and shadows, for the foe is strong and stubborn; but in the end we shall triumph, for we must triumph or abandon all that is worth while in this world. May every American so live and so serve that when the day of victory over the Prussians dawns, as it will dawn, he may, by right of faithful service, share in the glory.

To that bright hour let us look forward with confidence, for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe could not decree otherwise. He has imposed upon us and our brave comrades in arms the task of freeing mankind from the curse of avarice and inhumanity which besets us. He has put upon us the burden of making this world a fit dwelling place for civilized men. Let us not shrink from the task or seek to avoid the burden. Convinced of the righteousness of our cause and of our destiny let us make war with all our energy. Let us keep our banners unfurled and our trumpets sounding to battle until victory is achieved.

Prussia wickedly sought war and Prussia shall have war and more war and more war until the very thought of war is abhorrent to the Prussian mind. So I read the spirit of America. So I read the supreme purpose of the Allies. Victory lies before us and beyond victory a just and enduring peace. Until that peace is sure America cannot and will not put aside the sword.

ITALIAN AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH

Count Mocchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, in his

address at the Italian anniversary celebration, said:

Literally speaking, this is the third anniversary of Italy's formal entry into the war. But perhaps I need not remind you, gentlemen, that our struggle against the enemy goes back to the time when, some twenty centuries ago, on those self-same fields and mountains that are now a part of our common allied front, the Roman eagle was already waging that fight against the barbarians in which the American eagle has more recently joined us.

The struggle of today is to us Italians the rounding-out of a tremendous cycle of world history, in which, alone of all civilized nations, Italy was in at the beginning and is in at the finish. Since the time when Roman law laid the foundations for the international intercourse of the world, the struggle has gone on against Teutonic brutality. We are in it as a nation with all the traditions and survivals of centuries, with all the memories of the race, with all the influences of obscure ancestral heredities.

One verse of our national hymn reminds us that no Teuton stick ever curbed Italy, and that the children of Rome do not bow their necks to a yoke. That was the blunder of the enemy—he did not realize that to a liberty-loving people the spirit of freedom is like the breathing of pure air, an essential of life. Sometimes a man does not know how essential it is until some one tries to take it from him. Then he must die or revolt. Italy revolted. * * *

Whatever the enemy may have to say or may desire others to believe about it, Italy is not in this war for any base and selfish motives of conquest, imperial or unlawful territorial aggrandizement. While in fact fighting for the liberation of mankind threatened with oppression and slavery, Italy is aiming at the liberation of her oppressed sons within and beyond the boundary imposed upon her by an iniquitous treaty.

For the freedom of our country we need security on land and sea; a security which nature herself had assured us with well defined geographic boundaries and which the violence of oppressive and barbarous nations has too long stolen from us. Now we see our duty clear; and faithful to our duty, we will not lay down our arms until the freedom of mankind, which implies the freedom of our oppressed brothers, and the security of our land, is attained.

Secretary Lansing delivered the chief address at the commencement exercises of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., June 10. He said in part:

It is hardly open to debate, in the light of

subsequent events, that the philosophical and political ideas which have been taught for years from the university platforms, from the pulpits, and through the printed word to young and old in Germany, excited in them an insolent pride of blood and infused into their national being an all-absorbing ambition to prove themselves supermen chosen by natural superiority and by Divine mandate to be rulers of the earth. Not only in Germany, but among those of German descent in other lands, has this pernicious belief spread, linking Germans everywhere to the Fatherland in the hope that they would be considered worthy to share in the future glory of the masters of the world. * * *

A decade before the war Reiner, inspired with the imperialism of Prussia, announced: "It is precisely our craving for expansion which drives us into the paths of conquest, in view of which all chatter about peace and humanity can and must remain nothing but chatter."

Not less ominous to liberty are the words of Professor Meinecke: "We want to become a world people. Let us remind ourselves that the belief in our mission as a world people has arisen from our originally purely spiritual impulse to absorb the world into ourselves."

Observe that extraordinary phrase, "to absorb the world into ourselves." To conceive such a national destiny is to resurrect the dead ambitions of an Alexander or a Caesar; to teach it as a right to young men is to sow in their minds an egotism which breeds distorted conceptions of individual honor and justice, and gives to them an utterly false standard of national life.

Not alone from the lecturer and the essayist came this idea that the Germans are a superior race set apart to rule the world. It was preached in the pulpits as a Divine truth by those who even had the effrontery to support their assertions by references to the Holy Scriptures. Listen to some of the thoughts proclaimed by ordained ministers of Christ to their German congregations:

"It may sound proud, my friends, but we are conscious that it is also in all humbleness that we say it; the German soul is God's soul; it shall and will rule over mankind."

May we be spared the consequences of a German "humbleness" which fairly struts and swaggers, and which finds further expression in the words of another Doctor of Divinity when he declares: "Verily the Bible is our book. It was given and assigned to us, and in it we read the original text of our destiny, which proclaims to mankind salvation or disaster as we will it."

"As we will it!" There in four words is the whole story of the Prussian doctrine of the "superman," of a "place in the sun."

Paganism, tinctured with modern materialism and a degenerate type of Christianity, broods today over Germany. Christian ministers have proclaimed Jehovah to be the national deity of the empire, a monopolized German God, who relies on the physical might of His people to destroy those who oppose His will as that will is interpreted by His chosen race. Thus the Prussian leaders would harmonize modern thought with their ancient religion of physical strength through brutalizing Christianity.

In view of the spirit of hypocrisy and bad faith manifesting an entire lack of conscience, we ought not to be astonished that the Berlin Foreign Office never permitted a promise or a treaty engagement to stand in the way of a course of action which the German Government deemed expedient. I need not cite as proof of this fact the flagrant violations of the treaty neutralizing Belgium and the recent treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This discreditable characteristic of the German foreign policy was accepted by German diplomats as a matter of course and as a natural if not a praiseworthy method of dealing with other Governments.

Frederick the Great, with cynical frankness, once said: "If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest. If deception is necessary, let us be cheats." That is in brief the immoral principle which has controlled the foreign relations of Prussia for over 150 years.

It is a fact not generally known that within six weeks after the Imperial Government had, in the case of the Sussex, given to this Government its solemn promise that it would cease ruthless slaughter on the high seas, Count Bernstorff, appreciating the worthlessness of the promise, asked the Berlin Foreign Office to advise him in ample time before the campaign of submarine murder was renewed, in order that he might notify the German merchant ships in American ports to destroy their machinery because he anticipated that the renewal of that method of warfare would in all probability bring the United States into the war.

How well the Ambassador knew the character of his Government, and how perfectly frank he was! He asked for the information without apology or indirection. The very bluntness of his message shows that he was sure that his superiors would not take offense at the assumption that their word was valueless and had only been given to gain time, and that, when an increase of Germany's submarine fleet warranted, the promise

would be broken without hesitation or compunction. What a commentary on Bernstorff's estimate of the sense of honor and good faith of his own Government!

We must go on with the war. There is no other way. This task must not be left half done. We must not transmit to posterity a legacy of blood and misery. We

may in this great conflict go down into the Valley of Shadows, because our foe is powerful and inured to war. We must be prepared to meet disappointment and temporary reverse, but we must, with American spirit, rise above them; with courageous hearts we must go forward until this war is won.

Premier Lloyd George Lauds Americans

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, the British Premier, speaking at the Printers' Pension Fund dinner in London, June 7, 1918, paid this tribute to the American soldiers in France:

I have only just returned from France, and met a French statesman who had been at the front shortly after a battle in which the Americans took part. He was full of admiration not merely of their superb valor but of the trained skill with which they attacked and defeated the foe.

His report of the conduct of the American troops, a division that had been in action for the first time, was one of the most encouraging things I have heard, because they are coming in steadily. There is a great flow, and we are depending upon them, and the fact that we know that when they appear in the battleline they will fight in a way which is worthy of the great traditions of their great country is in itself a source of support and sustenance and encouragement to all of those who with anxious hearts are watching the conflict which is going on in France.

The toast with which you have done me the honor to associate my name is "Success to the Allied Cause." If for any cause the Allies were not to succeed, it would be a sorry world to live in. Most times people are inclined to exaggerate events of the day, but there are occasions when generations of men underestimate the significance of events. You cannot exaggerate the importance or significance of the issues with which we are confronted today.

In the past you have had in the history of the world great struggles for domination of a certain civilization, a certain ideal or a certain religion, and the fate of the world and the destiny of man and the lives of untold millions for generations have been fashioned upon the triumph or failure of this cause. Take the time of Turkish military power in the past or the Saracens' attempt to trample down and overrun the civilization of the West. Nations were wiped out, great countries devastated. You had untold misery and wretchedness throughout

vast tracts of territory for ages. At last that tide was stemmed. Supposing that had failed. What a difference it would have made for European civilization to-day!

At this hour there is a struggle with an ideal more material, more sordid, more brutal, than almost any other which has been sought to be imposed upon Europe—the Prussian military ideal, with its contempt for liberty, its contempt for human right, its contempt for humanity. If they were to succeed today, you would fling back human civilization into the dark dungeons of the past.

The crisis is not past, but with a stout heart we shall win through, and then woe to the plague. In the interests of civilization, in the interests of the human race, it must be stamped out. You cannot allow it to come again to darken the lives of millions, and to desolate millions of homes. That is what we are fighting for.

This is a country which has faced a great crisis in the past. We hear about Ludendorff's hammer blows. Hammer blows crack and crumble poor material. Hammer blows harden and consolidate good metal. There is good metal in British hearts. It has stood the test of centuries. It will stand this. So will that gallant little people, that gallant great people across the Channel who are fighting for their liberties, for the honor of their native land, fighting without flinching. I have seen them. I never saw signs of wavering in any French face. They are full of courage, full of determination to fight through to the end, and it is a united France more than ever. So it is a united Britain. Unity and resolution are two qualities we need. We have sunk our political differences. We have bigger things to think about. I am not despising the political controversies of the past. In some form or another they will come again. These controversies are the very essence of freedom, but for the moment we have one purpose.

Let us be one people, one in aim, one in courage, one in the resolve never to give in. Let Britain stand like a breakwater against the torrent, and, God willing, we will break it in two.

Clemenceau's Defiance of Obstructors

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU of France received a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies on June 6, 1918, by a vote of 377 to 110. An attempt was made by the militant Socialists to embarrass the Government by demanding information of military matters which it was deemed inexpedient to reveal. In his victorious speech defying his critics he said:

The collapse of Russia enabled the enemy to set free an army of a million men to add to his forces on our front. Anybody can understand that under such enormous weight our line must give way at some points. Some of our men have fought one against five without sleeping for three or four days. The losses of our allies, the British, in the heroic struggle have been more than we could have believed possible.

The situation has become dangerous for our armies, but in all this I see nothing to diminish our confidence in our troops.

As to the Government, it will continue to make war stubbornly and obstinately. We will never capitulate. If you are not satisfied with our work, turn us out. It is for you to decide.

The only thing that matters is final success. Our effectives are lessening in number, but so are those of Germany, while the Americans are coming in larger and larger numbers to take part in the final victory. * * *

Down there all that the heroes can do is to die, but you by your firm and resolute attitude can give them what they deserve—victory. You have before you a Government which told you the very first day that it did not enter into power to negotiate without victory. As long as we are here the fatherland will be defended at all costs, and no force will be spared to obtain success.

We have allies who represent the greatest nations in the world, that have decided to go on until success is certain, success which is near. The Americans are arriving for the final blow.

The Living Line

By HAROLD BEGBIE

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

*As long as faith and freedom last,
And earth goes round the sun,
This stands—the British line held fast
And so the fight was won.*

*The greatest fight that ever yet
Brought all the world to dearth;
A fight of two great nations set
To battle for the earth.*

* * *

*That bleeding line, that falling fence,
That stubborn ebbing wave,
That string of suffering human sense,
Shuddered, but never gave.*

*A living line of human flesh,
It quivered like a brain;
Swarm after swarm came on afresh
And crashed, but crashed in vain.*

* * *

*The world shall tell how they stood fast,
And how the fight was won,
As long as faith and freedom last
And earth goes round the sun,*

Brute Force Versus Humanity

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Les Annales, Paris]

THE struggle of today is only a resumption of the conflict that has never ceased to redden the soil of Western Europe ever since its birth into history. The two chief episodes of this conflict, as everybody knows, are the invasion of Roman Gaul (including Northern Italy) by the Germans, and the conquest of Great Britain by the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans. Ignoring questions of race, which are complex, uncertain, and always debatable, one can, by viewing the subject from another point, see in the persistence and desperation of this war the conflict of two wills, either one of which succumbs for a moment only to rise again with more energy and determination.

On one side there is the will of earth, or of nature, which openly, in the human species, as in all others, favors physical and brutal force; on the other, the will of humanity, or at least of a part of humanity that is seeking to establish the reign of other energies more subtle and less animal. It is incontestable that brute force thus far has always triumphed. But it is equally certain that it has never triumphed save in appearance and for a brief moment. Gaul, invaded and overcome, quickly assimilated the invaders, and England gradually transformed her conquerors. The instruments of the will of earth turned against it on the morrow of victory and armed the hand of the vanquished.

It is probable that, even today, if events followed the course prescribed by destiny, the same phenomenon would be reproduced. Germany, after having crushed and enslaved the greater part of Europe, throwing it back and overwhelming it with numberless evils, would herself end by turning against the will which she represents; and that will, which hitherto had found a docile instrument and a chosen accomplice in the German race, would be obliged to find these elsewhere, a task less easy than formerly.

But now, to the stupefaction of those who will some day examine this epoch dispassionately, behold, events are suddenly moving upward against the irresistible current, and, for the first time since man is in a position to observe it, brute force is meeting an unexpected and insurmountable resistance. If this resistance remains victorious to the end, there will, perhaps, never have been a change of course comparable to it in the history of man; it will mean a triumph over the will of earth, of nature, or of fate, a triumph infinitely more significant, more heavy with consequences, and perhaps more decisive, than all those which in other domains appear to have crowned our effort with more glory.

Let us be not at all astonished, then, that the resistance is enormous and prolonged beyond all that experience of war has taught us. Our prompt and easy defeat was written in the annals of destiny. We had against us all the force of aggression acquired since the origin of Europe. We have to reverse the wheel of history. We are on the point of succeeding; and if it is true that intelligent beings on the heights of other worlds are watching us, they are doubtless contemplating the most curious spectacle that our planet has offered them since they discovered it in the star dust scintillating around them in space. They must be saying to themselves, disconcerted, that age-long and fundamental laws are being unexpectedly transgressed.

Unexpectedly? That is too much to say. This transgression of an inferior law, no longer as high as man, has long been in process of preparation; but it came very near to being frightfully punished. Its success will be due only to the aid of a part of those who formerly swelled the great flood which today they are resisting with us, as if something in the history of the world or in the plans of destiny had been changed; or, rather, as if we had finally succeeded in chang-

ing something, and in bending laws to which we have hitherto been entirely subject.

But we need not think that after victory the struggle will be ended. The profound forces of earth (brute force) will not lay down their arms so soon, and the invisible war will go on for a long time under peace. If we do not take care, victory will be even more fatal than defeat. In fact, this defeat, like its predecessors, would have been only an adjourned victory. It would have worn out, scattered, absorbed, the adversary by dispersing his energies over the world, while our victory will bring us a double danger. It will leave our enemies in a fierce isolation, where, massed upon themselves, fenced in, purified by misfortune and misery, they will secretly strengthen their formidable virtues, while we, no longer held in check by their intolerable but salutary menace, may give free rein to defects and vices which, soon or late, will place us at their mercy. Before thinking of peace, therefore, it would be well to assure ourselves of the future and make it powerless to harm us. We cannot take too many precautions when going, as we are, against the manifest desire of the power that is carrying us.

This is why our effort is painful and meritorious. We are going, it cannot be too often repeated, against the law of force. Our adversaries are driven forward by a power that drives us back. They are advancing in the direction of nature, whereas we are swimming against the great current that flows around the globe. Earth has an idea that is no longer ours. She is convinced that man is an animal in all respects like other animals. She has not yet noticed that he has drawn away from the herd. She does not yet know that he has climbed her highest mountains. She has not yet heard of justice, of pity, of loyalty, of honor; she knows not what these are, or she confuses them with weakness, inefficiency, stupidity, and fear. She has held to the original certitudes that were indispensable in the beginnings of life. She is falling behind us, and the space between is growing rapidly. She thinks less swiftly and has

not yet had the time to comprehend us. Besides, she does not count as we do, and the ages for her are less than our years. She is slow because she is almost eternal, while we are swift because we have not many hours before us. It is possible that her thought may some day rejoin ours; meanwhile, we have to defend our advance and prove to ourselves, as we are beginning to do, that it is permitted to be right against her will, that our advance is not fatal, and that it is possible to maintain it.

For it is beginning to be difficult to maintain that earth, or nature, or brute force, is always right, and that those who do not blindly follow its mandates are doomed to perish. We have learned to observe nature more attentively and have acquired the right to judge her. We have ascertained that, far from being infallible, she never ceases to deceive herself. She hesitates, she gropes. She does not know just what she wants. She begins with enormous blunders. She first peoples the world with fantastic and inchoate monsters, not one of which is stable, and they all disappear. Gradually, at the expense of the life which she creates, she acquires an experience which is the cruel fruit of innumerable sufferings inflicted with indifference. In the long run she grows wiser, learns moderation, corrects herself, retraces her steps, redresses her errors, and devotes to their reparation the best of her intelligence and of her forces. It is incontestable that she is perfecting her methods and that she is showing herself more able, more prudent, less given to excess, than in the beginning. It is none the less true that in all reigns, in all organisms, and even in our own bodies, the bad workmanship, the double uses, the inadvertencies, the things repented of, the absurdities, the useless complications, the sordid economies, and the senseless wastes continue.

There is no reason, therefore, to believe that our enemies have the truth on their side because nature's primal force is with them. Nature does not possess the truth any more than we do. She searches for it as we do, and does not find it any more easily. She does

not seem to know any more than we where she is going or whither she is being led by that which leads all things. We do not have to obey her without questioning, and there is no need to be disturbed or to despair if one is not of her opinion. We are not dealing with an infallible and immutable wisdom against which it would be madness to oppose one's thought. We are on the way to prove to her that she is in error, that the *raison d'être* of man is higher than that which she has provisionally assigned to him, that he has already surpassed

her previsions, and that she is wrong to retard his march. Besides, she is full of good-will, knows how to recognize her faults on occasion, to avoid their disastrous consequences, and never stiffens herself in an inflexible and majestic self-esteem. We can convince her if we can persevere. It will take a great deal of time, for, I repeat, she is slow, but not at all obstinate. It will take a great deal of time, because it involves a very long future, a very great change of direction, and the most important victory for which man has ever hoped.

The Battle of Jutland

Debatable Phases of the Great Naval Conflict Reviewed by
Eminent British Experts

By ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G. C. B.

In the May number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE appeared a general review of the battle of Jutland by Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham, with a footnote and diagrams by Professor Westcott of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The article was brought to the attention of Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, one of the most noted naval experts of Great Britain, and was also sent to Mr. Arthur Pollen, an internationally recognized naval writer in England, both of whom contribute comments on the American writer's article. Since his review appeared Mr. Frothingham has joined the National Army of the United States as Captain.—EDITOR.

THERE is only one thing certain in naval history, and that is that every great sea fight—as to the circumstances of which we have detailed information—has been criticised as indecisive and as not fought in the way which it should have been. Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, whose fairness and accuracy as a naval historian have been generally recognized, has said: "Every historian ought to feel 'a sense of the most lively gratitude toward Nelson; in his various encounters he never left any possible room for dispute as to which side had come out 'first best.' Unfortunately, this is going rather too far, for the merits of every one of Nelson's battles have been disputed, and his way of fighting each has been adversely criticised. This fate he shares with the great De Ruyter and with less important men. Rodney and

Lord Howe, as commanders in general actions, were fiercely criticised. Lord Hawke did not receive the customary recognition of his services until seventeen years after the great battle of Quiberon Bay. Roosevelt tells us that: "In every one of De Ruyter's last six battles each side claimed the victory." If we had minute accounts of the talk that went on in the gardens and porches of ancient Athens we should, without doubt, learn that Salamis was far from being decisive and that, anyhow, it ought to have been fought in a different way. It is just as well to remember this whenever we are discussing a naval battle, whether of old date or recent. Land battles have not been treated in quite the same fashion. Their results have not been disputed so often, nor has the manner in which they were fought been so often adversely criticised.

Perhaps we may account for this difference in the treatment of conflicts on the two elements by noting the fact that naval historians and critics of naval operations have but rarely been men of naval experience, while the historians and critics of military operations have usually been soldiers. There has, of course, been some conflict of opinion as to the results of fighting on shore, as we can see on comparing the communiqués of the contending sides in the present war. Even after allowing for the unprecedented mendacity of the German authorities and the unprecedented gullibility of the German public there is still some sign of an honest difference of opinion. The difference is not due to lay or unprofessional ignorance.

As regards naval operations in war—indeed, as regards naval affairs in general—it has been shown times without number that it is impossible for any one without naval experience to take a comprehensive or accurate view of naval conditions. This is by no means to disparage what shoregoing writers have done in naval history or in the discussion of some subjects largely though not totally naval. As long as they record facts they do very valuable work. It is when they express opinions and draw inferences from very technical data that they are almost certain to go astray. As a searcher in authoritative records and a narrator of detailed occurrences James is distinctly superior to Mahan; but who would give a fig for James's opinions? Whereas Mahan's govern the naval thought of the world.

JUTLAND RECORDS INCOMPLETE

Thomas G. Frothingham's "Review of the Battle of Jutland" in *THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* is a valuable account of the events of the engagement. It would not have been possible within the limits of his article to have related every incident, but he has made a judicious selection of those which he does bring forward. He had, of course, to depend on his sources; and on some important points these contained little or no information. Anything like a full account from the Ger-

man side was virtually nonexistent. It would have been instructive to have put the German naval authorities into the witness box and to have subjected them to that species of cross-examination which consists in a comparison of some of their statements with others and with the statements of their opponents. It would be here that a writer with the true instinct of a historian, which Mr. Frothingham evidently does possess, could render valuable service had the necessary materials been at his disposal.

A writer who draws inferences from data by no means full and perhaps open to dispute can hardly expect to carry conviction to every reader. It might be sufficient to deal with Mr. Frothingham's general conclusion concerning the battle of Jutland; but it will be well before doing so to notice also one or two minor but still important inferences which he draws from the events of the battle.

GERMAN FLEET'S OBJECT

Mr. Frothingham maintains that the German fleet came out with the object, and no other, of engaging the British fleet, a force known to be greatly superior in number of ships and power of ordnance. He apparently, but not quite clearly, suggests that the Germans knew how the British fleet would be employed and how it would be disposed. It would be difficult to put any other construction on the words—"With the object of engaging a fleet usually so disposed and so employed, the Germans came out from their bases." Surely this is a pure assumption which can only be supported by other assumptions founded on improbability rather than on probability. There is another assumption which is more plausible and which is supported by evidence—indirect, it is true, but copious. The war had been going on for more than a year and a half, and yet the German High Sea Fleet, in spite of its name, had sedulously refrained from venturing on the high seas. This made it the object of perpetual taunts by the enemies of Germany. There was some not completely suppressed restlessness among the German people.

It has been an almost invariable rule in war that the fleet which keeps on lying in port is eventually forced to put to sea by public opinion. The tone and wording of many official German statements justify the conclusion that the German fleet put to sea with the object, not of meeting the British fleet, but of returning to port with the assertion that the British fleet had kept out of the way and that the North Sea had been "swept" for it in vain. Contrary to the probable expectation, Sir David Beatty's force was met with and there seemed a chance of being able to attack him with the whole strength of the German Navy. Unforeseen opportunities of the kind have frequently occurred in naval war, and may be expected frequently to occur again.

FRENCH EXPERT'S OPINION

Here may be quoted some observations, dated March 11, 1918, by the very distinguished French flag officer Vice Admiral E. F. Fournier, in a preface to a translation of an account of the general work of the British Navy:

Je m'associe également aux regrets de l'auteur de cette notice qu'une ombre injustifiée ait été portée sur le tableau, si flatteur pour l'amour-propre de la Grande Bretagne, par certains critiques de la presse anglaise sur la bataille du Jutland. Je le fais d'autant plus volontiers que, dès la nouvelle de cette mémorable rencontre navale, j'écrivis dans le *Matin* un article où je vantaï l'esprit de décision et la résolution si opportune de l'Amiral Beatty, n'hésitant pas à se jeter, malgré l'infériorité de ses forces, à la tête de la flotte allemande toute entière pour la contrecarrer dans ses desseins, en s'y accrochant énergiquement jusqu'à l'arrivée du renfort anglais, comme l'eût fait, sans aucun doute, Nelson lui-même, en pareil cas.

TRANSLATION:

I regret as much as does the author of this article that an unjustified shadow has been cast upon the picture, so flattering for the self-esteem of Great Britain, by certain English press criticisms upon the battle of Jutland. I endorse his view the more willingly because, on first receiving the news of that memorable naval combat, I wrote for the *Matin* an article in which I extolled Admiral Beatty's spirit of decision and very opportune resolution, in not hesitating to throw himself, despite

the inferiority of his forces, at the head of the whole German fleet to checkmate its designs, and in hanging on firmly until the arrival of English reinforcements, as Nelson himself undoubtedly would have done in such a case.

Mr. Frothingham holds that the German fleet had not been led into a trap. Here, perhaps, something turns on the meaning given to particular words. A trap may be reasonably defined as an unforeseen and unfavorable position. Was it a deliberately sought or an unforeseen result that at 9 P. M. the German fleet was so placed that it had between it and its bases a hostile fleet which, as Mr. Frothingham tells us, still had an "overwhelming superiority in ships and guns?" Was such a position favorable or unfavorable? Surely there can be but one answer to each of these questions.

LOSS OF BRITISH SHIPS

Those who prefer to do so may use long words like "psychology" and "mentality," but the plain English of the situation is that the public mind in the allied and neutral countries was greatly impressed by the news that the British fleet had lost several ships, and by the fact that these losses were announced in the earlier part of the official communiqué concerning the battle. In the few great sea fights of which anything was generally remembered, the British had not lost ships. This, however, was far from being the universal rule.

In the great naval actions of the seventeenth century we lost many ships. It was recognized that a fleet might be victorious and still lose ships. The great Lord Hawke at Quiberon Bay lost ships. The contending fleets of the present day are so very large that they recall those of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when ships were lost in action by both sides. This, especially in view of the power of the naval ordnance of today, is almost certain to occur again. There is a wide difference between the naval gun of the present day and that of Nelson's and earlier times. The primary object of the older gun was to cause casualties among the enemy's crews; the modern naval gun is meant to

destroy his ships. A fifteen-inch gun is not necessary to kill or wound a man. Naval weapons would be complete failures if, in sea fights, they were to prove incapable of destroying ships, and there is no probability that the destruction will fall on one side only.

Mr. Frothingham's final conclusion is that the "actual tactical result of the battle was indecisive." A very full definition of an indecisive tactical result

would be instructive. One result of the battle of Jutland is beyond dispute and is in no way a matter of opinion. These lines are being written on the 12th of May, 1918, close upon two years after the battle of Jutland was fought. Not once during all that long time has the German High Sea Fleet ventured on the high seas or done more than just peep over the edge of its sheltering mine fields.

Comment by Mr. Arthur Pollen

Arthur Pollen, the English naval critic, offers the following observations on debatable phases of the battle:

I have read Mr. Frothingham's article, and it seems to me to be substantially accurate as a synopsis of the officially published events of the afternoon and evening. The writer's comments also seem to be judicious and fair. The battle raises, however, so many and such large problems, strategical, tactical, and technical, that it is impossible for any writer to exhaust the matter, or even to indicate the disputable points in so small a space as Mr. Frothingham has been able to devote to it.

In one or two not unimportant particulars I hold a different view of the facts and different opinions from the writer. For example, it seems to me that the Grand Fleet did not, as Mr. Frothingham states on Page 339, at 6:25 form in battle line astern of the battle cruisers. The plan published with the dispatches makes it seem more probable that the van of the Grand Fleet followed a course considerably to the north though parallel to that of the battle cruisers, and that it was not until about 7:05 that they turned from an easterly to a southerly course and formed astern of the Vice Admiral commanding the battle cruiser fleet. The story of the action might have been very different had circumstances permitted of the Grand Fleet going into

action astern of the Vice Admiral at 6:15.

Again, Page 337, I cannot agree that it is evident that the German fleet was not forced into action with the Grand Fleet, but that Vice Admiral Scheer deliberately chose to engage that force. There is nothing to show that Scheer suspected Jellicoe was on the scene until he began to turn from north to southeast about a quarter of an hour before the Grand Fleet was sighted.

Again, Page 339, I cannot agree that it was the night disposition of the fleet that was the crucial decision. It is true it ended the battle for the night, but the decision which gave the battle its character was taken earlier in the day, when the enemy was allowed to open the range under the cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. In the existing atmospheric conditions and light it was impossible for gunnery to be effective, even at 12,000 and 9,000 yards and the only terms on which the German fleet could be defeated and sunk would have been those of close action. The refusal of close action was due to the menace of the German destroyer attacks, used on this occasion for purposes of defense and to afford an opportunity of evasion, with masterly skill and decisive effect. The dispositions and tactics of the night action are a different matter, but of these we are still completely ignorant.

Battle of Skagerrak as Germany Sees It

By CAPTAIN VON KUEHLWETTER
of the German Imperial Navy

[This article on the battle of Jutland was written during the week following the day on which it was fought, May 31, 1916]

ALTHOUGH Trafalgar, Tsushima, and Skagerrak will be treated and discussed together in future naval histories, it is not yet possible to draw the full historical consequences from the two last-named naval battles. We can estimate the effects of Trafalgar on the history of the world, for we know that it laid the foundations of British naval supremacy. With the exception of the immediate military advantage gained, the full results of the battle of Tsushima have not yet been developed. Still less can the battle of Skagerrak have left its impress upon world history.

For us Skagerrak [Jutland] has been a great, decisive victory, which our whole High Sea Fleet gained after a long, bitterly contested battle on the open sea, far from the home coast and its points of support, against the superior British Grand Fleet. Our naval forces inflicted upon the British fleet losses which, in terms of tons, even according to the British Admiralty, were double ours. But the tonnage does not fully represent the seriousness of the losses, since the British lost three dreadnoughts, as against one of ours, and three armored cruisers, as against one of our old armored cruisers.

If we add to this what our own observations, supported by statements of British prisoners, show, the enemy's losses were three and a half times ours; that is, in terms of fighting units, six dreadnoughts, including two older types, as against one dreadnought and one pre-dreadnought, and four armored cruisers and one small cruiser, as against four small cruisers.

The purpose of a battle is destruction, the victor being the side which goes further in this direction. The figures just quoted can leave no doubt on this point.

The German fleet remained on the

battle area. After the repeatedly successful attacks of our torpedo boat flotillas the British fleet was forced to sheer off, and we never saw it again. Although the British ships were superior in speed and were reinforced by the arrival of twelve additional battleships, they made no attempt to recover contact with us and continue the battle. Our numerous torpedo boats searched for the British fleet all night without finding it, and instead utilized the opportunity to rescue a large number of British sailors.

This justifies us in calling the battle an absolute victory for us. It has demonstrated that the German fleet had within it the power to beat the more numerous and more up-to-date British fleet, and it opens up great possibilities for the future.

The battle of Skagerrak did not decide the war. Neither did Trafalgar nor Tsushima, nor did Tannenburg or the battle of the Masurian Lakes. A single battle between great powers will never be ultimately decisive. How much it contributes to the final outcome of a war cannot be estimated. The greatest result so far is not in the fact that Great Britain lost ships, but in the victory.

TRAFALGAR AND JUTLAND

Trafalgar and the name of Nelson stand high in naval history. Let us draw a military comparison between Trafalgar and the battle of Skagerrak. At Trafalgar there were on the British side 27 ships of the line, (of which 8 had 80 guns, 16 had 74 guns, and 3 had 64 guns,) four frigates, and two smaller vessels. On the side of the allied French and Spanish fleet there were 33 ships of the line, (of which 10 had from 80 to 110 guns, 22 had 74 guns, and one had 64 guns,) three frigates, and two smaller vessels. The French and Spanish

fleet was not only numerically stronger, but its ships were better built and better armed.

In the battle of Skagerrak we had opposing each other: On the British side, thirty-one dreadnoughts, inclusive of six battle cruisers, and four armored cruisers; on the German side, twenty-one dreadnoughts, inclusive of five battle cruisers, and six older cruisers. Roughly speaking, we had twenty-seven big ships

The British had between 17,000 and 20,000 men engaged, against 21,000 to 24,000. At Skagerrak we had from 35,000 to 40,000, as against 45,000 to 50,000 men. In this way we can compare the battle in its general aspect with Trafalgar. But if we look into the matter more closely, the French and Spanish fleet had within it an element of weakness arising from the fact that it consisted of two allied forces, between which there is

never complete co-ordination. The French were further weakened by effects of the Revolution and exhaustion from previous battles. The French Admiral himself said "Never before was the French fleet at such a low standard. We had bad masts, bad sails, bad rigging, bad officers, and bad seamen." Of the Spanish, Nelson said: "They have neither seamen nor officers." At the head of the allied forces was a French Admiral who had no confidence in the fleet and who was acting under instructions issued by Napoleon, which he felt incapable of carrying out. Opposed to him was the seasoned and well-schooled fleet of Nelson, so that it was not a battle of equal opponents and the result was annihilation. None of the French or Spanish ships was again seen at sea; nineteen were captured or destroyed, ten were driven into harbor and blockaded; four

escaped, only to fall into the hands of the victors a few days later.

COMPARED WITH TSUSHIMA

And now Tsushima, another parallel. A Russian fleet, made up of any old vessels the Russians could get together, and of what ships still remained in the East—supported by Port Arthur—made one last bid against the sea power of the enemy. Without training, without points of support, honeycombed with revolutionary ideas, the Russian fleet start-



ed on its trip to the Far East, where it arrived on May 27, after suffering terrible hardships and being more than six months on the way to meet the enemy. Meanwhile, Port Arthur, with its fleet, had fallen. The Russian Admiral knew that he had absolutely no chance, but he did not have enough courage to retreat. Blindly and without confidence he started the battle against an opponent who was superior in numbers, equipment, and training. Of the 38 Russian ships which arrived on the morning of May 27, 1905, in the Strait of Korea, 19 were sunk and 7 captured, including 2 hospital ships. The Russian Admiral, 273 officers, and 5,833 petty officers and men were taken prisoner; 201 officers and 4,344 men were killed. Against this the Japanese lost only three torpedo boats and about 700 men.

Trafalgar was not a battle between equal forces, and still less so was Tsushima; hence, as regards their military value, they cannot be compared with Skagerrak. In this battle for the first time there were two sides equally well trained, equally imbued with the same spirit, equally determined. Here also the smaller force won. The superior force

had to quit the battle area, and only the power it retained within itself saved it from annihilation. This battle gave us, in the military sense, a victory such as naval history has never yet recorded. Its moral effect upon our fleet, especially after the long harassing wait, cannot be expressed in words. It did not end the war, but it gave us more confidence and startled England, who always thought she had an invincible fleet.

On the victory of Trafalgar England founded her colonial world power, because she thereby obtained the mastery of the seas, which remained unchallenged. Tsushima gave Japan the sea power in the East which she needed to carry out her military plans on land. It no more ended the Japanese-Russian war than Trafalgar had ended the struggle of that day, but it gave Japan a military success which was of great value to her in peace negotiations. We hope that Skagerrak is a blow against the victory of Trafalgar and the first step toward the smashing of British sea power, and that other mighty hammer blows will fall against the barriers which shut off other peoples from the freedom of the seas.

International Socialists' Peace Campaign

A Message Sent to the Socialists of the Central Powers by Those of the Entente Nations

EMILE VANDERVELDE and Camille Huysmans, the Chairman and Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, on March 1, 1918, signed and transmitted a message to the Socialists of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, inviting them to consider the declaration on war aims adopted by the Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference in London, Feb. 23, and asking them to propose conditions of their own for comparison. The communication was printed April 17 without comment in the German Socialist organ, *Vorwärts*, being reproduced by it from the *Paris Humanité*. It is as follows:

The third Interallied Socialist Conference, which was held in London from

Feb. 20 to Feb. 23, has commissioned the President and Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau to communicate to you the authentic text of the memorandum which has been adopted by the meeting of delegates of the Labor and Socialist organizations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. The main ideas of this document have received, or had received in advance, the approval of the parties of Serbia, Portugal, Greece, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

A special mission, consisting of Stuart Bunning, (England,) Jouhaux and Cachin, (France,) a Belgian delegate, an Italian delegate, and the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Camille Huysmans, has gone to the United States in order to obtain the adhesion of the American working class to this memorandum, which expresses the point of

view of the organized proletariat of the Entente countries with regard to the necessary foundations of a democratic peace and the principal conditions for a general international Labor and Socialist conference, which has been summoned to a neutral country by "a committee which provides all guarantees of impartiality toward the various elements which are called to take part."

In making this communication to you the signatories of this message consider it profitable to recall objectively the reasons which determined the acceptance of the procedure proposed by the London Conference.

The conference was of the opinion that it would be of no use to assemble a general congress unless its aim had been established in principle.

The conference was of the opinion that "the principal condition for the holding of a plenary assembly of the International consists in its organizers satisfying themselves that all the organizations to be represented formulate in precise terms and by a public declaration their peace conditions upon the basis of the principles of peace without annexations and without indemnities of a punitive character, and the right of the peoples to self-determination," and, further, that these organizations will "work with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantee that these principles shall be applied honestly and without *arrière-pensées* in the settlement of all questions raised at the official peace conference."

In order itself to satisfy these conditions, the London Conference has considered it necessary to state precisely its views and its action in the memorandum which we are commissioned to communicate to you.

The conference expects that your party, following the same idea, will resolve to issue a public declaration of a similar kind, whether separately or jointly with the Labor and Socialist organizations of Central Europe.

In the opinion of those who took part in the London Conference the comparison of these documents will be of the greatest importance. It will be a principal means of establishing whether a sufficient agreement of views exists between the proletariats of the two belligerent groups to make possible a common action against imperialism and for a democratic peace. This preliminary examination is all the more necessary, because it is obvious that no important party, conscious of its responsibility, will run the risk of having the resolutions of an international congress imposed upon it by the will of a majority. Only resolutions which were the expression

of a general and common will would possess moral authority and practical effect.

The sum of the matter is that the Socialists of the Entente countries request you in this grave hour, in which it is necessary to know whether the world is to be freed by democracy or to be handed over to imperialism, to ask your consciences whether a real, sincere, and effective agreement of the wills of the proletariats is possible in order to put an end to the law of violence, in order to lay the foundations not of a peace, but of the peace, and in order to help the peoples to liberate themselves from the endless chain of military war which leads to economic wars, and of economic wars which will again produce military wars.

We add to the messages only one observation. Since the London Conference momentous events have taken place which constitute the gravest menace for the workers of all countries. The principles to which they appeal have been shamefully violated. The right of the peoples to self-determination has been openly disregarded. In Austria and Germany themselves Socialists have expressed the fear that Russia, disarmed and for the moment impotent, might become a battleground in which the rival imperialisms and their claims would meet and ultimately satisfy themselves jointly at the cost of the defeated revolution.

The working classes have a common interest in protesting against such events and in preventing the realization of such projects.

That is the wish of the authors and the signatories of the memorandum. In the same spirit we beg you to subject this document to a conscientious and thorough examination.

In communicating this request to you we address to you, comrades, our Socialist greetings.

At a meeting of the Socialist Party Committee in Berlin on May 31, according to the Vorwärts, Friedrich Ebert, Vice President of the Social Democrats, announced that the party leaders had indirectly received a copy of the Entente Socialist memorandum on war aims. Philipp Scheidemann declared that the aims of the Entente Socialists were to a great extent in complete accord with the annexationist aims of the Entente Governments. The committee adopted a resolution pledging continued adherence to the Reichstag peace resolution of July, 1917, which declared for no annexations and no indemnities.

Trade After the War

THE State Department at Washington announced on June 5, 1918, that it had appointed an economic representative, who was to join the American Embassy at Rome. This was regarded as the first step in a general policy of more active participation by the United States in preparations of the nations at war with Germany for the after-the-war trade struggle.

The new treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria to control all Central European sources of raw materials, and to exclude other nations from equal trade privileges, with similar restrictions imposed by the new treaties forced on Finland, Ukraina, and Rumania, changed the attitude of the American Government, which at first had not assented to the proposals of the Paris Economic Conference to interpose artificial obstructions to free commerce with the Central Powers after the war.

The Italian Government recently named a commission to study after-the-war problems, and with this commission the American economic delegate will have close relations. Italian importing and exporting interests in the United States also have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the decision of the Italian Government to consider this important subject, and have joined in the dispatch of a committee to Italy to co-operate. Italian industries, though of great potential strength and capable of returning large profits on their capitalization, are said to require substantial assistance from America if they are to go on after the war without relapsing into the control of German financiers.

It is reported that economic representatives will be sent to the American Embassies in all the allied capitals.

On May 14 Mr. Bonar Law, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in the House of Commons that, in order to leave its country's hands free for the time when peace arrived, the French Government had denounced all commercial conventions containing a general clause regarding "most-favored na-

tions"; and that, in view of the probable scarcity of raw material after the war and the necessity for providing for the needs of the British Empire and the Allies, the British Government intended to adopt a similar course.

In answer to other questions, Mr. Bonar Law said that the British Government had not changed its policy expressed in the Paris resolutions since the entrance of the United States into the war; he had every reason to believe that America was very anxious for unity of economic control, and agreed that any useful action would be much more effective if taken in conjunction with our allies.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh's committee considered the question of the denunciation of commercial treaties and reported against it. The report contains a summary of the various commercial treaties which are in existence between Great Britain and other countries. Those with enemy countries have been terminated by the war. In the case of allied countries commercial treaties on the basis of reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment are in force between the United Kingdom and Italy, Portugal, Russia, the United States, Japan, Serbia, and Montenegro. There is a similar treaty with Rumania. United Kingdom goods have most-favored-nation treatment in France, owing to a legislative enactment and not by treaty right, for customs duties were excepted from the scope of the Anglo-French commercial convention of 1882.

Great Britain has commercial treaties on the most-favored-nation basis with Switzerland and Greece. In the case of the Netherlands and Denmark, the general principle of most-favored-nation treatment is subject to minor limitations. The position with regard to Sweden and Norway is doubtful; but the old treaty of 1826 with Sweden and Norway on a reciprocal most-favored-nation basis has continued in operation in practice, in spite of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway in 1905.

Outside Europe, Great Britain has commercial treaties providing for reciprocal and unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Those with Costa Rica and Liberia are conditional.

Nearly all these commercial treaties are subject to a fixed period of notice on either side as a condition of denunciation. The treaty with Japan cannot be terminated before 1923. The treaty with Portugal has only recently been com-

pleted, after years of negotiation. Twelve months' notice of termination is required in the case of the treaty with Switzerland and of most of those with neutral countries outside Europe. The Spanish agreement—it is based on an exchange of notes in 1894—is subject to six months' notice.

Before the war there was no commercial treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. The United Kingdom enjoyed most-favored-nation treatment in Germany in customs matters by virtue of a biennial law.

Exchange of Naval Greetings With England

The following exchange of greetings between the heads of the navies of the United States and Great Britain was made public:

Washington, April 5, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: Your references to the splendid spirit of co-operation between the navies of our two countries, and your warm praise of the officers and men of the navy who have gone abroad, have been most grateful to me and to the men in the navy and to all Americans. The brightest spot in the tragedy of this war is this mutual appreciation of the men in the naval service. Our officers who have returned confirm the statements of Vice Admiral Sims of the courtesies and kindness shown in every way by the Admiralty and officers of the British fleet, and we have reciprocated by receiving cordially the able and efficient officers who have come from your country to confer and work elbow to elbow with our officers in the difficult work which this war imposes upon the naval service of all the countries allied in the war against the submarine menace.

I had hoped to have the pleasure of visiting Great Britain and personally expressing this feeling of mutual working together and of exchanging views, but the task here of making ready more and more units for the fleet is a very serious one, and my duty chains me here. The order in all the navy is "full speed ahead" in the construction of destroyers and other craft, and the whole service is keyed up to press this programme forward as rapidly as possible. Therefore I shall not have the pleasure until this program shall materialize better and better of personal acquaintance and conference, which would

be of such interest and value. Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, London.

April 23.

DEAR MR. DANIELS: I am exceedingly grateful to you for your letter of April 5, in which you thank me for the public reference which I have made to the very cordial relations which exist between the navies of our two countries. As you know, we all of us here have a great admiration for your officers and men and for the splendid help which they are giving in European waters; and, further, we find Vice Admiral Sims invaluable in counsel and co-operation.

I fully appreciate how onerous your office must be at the present time; and much though I regret that you do not see your way to visiting this country in the near future, I hope that we may some day have the pleasure of welcoming you here. Yours sincerely,

(Signed) E. C. GEDDES.

*Commander in Chief's Office,
Queenstown, May 4.*

On the anniversary of the arrival of the first United States men-of-war at Queenstown, I wish to express my deep gratitude to the United States officers and ratings for the skill, energy, and unfailing good nature which they have all consistently shown, and which qualities have so materially assisted the war by enabling the ships of the allied powers to cross the ocean in comparative freedom.

To command you is an honor, to work with you is a pleasure, and to know you is to know the best traits of the Anglo-Saxon race.

(Signed) LEWIS BAYLY,
Admiral, Commander in Chief.

England and the War's Causes

Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum a Document of Vital Importance to History

By VISCOUNT BRYCE

Former British Ambassador to the United States

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THE secret memorandum which Prince Lichnowsky wrote as a record and vindication of his conduct while German Ambassador in England is the most important single document which has come before the world since the first days of the war. It was not meant to become known during the war, perhaps not within his own lifetime. It was written not to justify England but to criticise the policy which tied Germany to Austria, and was published without, and indeed against, its author's will. It may have been composed partly to relieve the writer's own feelings, from an impulse which those will understand who are prevented by considerations of public duty from vindicating their conduct to the world. It may also be due to the sense, natural to men who have borne a part in great events, that they owe it to posterity to contribute what they can to the truth of history. Anyhow, it has exposed him to the anger and persecution of the German Government; and this persecution is evidence of the importance it attaches to it as a condemnation of its conduct. The truth of its contents has been confirmed, if indeed it needed confirmation, by the statements of Herr von Jagow, late German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of Herr Mühlön, one of the Krupp directors.

Prince Lichnowsky appears in this document as a man of clear vision and cool judgment, an acute observer of social as well as political phenomena, a good witness both to what he noted during his residence here and to what he knew of the action of his own Government. And now let us see what he records.

When the war began in August, 1914, the German Government entered on two campaigns, which it has ever since prosecuted with equal energy and an equal disregard of honor and humanity.

One of these was the campaign by arms. It suddenly invaded Belgium, a peaceful neutral country, whose neutrality it was pledged to respect, and which it has treated with the utmost cruelty, murdering, or reducing to the slavery of forced labor, its civilian and noncombatant inhabitants. It has similarly enslaved the inhabitants of Poland, and has encouraged its Turkish allies to massacre their innocent Armenian subjects.

A CAMPAIGN OF FALSEHOOD

The other campaign was one of falsehood, conducted by speeches and through the press, and intended to mislead public opinion. It was an effort to deceive both its own people and neutral nations by mendacious misrepresentations of German aims, purposes, and conduct, and by equally false descriptions of the aims, purposes, and conduct of Germany's antagonists, and especially of the British Government and the British people. It tried to represent the war as having been forced upon Germany by Britain. Germany, it said, was merely defending herself against an unprovoked attack. She desired to live at peace with her neighbors, developing her own resources, cherishing no aggressive designs. Her enormous army and navy had been created only to protect her against the jealous and malicious enemies by whom she was surrounded, and especially against Great Britain. Britain, it seems, was envious of Germany. Being herself "a decadent nation"—this was the prevailing Ger-

man view—she feared the commercial competition of Germany, and tried to keep the latter out of all foreign markets. British policy—so they said—under the direction of King Edward VII., had formed alliances with France and Russia in order to hem in Germany, and after trying to block Germany's outlets in Africa and Asia, contrived this war to destroy by arms the rival whom she could not face up to in trade and manufacturing industry.

While these accusations were brought against Britain, attempts were made to excuse the invasion of Belgium by the false stories, dropped as soon as they had served their temporary purpose, that French officers had been sent into Belgium to help to organize the Belgian troops against Germany and that French aviators had been flying over German territory.

Grotesque as all these inventions were, they were repeated with such audacity as to produce some effect in neutral countries. But their chief and more lasting influence was on the German people. A large part of the German press, inspired and controlled by the German Government, had for some time past been holding up England as the persistent foe of Germany. It now redoubled its falsehoods, representing Sir Edward Grey as having plotted to bring about a war, and urged Russia to refuse a peaceful solution; and it added equally groundless charges that England had secretly planned with Belgium to attack Germany through Belgian territory. These fables, repeated incessantly by German politicians, as well as by the newspapers, found ready credence with the German people, easily led by their press, always docile to the orders of their Government, and now swept off their feet by a wave of patriotism and by the belief that they were about to achieve a victory as rapid and complete as that of 1870. It was this conviction of the malevolence and the grasping ambition of England that created that ferocious hatred of the English which has continued to display itself in the treatment of English prisoners and in the exultation over such crimes as the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

ORGANIZED HATE

This sudden outburst of hatred in a nation so intelligent startled and amazed us. It can be understood only when we remember that the German Government did everything in its power not only to create hatred, but also to stifle every voice that was raised to let the people know the truth. They never have been permitted to know the truth, and the disappointment that fell upon them when their march on Paris was arrested with the help of a British Army and their coasts strictly blockaded by a British fleet added fuel to their anger and has made it ever since an easier matter to keep the truth from them.

Now, what was the truth?

The British people bore no hatred whatever toward the German people. King Edward VII. meant no harm to Germany when he showed his liking for the French. Neither did his Ministers when they took steps to remove the differences that had been causing trouble between ourselves and France, and again when they came to a friendly understanding with Russia. These arrangements were made in the interests of European peace and good-will, not in order to damage Germany. British merchants and manufacturers never dreamed of fighting Germany to get rid of her commercial competition. Had such an idea occurred to them, they would have reflected that Germany was England's best foreign customer, not to add that two years of even a successful war would have inflicted far more loss upon them than the extension of German trade competition could have repaired in twenty years. British men of science and learning admired the immense contributions Germany had been making to the progress of knowledge, and they had many personal friends in Germany. British statesmen did not desire to add to British possessions abroad, feeling that we had already all we needed, and that the greatest interest of the British Empire was a universal peace.

No section of our people, neither traders, nor thinkers and writers, nor statesmen, had any idea of the dangers to

peace which lay (as we now know) in the mind and the purpose of those who ruled Germany. We did not realize what the feudal aristocracy and military caste of Germany were pondering and planning, nor how little weight they attached to considerations either of good faith or of humanity. Hence, beyond maintaining a strong fleet, the indispensable protection of a country open to sea attack which did not maintain a large army, we had made no preparations for war, and had scarcely bethought ourselves of what action we should have to take on land if we became involved in war. In this belief and attitude there may have been less prudence than was needed. But our absence of suspicion is the best proof of how little we expected aggression. It is an absolute refutation of the calumny that Britain, with her tiny army, was planning an attack on the greatest military power in the world.

All this every Englishman knows. I repeat it only because it has now received not only a confirmation but also a valuable further proof in the Lichnowsky memorandum, a proof unsolicited and untemplated, and, moreover, unimpeachable, because it comes from one who bore a leading part in what it records, and who never meant to let it become known.

ENGLAND'S PACIFIC SPIRIT

First—The memorandum bears witness to the pacific spirit of the British people. Here are some of its words:

"The commercial jealousy about which we [in Germany] hear so much is based on a wrong conception of the circumstances. Certainly Germany's rise as a commercial power after 1870 and during the following decades was a menace to British commercial circles which with their industries and export houses had held a virtual monopoly. The increasing commerce with Germany, which was the leading country in Europe as regards British exports, had, however, given rise to the wish to maintain friendly relations with their best customer and business friend, and had driven all other considerations into the background. Notably, in commer-

cial circles I encountered the most friendly spirit and the effort to further our common commercial interests.

"At the English cities to which I was invited (by the Chambers of Commerce and municipalities) I was well received everywhere. * * * In all other circles I also met with the most friendly reception and co-operation—at Court, in society, and from the Government.

"On account of our fleet alone England would not have drawn the sword any more than on account of our trade, which has been alleged to have produced jealousy and finally war. * * * It was possible to arrive at an understanding in spite of the fleet, and without a 'naval holiday,' [intermission of naval shipbuilding.] "

Second—The memorandum shows that the attitude of the British Government, and in particular of Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Minister, was entirely pacific. The admirable characterization of Sir Edward it contains is too long to quote, but it testifies to his perfect straightforwardness and constant wish to maintain good relations with Germany, and after describing how "the simplicity and honesty of his ways secured him the respect even of his opponents," it adds: "This is a true picture of the man who is decried [in Germany] as 'Liar Grey' and instigator of the world war."

The memorandum goes on to show how sincerely Sir Edward had worked for peace, first in 1913, during the Balkan troubles, when he went hand-in-hand with Germany, "hardly ever supporting the French or Russian claims. He conducted the negotiations with circumspection, calm, and tact." Frequently, when appealed to by Lichnowsky to use his influence with the Russian Government to arrange difficulties between it and Germany, "Sir Edward gladly did this, and his intervention contributed in no small degree to smooth the matter over."

Third—A still weightier evidence of the good-will of the British Government is supplied by the account given of the concessions made to German wishes in Asia and Africa. "Sir Edward Grey," says the memorandum, "after having

"settled all outstanding points of difference with France and Russia, wished to make similar agreements with us. It was not his object to isolate us, but to the best of his power to make us partners in the existing association. As he had succeeded in overcoming Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian differences, so he also wished to do his best to eliminate the Anglo-German, and, by a network of treaties, which would no doubt have led in the end to an agreement on the troublesome question of naval armaments, to insure the peace of the world.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

"His plan was, in his own words, without interfering with England's existing friendship, which had no aggressive aims and does not entail any binding obligations, to arrive at a friendly rapprochement and understanding with Germany to bring the two groups [of powers] nearer." In pursuance of this policy, the British Government went a very long way to meet German wishes in respect to the Bagdad Railway. They agreed to let it be prolonged to El Basra; they included the whole of Mesopotamia as far as that town in the German sphere of influence, and also the whole district of the Bagdad and Anatolian railway, i. e., all the centre of Asia Minor.

Not less large were the concessions made in South Central Africa. "The new agreement [regarding the interests of Germany and England in the African possessions of Portugal] was fully in accord with German wishes and interests. For these the British Government showed the greatest consideration. Sir E. Grey intended to demonstrate his good-will toward us, but he also wished to assist our colonial development as a whole." These arrangements were embodied in two treaties highly advantageous to Germany, which, however, the German Government, for some reasons of its own, had postponed signing, so that they remained unpublished up till the outbreak of the war. Had we in

England known the inner spirit of the German Government, and the use it would make of our concessions, British Ministers might well have hesitated to go so far as they did. But that they conceded so much is the completest proof of their good-will and the most convincing refutation of the charges which the German Ministers and press have brought against them.

It would take too long to follow out in this article the constant efforts of the British Government during the fateful days before the outbreak of the war to avoid a conflict by means of Sir E. Grey's repeated plans of mediation and adjustment. The memorandum shows how earnestly he labored for peace at Berlin, at Petersburg, at Vienna, and how all his attempts were baffled by the settled purpose of the German Government to force on war.

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE

Britain may, like other nations, have in the past sometimes indulged her ambition, sometimes abused her strength, sometimes embarked in wars that might well have been avoided. But on this occasion at least she is blameless. Never in her long history has she had so perfectly clear a conscience as in the case of this war. Her people neither contemplated it nor desired it. They were driven into it by the action of the German Government, which persisted in pushing it on even when Austria seemed willing to draw back. All had evidently been settled at that famous Potsdam conference, when (as the German Ambassador at Constantinople, before Italy had declared war against Austria, told his Italian colleague) the Emperor had inquired of his military and naval chiefs whether they were ready for the conflict for which, during some months preceding, preparations had been in progress. Neither when the war began did Britain wish to do more than prevent Germany from destroying Belgium and mortally wounding France. Sir E. Grey spoke truly for the nation when, as the memorandum records, he said: "We don't want to crush Germany."

Germany and Great Britain in 1912

Lord Haldane's Official Report of His Conciliatory Mission Prior to the War

Lord Haldane, the British Minister for War in 1912, was sent on a mission to Berlin in that year to confer with the German Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, in the hope of reaching some agreement with Germany for a mutual reduction of armament, and for the establishment of conditions that would preserve European peace. The hope regarding armaments was not fulfilled, and the conversations that had taken place were not made public by either Government; but late in May, 1918, in view of the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky regarding Germany's responsibility for the war, the British Government at length published Lord Haldane's report. It is in the form of a daily record, beginning Feb. 8, 1912, and is here reproduced in full, with the exception of parts relating solely to British defensive measures:

AT the interview with the Chancellor, which took place at 2 o'clock and lasted for more than an hour and a half, I began by giving him the message of good wishes for the conversations and for the future of Anglo-German relations with which the King had intrusted me at the audience I had before leaving. He was pleased with this message, and intimated that he would write through the German Ambassador to thank the King. I then said that perhaps it would be convenient if I defined the capacity in which I was in Berlin, and there to talk to him; and I defined it as above intimated. I proceeded to ask whether he wished to make any observations or desired that I should begin. He wished me to begin, and I went on at once to speak to him as arranged in a conversation I had had with Sir Edward Grey before leaving London.

"I told him that I felt there had been a great deal of drifting away between Germany and England, and that it was important to ask what was the cause. To ascertain this, events of recent history had to be taken into account. Germany had built up, and was building up, magnificent armaments, and with the aid of the Triple Alliance she had become the centre of a tremendous group. The natural consequence was that other powers had tended to approximate. I was not questioning for a moment Germany's policy, but this was the natural and inevitable consequence in the interests of secu-

rity. We used to have much the same situation with France when she was very powerful on the sea that we had with Germany now. While the fact to which I referred created a difficulty, the difficulty was not insuperable; for two groups of powers might be on very friendly relations if there was only an increasing sense of mutual understanding and confidence. The present seemed to me to be a favorable moment for a new departure. The Morocco question was now out of the way, and we had no agreements with France or Russia except those that were in writing and published to the world.

"The Chancellor interrupted me, and asked me whether this was really so. I replied that I could give him the assurance that it was so without reserve, and that in the situation, which now existed I saw no reason why it should not be possible for us to enter into a new and cordial friendship, carrying the two old ones into it, perhaps, to the profit of Russia and France as well as Germany herself. He replied that he had no reason to differ from this view.

"In connection with my remarks as to the events of last Summer, he interposed that we had military preparations. I replied that no preparations had been made which were other than those required to bring the capacity of the British Army in point of mobilization to something approaching the standard which Germany had long ago reached, and which was with her a matter of routine. For this purpose we had studied our deficiencies and modes of opera-

tion. * * * We could not be caught unprepared."

NO AGGRESSIVE ALLIANCES

The Chancellor seemed much pleased with Lord Haldane's explanation, and said: "There had been much talk of our fleet and our army, and the steps we had taken, but that he understood the position I had indicated." "I said, in reply, that it was a pleasure to me to hear this, and that I hoped I should carry him with me still further in my belief that if Germany had really, which I did not at all suppose, intended to crush France and destroy her capacity to defend herself, we in England would have had such a direct interest in the result that we could not have sat by and seen this done.

"He said he did not dissent from this view, nor did he wish to hamper our freedom in such a case. But he wished to propose a formula; the balance of power was a phrase he did not like, though he admitted that the historical considerations I had referred to made it natural that some grouping should take place, and that England should lean toward the weaker side. He had, however, proposed, in his communication to us, a formula of neutrality which might go a long way to help.

"I said I cordially agreed with the good intention of his formula, the working of which was that neither was to enter into any combinations against the other. If this meant combinations for attack or aggression, I was entirely of his mind. But I must put on spectacles in looking at his words, and, first of all, I would put on German spectacles. How would Germany find herself if, when bound by such a formula, we were so wicked as to attack her ally Austria or to try to grab Denmark, which was of deep strategic interest to her? Again, suppose Germany joined in an attack on Japan or Portugal or Belgium—he then interposed 'or Holland'—but I said I really hadn't all our treaties sufficiently in my head to be as sure about Holland as I was about the others. Or if, I added, Germany were to pounce upon France and proceed to dismember her, what would happen? He answered that these cases were not at all likely, but he admitted that they were fatal to his formula. I asked him whether he would be satisfied with mutual undertakings against aggressive or unprovoked attacks and against all combinations, military and naval agreements, and plans directed to the purpose of aggression and unprovoked attack. He said it was very difficult to define what was meant by aggression or unprovoked attack. I replied that you could not define the number of grains which it took to make a heap, but one knew a heap when one saw one. * * *

QUESTION OF GERMAN FLEET

"We then passed on to the question of the German fleet, as to which he asked me

whether I would like to make any observations. I said I must. He and I had been talking with the most absolute candor and friendliness to each other, and I felt he would regard me as wanting in character were I not very frank with him about the new navy law. What was the use of entering into a solemn agreement for concord and against attack if Germany at the same moment was going to increase her battle fleet as a precaution against us, and we had consequently to increase our battle fleet as a precaution against her? This was vital from our point of view, because we were an island power dependent for our food supplies on the power of protecting our commerce, and for this we needed the two-power standard and a substantial preponderance in battle fleets. He said that it was absolutely essential to Germany to have a third squadron in full readiness for war. At present, owing to her system of recruiting, for three months in the year she had virtually, owing to the necessity for training recruits, no fleet ready at all. I said I did not contest this; she was quite entitled to have it if she thought it necessary, but the result would be that we should not be able to rely on the two battle squadrons and reserve squadrons which had sufficed hitherto, but that we should be compelled to have five, or even six, squadrons ready in home waters, perhaps bringing ships from the Mediterranean to strengthen them.

"He asked me was that necessary if we had a friendly agreement? I said it would be a less convincing proof of friendliness if Germany prepared her third squadron, and we should have no option. Still, I said, this was not so serious as the proposal to add a third ship every second year to the German construction program. This would put us in great difficulties so far as securing the good opinion of the public in England about the value of an agreement. We should certainly have to proceed at once to lay down two keels to each one of the new German additions, and that would cost money and cause feeling. It was true that each country could bear the additional cost without difficulty. They were rich and so were we. If it was for the purpose of the navy our people would not complain, in my opinion, of the addition of another shilling to the income tax, but it would be a great pity. He asked was that really likely to be our program, the laying down of two additional keels for each German one. I said that I had no doubt that it would be the result, and the Government would be turned out if they failed to accomplish it; and therefore some modification seemed to be of the utmost importance, if the agreement was to be a real success.

"After a pause he said he would consider this and 'die Sache überlegen.' The conversation up to this point had been largely in German, I taking to English whenever there was a delicate topic, and the Chancellor occasionally speaking English, but nearly always German. In order to avoid misunderstanding

ing we sometimes repeated sentences in the other language. I was impressed by his evident desire to meet us wherever he could, and I derived considerable hope from the manner and emphasis with which he said that he would reconsider the question of the ships. But I must add that he went on to say that the question of the new squadron was vital, and that some new ships would be necessary in it. Could I suggest any way out, for they must keep to the plan of a new law. I observed that it was not for me to venture to make any suggestion to his Excellency, but that a spreading out in size of the new program might make a difference. He said, 'Perhaps, eight or nine years'; I added, 'or twelve, if he could not do better.' He again said that he would take this matter into serious consideration and consult his experts. 'My Admirals,' he said, 'are very difficult.' 'That was an experience,' I observed, 'which we sometimes found in England also.' "

THE KAISER AND VON TIRPITZ

On the following day, Feb. 9, Lord Haldane had an interview with the Emperor, the Chancellor, and Admiral Tirpitz on the navy, at which Tirpitz held out for the new German naval program, which was discussed at great length. Lord Haldane wrote:

"I insisted that fundamental modification was essential. The tone was thoroughly friendly, but I felt that I had come to the most difficult part of my task of getting material fit to bring back for the consideration of my colleagues. The utmost I was able to get was this: The Emperor was so disturbed at the idea that the world would not believe in the reality of the agreement unless the shipbuilding program was modified that he asked me what I would suggest. I said that it was a too technical matter for me to discuss here, but that if he would not drop the new law—which I saw he felt he could not—he might at least drop out a ship. This idea was never abandoned, but Admiral Tirpitz combated it so hard that I said: 'Well, can we not spread the tempo?' After much talking we got to this, that, as I insisted that they must not inaugurate the agreement by building an additional ship at once, they should put off building the first ship till 1913, and then should not lay down another till three years after, (1916,) and not lay down the third till 1919.

"Admiral Tirpitz wanted us to give some understanding about our own shipbuilding. He thought the two-power standard a hard one for Germany, and, indeed, Germany could not make any admission about it. I said it was not a matter of admission. Germany must be free and we must be free, and we should probably lay down two keels to their one. In this case the initiative was not with us, but with them. An idea occurred to all of us on this observation that we should try to avoid defining a standard proportion in the agreement, and that, indeed, we should say nothing at all about shipbuilding in the

agreement, but if the political agreement was concluded the Emperor should at once announce to the German public that this entirely new fact modified his desire for the fleet law as originally conceived, and that it should be delayed and spread out to the extent we had discussed. For the rest, each of us would remain masters in our own houses as far as naval matters were concerned.

"The Emperor thought the agreement would affect profoundly the tendency in shipbuilding, and he certainly should not desire to go beyond the three ships. The fact of the agreement was the key to everything. The Chancellor, he said, would propose to me this afternoon a formula which he had drafted. I said that I would see the Chancellor and discuss any further territorial questions with him, and would then return as speedily as I could and report the good disposition which I had found to my colleagues, and leave the difficulties of not being able to stop shipbuilding more completely, and, indeed, all other matters to their judgment. I could only assure the Emperor that I had been much struck with the friendly disposition in Berlin, and that he would find a not less friendly disposition in London."

NO AGREEMENT REACHED

Lord Haldane mentions that he was in communication with M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, and recounted his conversations to him. The Ambassador quite appreciated that the purpose of the mission was to create a detente, as distinguished from an entente. M. Jules Cambon reported his conversation with Lord Haldane to M. Poincaré.

Lord Haldane had another conversation with the Chancellor in the hope of arriving at a formula with regard to the navy. The Chancellor said that the "forces he had to contend with were almost insuperable. Public opinion in Germany expected a new law and the third squadron, and he must have these. I said we could not contest Germany's right to do in these matters, and indeed in other matters, as she pleased. But why not postpone the shipbuilding for longer and adapt the law accordingly? * * *

"The Chancellor said he would try. He asked me to consult the experts in London and make a suggestion. I had said, he remarked, that everything was good only on balance, and Germany must for a greater end give up a minor advantage. The new squadron and the new fleet law she must have, but it was a question for the experts, on which he did not pronounce, whether a retardation of greater magnitude than Tirpitz proposed might not be possible. I promised to let him know privately the state of feeling here about the Tirpitz proposals on my return."

The Ministers then endeavored to arrive at a formula, the whole purpose of which was to bring about conditions which would pre-

vent war; to endeavor to get a definition of the duty of neutrality; and, in the event of war, to combine in order to localize the conflict.

After Lord Haldane's return to London, negotiations in search of a formula were continued. Prince Lichnowsky preserved a

friendly atmosphere, but the German Government never agreed to conditions which would have safeguarded the neutrality of Belgium or maintained her honorable obligations to our allies. The nearest they got at the eleventh hour was, as Lord Grey said, "far too narrow an engagement for us."

British Official Statement Issued in 1915

The German press in 1915 made certain incorrect allegations regarding the Haldane Mission, whereupon on Aug. 31, 1915, the British Government issued the following official statement:

THE FOREIGN OFFICE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT RESPECTING THE ANGLO-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS OF 1912:

An account of the 1912 Anglo-German negotiations was published in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* last month. This account was misleading, and was no doubt intended to mislead, and made it appear that the British Government had at that time rejected what would be regarded in many quarters as a reasonable offer of friendship from Germany.

In these circumstances it may be as well to publish a statement of the facts compiled from official records here. Early in 1912 the German Chancellor sketched to Lord Haldane the following formula as one which would meet the views of the Imperial Government:

1. The high contracting parties assure each other mutually of their desire of peace and friendship.

2. They will not either of them make or prepare to make any (unprovoked) attack upon the other, or join in any combination or design against the other for purposes of aggression, or become party to any plan or naval or military enterprise alone or in combination with any other power directed to such an end, and declare not to be bound by any such engagement.

3. If either of the high contracting parties become entangled in a war with one or more powers in which it cannot be said to be the aggressor, the other party will at least observe toward the power so entangled a benevolent neutrality, and will use its utmost endeavor for the localization of the conflict. If either of the high contracting parties is forced to go to war by obvious provocation from a third party, they bind themselves to enter into an exchange of views concerning their attitude in such a conflict.

4. The duty of neutrality which arises out of the preceding article has no application in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing agreements which the high contracting parties have already made.

5. The making of new agreements which

render it impossible for either of the parties to observe neutrality toward the other beyond what is provided by the preceding limitation is excluded in conformity with the provisions in Article 2.

6. The high contracting parties declare that they will do all in their power to prevent differences and misunderstandings arising between either of them and other powers.

GERMAN PLAN ONE-SIDED

These conditions, although in appearance fair as between the parties, would have been grossly unfair and one-sided in their operation. Owing to the general position of the European powers and the treaty engagements by which they were bound, the result of Articles 4 and 5 would have been that, while Germany in the case of a European conflict would have remained free to support her friends, this country would have been forbidden to raise a finger in defense of hers.

Germany could arrange without difficulty that the formal inception of hostilities should rest with Austria. If Austria and Russia were at war, Germany would support Austria, as is evident from what occurred at the end of July, 1914; while as soon as Russia was attacked by two powers France was bound to come to her assistance. In other words, the pledge of neutrality offered by Germany would have been absolutely valueless, because she could always plead the necessity of fulfilling her existing obligations under the Triple Alliance as an excuse for departing from neutrality. On the other hand, no such departure, however serious the provocation, would have been possible for this country, which was bound by no alliances with the exception of those with Japan and Portugal, while the making of fresh alliances was prohibited by Article 5. In a word, as appeared still more evident later, there was to be a guarantee of absolute neutrality on one side but not on the other.

It was impossible for us to enter into a contract so obviously inequitable, and the formula was accordingly rejected by Sir Edward Grey.

Count Metternich upon this pressed for counterproposals, which he stated would be without prejudice and not binding unless we were satisfied that our wishes were met on the naval question. On this understanding Sir Edward Grey on the 14th of March, 1912, gave Count Metternich the following draft

formula, which had been approved by the Cabinet:

England will make no unprovoked attack upon Germany, and pursue no aggressive policy toward her.

Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

Count Metternich thought this formula inadequate, and suggested two alternative additional clauses:

England will therefore observe at least a benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany; or

England will therefore, as a matter of course, remain neutral if a war is forced upon Germany.

This, he added, would not be binding unless our wishes were met with regard to the naval program.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S VIEW

Sir Edward Grey considered that the British proposals were sufficient. He explained that, if Germany desired to crush France, England might not be able to sit still, though, if France were aggressive or attacked Germany, no support would be given by his Majesty's Government or approved by England. It is obvious that the real object of the German proposal was to obtain the neutrality of England in all eventualities, since, should a war break out, Germany would certainly contend that it had been forced upon her, and would claim that England should remain neutral. An admirable example of this is the present war, in which, in spite of the facts, Germany contends that war has been forced upon her. Even the third member of the Triple Alliance, who had sources of information not open to us, did not share this view, but regarded it as an aggressive war.

Sir Edward Grey eventually proposed the following formula:

The two powers being mutually desirous of securing peace and friendship between them, England declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of, any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

Sir Edward Grey when he handed this

formula to Count Metternich said that the use of the word "neutrality" would convey the impression that more was meant than was warranted by the text; he suggested that the substance of what was required would be obtained and more accurately expressed by the words "will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack."

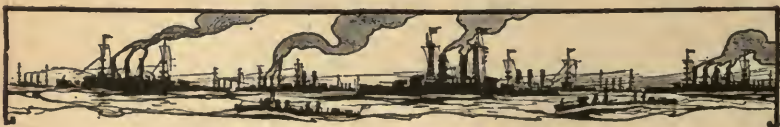
Count Metternich thereupon received instructions to make it quite clear that the Chancellor could recommend the Emperor to give up the essential parts of the Novelle (the bill then pending for the increase of the German Navy) only if we could conclude an agreement guaranteeing neutrality of a far-reaching character and leaving no doubt as to any interpretation. He admitted that the Chancellor's wish amounted to a guarantee of absolute neutrality, failing which the Novelle must proceed.

Count Metternich stated that there was no chance of the withdrawal of the Novelle, but said that it might be modified; it would be disappointing to the Chancellor if we did not go beyond the formula we had suggested.

Sir Edward Grey said that he could understand that there would be disappointment if his Majesty's Government were to state that the carrying out of the Novelle would put an end to the negotiations and form an insurmountable obstacle to better relations. His Majesty's Government did not say this, and it hoped that the formula which it had suggested might be considered in connection with the discussion of territorial arrangements, even if it did not prove effective in preventing the increase of naval expenditure.

Sir Edward Grey added that if some arrangement could be made between the two Governments it would have a favorable though indirect effect upon naval expenditure as time went on; it would have, moreover, a favorable and direct effect upon public opinion in both countries.

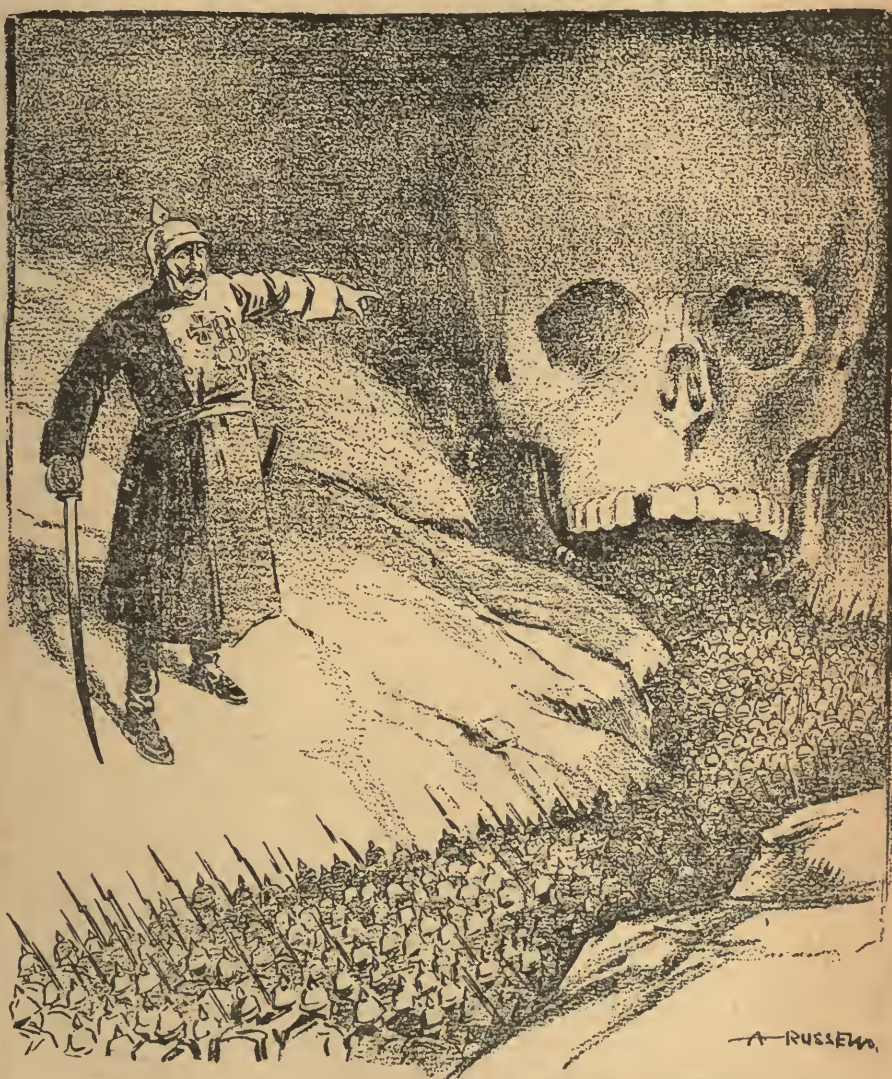
A few days afterward Count Metternich communicated to Sir Edward Grey the substance of a letter from the Chancellor, in which the latter said that, as the formula suggested by his Majesty's Government was from the German point of view insufficient, and as his Majesty's Government could not agree to the larger formula for which he had asked, the Novelle must proceed on the lines on which it had been presented to the Federal Council. The negotiations then came to an end, and with them the hope of a mutual reduction in the expenditure on armaments of the two countries.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY · CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

“Advance!”



—From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

[Italian Cartoon]

There Is a Reason



—From Il 420, Florence.

ST. PETER: "Why do you not protest against these German barbarities?"

POPE BENEDICT: "Because I don't want to be a protestant pope!"

[German Cartoon]

The Modern Miracle



The Statue of Liberty suddenly changed into a Fury!

[Referring to President Wilson's "force to the uttermost" speech.]

[German Cartoon]

Paris Under Bombardment



Poincaré and Clemenceau when the big gun roars.

German Hatred of England



Aegypten



Gibraltar



S Afrika



Irland



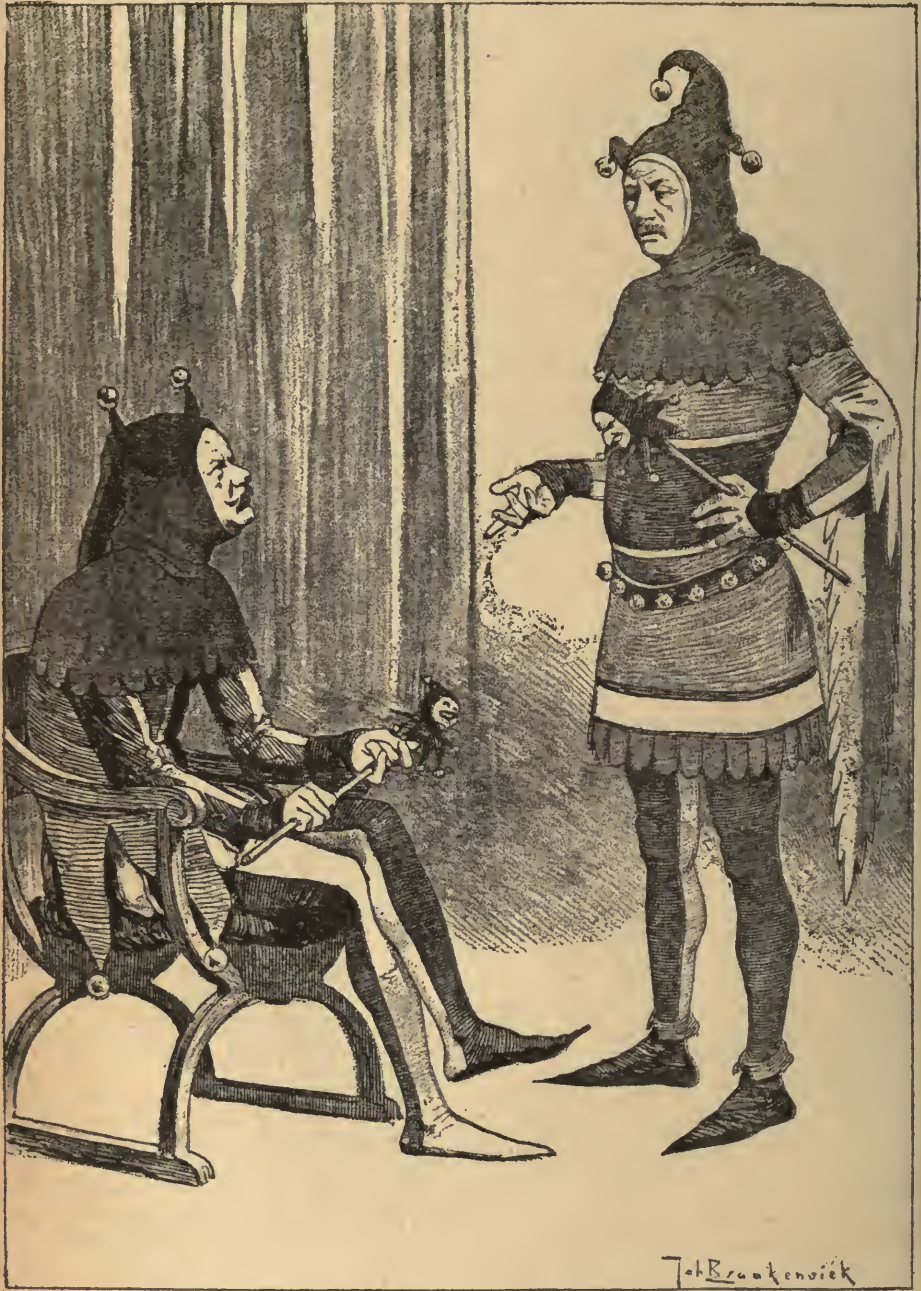
Indien

—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

A Berlin version of what would happen if the peoples under British rule could do as they pleased.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Emperor Charles' "Dear Sixtus" Letter



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

JESTER VON BUELOW: "I was discharged because my master talked too much."
JESTER CZERNIN: "And I because my master wrote too much."

[English Cartoon]

The "Dear Sixtus" Episode



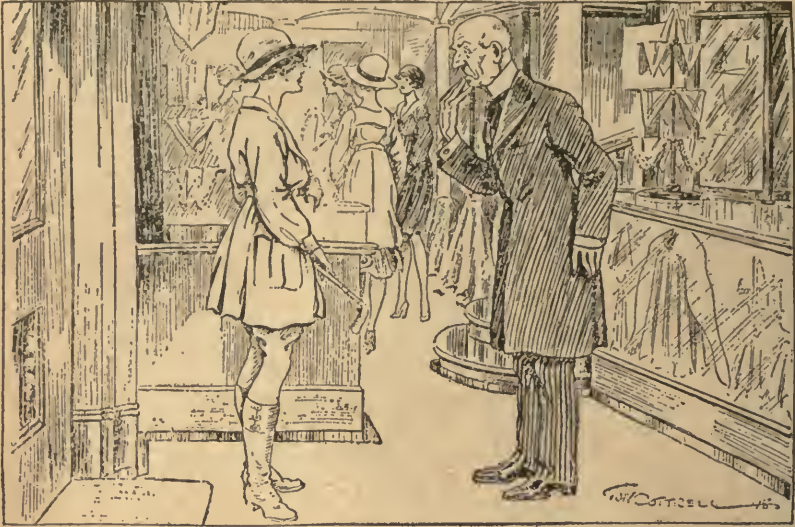
drawn by George H. Ransome

—From *Passing Show*, London.

"And a smile on the face of the tiger!"

[English Cartoon]

Another War Problem



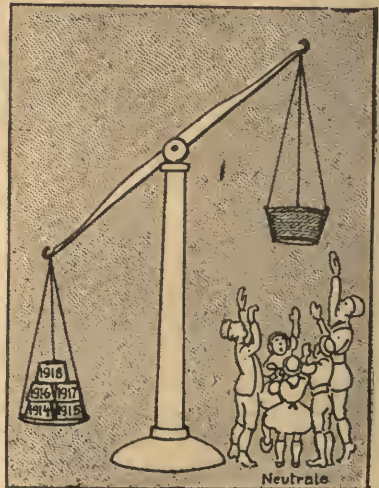
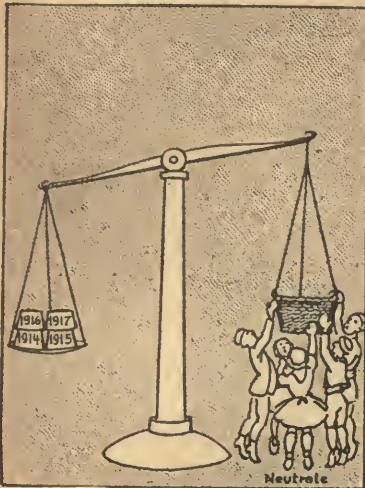
—From *London Opinion*.

THE LAND LADY: "Will you show me to the underclothing department, please?"

THE SHOPWALKER: "Certainly—er—men's or women's?"

[Swiss Cartoon]

The War and the Bread Basket



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German Drive



—From *L'Asino*, Rome

Still more blood—by the wish of the Kaiser and his people.

[American Cartoon]

“Men! Bah!”



—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Change, Son, It's One or the Other



—St. Louis Republic.

No Compromise



—St. Louis Republic.

"We Must Tighten the Bonds"



—Baltimore American.

The Harder the Blow the Brighter the Sparks



—Cincinnati Post.

[German Cartoon]

The German Obsession of Militarism



TROTZKY TO DIPLOMATS: "Nothing doing, gentlemen. I'm deaf in both ears."



—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

TROTZKY TO ARMY OFFICERS: "Why—yes!— With pleasure—and haste! Any peace looks good to me!"

[American Cartoon]

Good Fishing in Troubled Waters



—From *The New York Times*.

[French Cartoon]

Bombs and Shells



—From *La Victoire*, Paris.

“Who said peace?”

[American Cartoon]

“The Bear That Walks Like a”—Lamb!



—From The New York Herald.

[American Cartoon]

Shearing the Victim

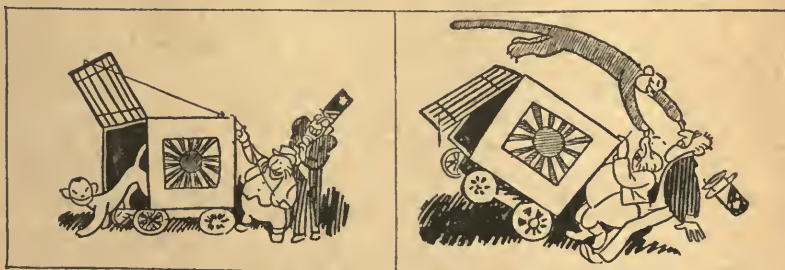


—From *The New York Times*.

THE ALLIES: "Perhaps we should save the Bear, even though he doesn't yelp."

[German Cartoon]

German Anti-Japanese Propaganda



How "Wily Wilson" and "Juggling John" tried to use the Japanese puma—

—and the result, somewhat different from what they expected.

[Italian Cartoon]

Italy's Fighters in France



—From *Il 420*, Florence.

ITALY: "Here I am, to lend a hand!"

[Spanish Cartoon]
The Russian Peace



—From Iberia, Barcelona.

TROTSKY AND LENINE: "We have done more than Kerensky!"

[German Cartoon]
The American Brother



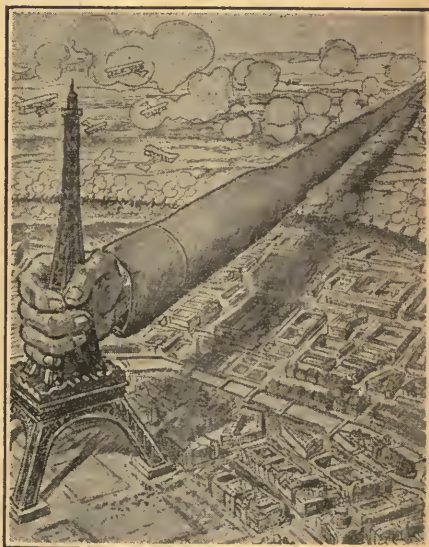
"Damn! I believe I'm too late for the entry into Berlin!"

[German Cartoon]
The Effect in New York



When the long-distance shells fall in Paris.

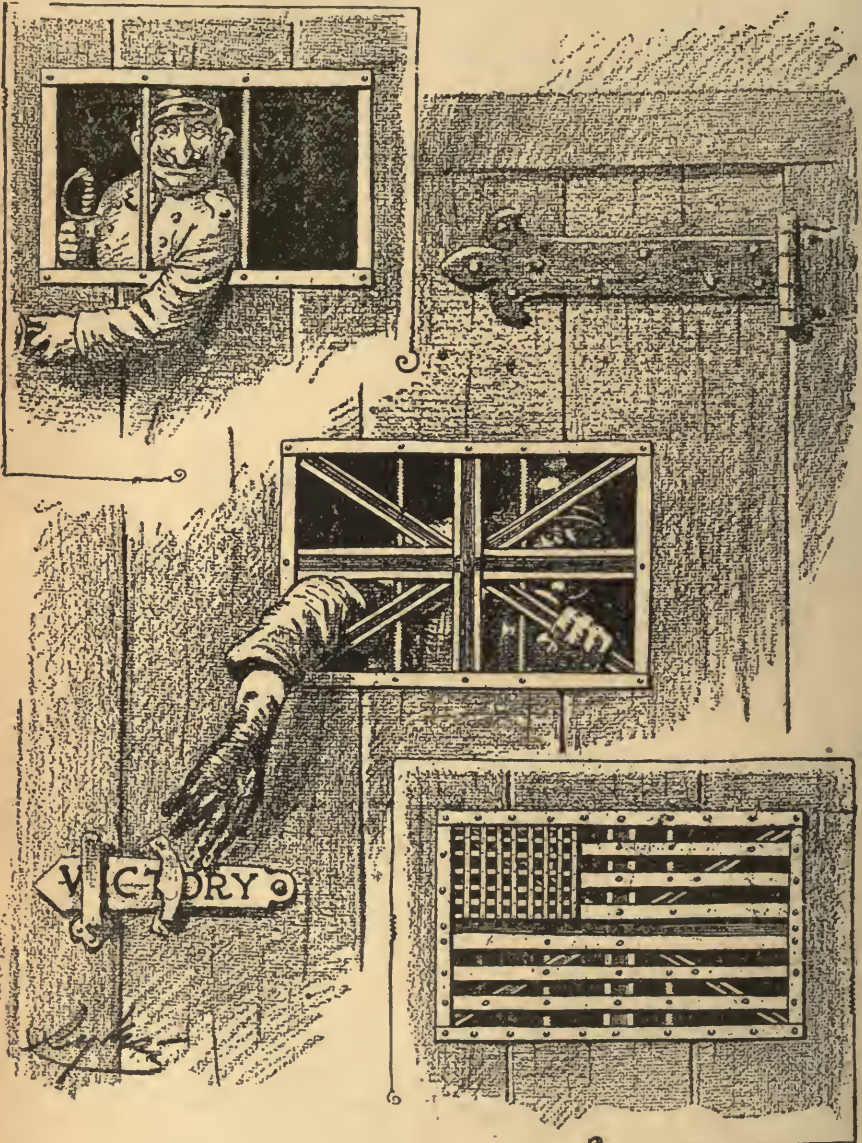
[German Cartoon]
Seventy-five Miles



A Berlin boast of what the long-range gun will do.

[American Cartoon]

Picking the Lock



—From *The Galveston News*.

He expected inconvenience; he found difficulty, and is coming up against impossibility.

[German Cartoon]

The Wish Is Father to the Thought



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

To the Adventurer: Stay at home and remain all write, (right.)

Holland Begging From Warring Powers



SHADE OF ADRIAAN VAN DER WERFF: "Has my story taught you nothing? Look out for yourself. Suffer anything rather than budge."

Paris Bombarded by the Kaiser



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

How Long Can They Keep It Up?



—Chicago Herald and Examiner.

A Bumper Hun Harvest Is Predicted



—Central Press Association.

The New Austro-German Treaty



—Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoons]

Family Troubles



Ukrainian Independence



The Winning Hand



The Watch on the Rhine



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

MAJOR GEN. HUNTER LIGGETT



Commander of the first American army corps in France
(© Harris & Ewing)

AMERICAN DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS IN FRANCE



Maj. Gen. Omar Bundy

(© Harris & Ewing)



Maj. Gen. R. L. Bullard



Maj. Gen. J. G. Harbord



Maj. Gen. J. T. Dickman

THE MOUNT VERNON ADDRESS

A Statement of Our War Aims and a Message From America to the Nations of the World

By PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

[DELIVERED AT THE GRAVE OF WASHINGTON, JULY 4, 1918.]

I AM happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiring associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies around us and conceive anew the purpose that must set men free.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the Barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which centred in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war

to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others, also, who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments, who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; Governments which fear their people, and yet are for the time being sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

- I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

- II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other

nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they know little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!



Baron Burian Replies

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Discusses the President's Mount Vernon Address

Baron Burian addressed to the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers July 16, on the eve of the Reichsrat meeting, a statement in answer to President Wilson's Mount Vernon address in these words:

IT is not easy to draw a picture of the present world situation in view of the swiftly moving nature of events. Everything is in full swing, and a repetition of what has so often been said regarding the causes and responsibilities for the past can no longer influence our judgment, because on that subject everybody already has formed his own view.

The consequences of the war already have grown infinitely and have gone far beyond the original causes of the war. The present phase of events and developments, too, throws a glaring light on the conflicting interests of the different belligerent groups which clashed at the beginning of this murderous struggle; but it is not, perhaps, without slight signs of an internal change in the relations of the groups.

In the midst of the terrible struggle, and in every phase of this war of successful defense, the Central Powers have had no other aim in view but to secure the enemy's will to peace.

If we sum up all that has been said on the enemy's side in regard to their war aims, we recognize three groups of aspirations which are being set forth to justify the continuation of bloodshed so that the ideals of mankind may be realized:

The freedom of all nations, which are to form a league of nations and which in future shall settle their differences by arbitration and not by arms, is to reign.

The domination of one nation by another nation is to be excluded.

Various territorial changes are to be carried out at the expense of the Central Powers. These annexationist aims, though variously shaped, are generally known.

The intention, however, also exists, especially in regard to Austria-Hungary, to carry out her internal disintegration for the purpose of the formation of new States. Finally, our opponents demand our atonement because we dared to defend ourselves, and successfully, against their attacks. Our ability to defend ourselves is termed militarism and must, therefore, be destroyed.

Territorial aims are, in fact, the only things now separating the different belligerent groups.

For the great interests of humanity and for the justice, freedom, honor, and peace of the world, as set forth in the laws of modern political conception, regarding which we need not accept any advice, we also are ready to fight.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S POINTS

There is hardly any difference between the general principles enunciated by the statesmen of both belligerents. President Wilson's four new points of July 4 shall not, apart from certain exaggerations, arouse our opposition. On the contrary, we are able to approve them heartily to a great extent.

Nobody would refuse homage to his genius and nobody would refuse his co-operation. This, however, is not the main point, but it is what can also be understood in the interests of mankind. Both groups should certainly honestly attempt to clear this up and settle it by mutual agreement, but not in the same manner as, for instance, our peace treaties in the East were judged.

The fact is that all our opponents were invited to join in those peace negotiations and they could have contributed their share in bringing them to a different issue. But now, when it is too late, their criticism stands on weak grounds, for there is no legal right which would have entitled them to condemn the peace conditions which were acceptable to the contracting parties or which could not be avoided.

From the confident utterances of our opponents it appears they have no fear of being defeated. If they, nevertheless, represent the peace treaties as a warning of our treatment of a defeated enemy, we do not consider the reproach justified. None of the belligerent States need ever come into the position of Russia and Rumania, as we are ever ready to enter into peace negotiations with all our opponents.

If our enemies continuously demand atonement for wrong done and restitution, then this is a claim which we could urge with more justification against them, because we have been attacked and the wrong done to us must be redressed.

"OBSTINACY" OF ALLIES

The enemy's obstinacy regarding his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, Trieste, the Trentino, and the German colonies appears to be insurmountable. There lies the limit of our readiness for peace. We are prepared to discuss everything except our own territory.

The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure, that of the monarchy itself, too, is to be attacked, and the monarchy dissolved, if possible, into component parts.

Now that it is recognized that ordinary war methods have not sufficed to defeat us, interest in our internal affairs suddenly has become supreme. The Entente, however, discovered its sympathy in our internal affairs so late that many an enemy statesman who now prates about the monarchy's national questions as a war aim had probably no idea of their existence at the beginning of the war.

This fact can be recognized from the amateurish and superficial manner in which our opponents discuss an attempt to solve these complicated problems. This method, however, appears to them to be useful. They therefore organized it as they have organized the blockade, and in England they now have a Propaganda Minister.

We wish to place this attack on record without useless indignation or whining.

The choice of this new means of fighting us does not show too great a confidence in the success of the enemy's previous efforts. We are certain it will be unsuccessful.

Our opponents start from a completely mechanical misjudgment of the character of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and prefer in their satisfaction to overlook, in the present difficult international problems, the fact that these States with their various nationalities are no accidental structure, but a product of historical and ethnographical necessities, which carry in themselves the fundamental principle of life and race.

They, therefore, possess, and this applies fully to Austria and Hungary, the necessary elasticity and adaptability to the changing events of the times, the ability to reform themselves according to the necessity of their standard of development and to solve all internal crises without 'uncalled-for' foreign interference.

"THIS SENSELESS WAR"

Our enemies want to paralyze us by an offensive of irritation and to render us helpless. They want to crush our very powerful organism in order to make weak parts one after the other serviceable to their own purposes.

According to their uninvited prescriptions, one-half of Austria-Hungary's population may perish in order to make the other half happy. For that purpose this senseless war must be continued.

As has always been the case for centuries past, the States and races of the monarchy will settle their internal problems in agreement with their ruler. The monarchy resolutely declines foreign interference in any form just as it does not meddle with the affairs of foreigners.

We have never prescribed a program for our enemies as to how they shall deal with their domestic questions, and when we have had occasion frequently to recall that it is not all happiness and harmony with our enemies in their domestic affairs, and that they have their own problems in Ireland, India, &c., we have done so only by way of exhortation to reciprocity, giving the advice, "Sweep before your own door."

Our enemies' inflammatory activity is not content with trying to stir up our races against one another; it does not, even scruple, by means of circulating monstrous and base calumnies, to sow distrust between the races of the monarchy and the hereditary dynasty.

This armed defense which has been forced on us should not come, however, to be conceived as conflicting with the necessity for untiring political activity for the purpose of promoting the aims of our self-defense where possible and without detriment to the most energetic conduct of the war. Let us avoid the term "peace offensive," into which reproach frequently is read, in that it means to some extent the employment of dishonest methods in order to supply a substitute for successes in war.

DIPLOMACY IN WAR

It is, however, not very intelligible that in public discussion diplomatic action and warlike action should be regarded frequently as two mutually alien and repugnant factors and influences which follow and qualify each other, but do not overlap and can only be employed alternately. Warfare and diplomacy serve in war to the same end. They cannot exclude each other. In every step it takes diplomatic activity will pay due regard to the conduct of the war. The results of the conduct of the war will have a determining influence on the division of labor. On the other hand, diplomacy has a duty, being continually on the watch and paying heed to the possibilities of effective activity.

Thus and not otherwise should the willingness of the Central Powers for peace be conceived. It will not for the moment hamper the invincible defense, but after victorious battles, just as during pauses in a battle, it will, even without new peace offers, always be intent in recalling that we regard this war as senseless and purposeless bloodshed which might at any moment be ended by the re-emergence of feelings of humanity in our enemies.

In so far as they are not aiming at the acquisition of territory, they are fighting against a windmill. They are

exhausting their strength and ours in order to build on the ruins of civilization a new arrangement of the world, whereas the ideas underlying such an arrangement, which are capable of realization and which also are warmly approved by us, might be realized much more easily and much more completely by the peaceful co-operation of all peoples.

In spite of all, we look ever more hopefully toward the peoples now at war with us to see whether at last they have been delivered from the blindness which, after fearful afflictions in four years of war, is driving the world ever further into that destruction which they can avert if they only will.

AUSTRIA'S ALLIANCE

[The Foreign Minister said that his confidence was based on the war alliances, particularly the old alliance with Germany. He asserted that Austria and Germany would seek means of extending the alliance, so that it would be adequate for all the requirements of new times. He continued]:

In these endeavors the Governments know they are in agreement with the desires of the preponderating mass of their people. The alliance will henceforth, as hitherto, preserve its exclusively defensive character. * * *

Economic, military, and other relations in the future are to be drawn closer. The agreement must comprise a solution, with due regard to the desires of the populations, of the questions connected with the rebirth of Poland.

Henceforth the alliance will not mean a threat or unfriendliness toward any one. Nothing will be included in it calculated to offer a stimulus to the formation of counter groups. Everything which in the future can be realized of the sublime idea of a universal league of nations shall find in our alliance no obstacle, but a favorable nucleus and a prepared group which can easily and naturally unite with every general combination of States resting on concrete principles.

[The German Chancellor's reply to President Wilson's Mount Vernon speech is printed on Page 311.]

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 18, 1918]

SURVEY OF THE MONTH'S EVENTS

THE forty-eighth month of the war will be conspicuous in history for the peace offensive vigorously pursued, as well as for the war offensive desperately launched, both by the Central Powers. The record of the preceding month ended while the Austro-Hungarian drive across the Piave was encountering the determined resistance of the Italians. As then foreshadowed, the drive ended in defeat for the Austro-Hungarians, a defeat bordering on disaster; they were expelled from the western bank of the river and forced back along the entire front from the Alps to the sea, suffering enormous losses in men and material, as well as in prestige; they were expelled from the Piave Delta, which they had held since November, 1917, and the pressure on Venice was entirely relieved. Following closely on the heels of this success, the Italians early in July—in co-operation with the allied troops along the Macedonian front—launched an offensive in Albania, which resulted in further Austrian defeats and greatly improved the situation for the Allies throughout the Balkans.

During the three weeks from June 19, when the preceding record closed, the Allies were the aggressors along the entire western front, with frequent raids, some of major importance, notably the brilliant advance by the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, which resulted in the capture of Vaux and of Belleau Wood in the face of crack Prussian divisions; also the capture of Hamel by the Australians, with the co-operation of Americans, and an important success by the French in the Rheims sector.

On July 15 a great offensive was launched by the Germans along a sixty-mile front in the Rheims sector, with more than 600,000 troops. This drive lacked the element of surprise and encountered an invincible opposition from the Americans and the French. The Germans crossed the Marne at several points, but in the American sectors they

were driven back the same day, with ghastly losses, and our troops stood like a stone wall, blocking the way to Paris. Defeated here, the Germans tried to encircle Rheims and drive to the southeast toward Châlons, but here also the heroic defense of the French was irresistible.

General Foch, who had patiently bided his time, seized the opportunity to deliver a crushing blow, and by a skillful manoeuvre took the Germans by surprise, winning one of the most brilliant victories of the war. On July 18 he ordered an advance along a twenty-eight-mile front between the Marne, near Château-Thierry, and the Aisne, west of Soissons. It was a complete success. The entire line advanced from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken, besides fifty large guns, and a blow of far-reaching effect upon German morale and prestige was delivered. The Americans held several sectors in this battleline and took more than 5,000 prisoners. The whole was a masterly stroke at the German flank, and many experts believed it endangered the German position along the Aisne and might force a general retreat. It was regarded as the beginning of new aggressive tactics by the Allies and as heralding the determined purpose to hold the initiative until final victory was achieved.

The chief political event of the month was the deposition of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann because he had publicly acknowledged that a German peace won on the field of battle was impossible. His successor was named by the military party, which again demonstrated its dominance in Germany. A new peace offensive was inaugurated by Chancellor von Hertling, and Foreign Secretary Burian, the only effect of which was to deepen the conviction of the Allies that peace could come only through victory.

The outstanding feature of the month was the amazing number of American troops transported to France: during the four weeks over 300,000 men were sent

overseas, making the total number on July 15 in excess of 1,100,000. The speed with which our soldiers were conveyed in safety across the Atlantic produced a profound impression in Europe and was pronounced an achievement unequaled in history. The accession of these hundreds of thousands of fresh, vigorous, young men heartened the allies everywhere, and was a certain augury of ultimate success.

July 4 was celebrated throughout Great Britain and in all the allied countries—also all over South America—as fervently as in the United States. July 14—Bastille Day in France—was celebrated throughout the United States with equal ardor in notable functions.

The situation in Russia, which is dealt with fully elsewhere, took a more cheering turn for the Allies. The landing of British and American troops in the Murman district, the successes of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia, and a general concentration of the more stable elements for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki gave some hope that Russia might again become an active force on the side of the Allies.

* * *

EXECUTION OF DUVAL

EMILE DUVAL, former manager of the newspaper *Bonnet Rouge* of Paris, was executed by a firing squad July 17 at Vincennes; he was convicted of treason in the trial which followed Bolo Pacha's conviction. It was proved that Duval had received large sums of money from a German banker named Marx. Duval acknowledged this, but asserted that the money was in payment of business transactions prior to the war. It was proved that in 1916 and 1917 Duval had made frequent visits to Switzerland to meet Marx, and that on May 15, 1917, when he returned from a visit to Marx, he had on his person a check for 150,000 francs. Almercyda, who was the editor of Duval's newspaper, was arrested about this time and died in prison under mysterious circumstances.

When Emile Duval was arrested six others were involved. Duval, Marion, Goldsky, and Landau were accused both of treasonable relations and of trading

with the enemy, or of complicity in those crimes. Joucla was accused of treasonable relations with the enemy, and Leymarie and Vercasson of complicity in trading with the enemy. Duval was the chief proprietor of the *Bonnet Rouge*, Marion was the manager of that paper, Goldsky and Landau had been on its staff, but at the time of their arrest were running a weekly called the *Tranchée R publicaine*. Joucla was a reporter on the *Bonnet Rouge*. Leymarie was chief secretary to M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, and Vercasson was a friend of Duval, who carried some money for him from Switzerland. All six were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and to the payment of heavy fines.

The trial of Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, on the charge of treason was begun by the French Senate, sitting as a High Court, July 16, 1918.

* * *

INGENIOUS DEVICES FOR SENDING PROPAGANDA TO THE ENEMY

THE statement is made by James Kerney, Director of the Franco-American Committee of Public Information, that thousands of especially devised rifles for sending propaganda over the enemy lines were in use in the allied armies in July. From these rifles grenades are discharged, by means of which tracts and pamphlets may be scattered along enemy trenches with considerable exactitude at a range of more than 200 yards.

For greater distances small balloons made of cloth are used. Each of these lifts twenty pounds of propaganda literature, and by means of a mechanical device drops a quarter of a pound of these documents at fifteen-minute intervals. The radius of action of the balloons in a twenty-five-mile wind would be Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Trieste. They travel at a height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet.

Paper balloons capable of lifting four pounds are also used by the American Army for the purpose of distributing literature in trenches and enemy billets for distances up to 100 miles from the starting point. These balloons drop a

half pound of material at five-minute intervals. They use a fuse release, consisting of a slow-burning match, which is consumed at the rate of one inch every five minutes. The first release is effected five minutes after starting, to make sure of compensating the balloon for the loss of gas.

The latest devices are planned to employ clockwork for their releasing mechanism. The use of trench mortars, with a cardboard projectile containing literature, is being considered for the future. Airplanes are used occasionally for this purpose, but there are many objections to their employment.

* * *

GENERAL HORVATH AND EAST SIBERIA

THE sensational dispatch from Harbin, announcing that General Horvath, for some time at the head of the Russian railroad which runs south through Manchuria, had declared himself dictator of Eastern Siberia, was immediately followed by a cablegram from Peking, dated July 13, saying that the British, French, and Japanese Ministers to China had sent a strong protest to General Horvath, asking him to withdraw his proclamation of dictatorship, on the ground that it was both unwise and untimely. The proclamation, in the view of the allied Ministers, was calculated to cause a situation which might impede the movement of the Czechoslovaks, which was held to be all-important. General Horvath was asked to reply to this protest.

The situation in East Siberia appears to be that there are several centres of force, all more or less favorable to the Entente cause, but acting independently, and very much at cross-purposes: First, the large army of Czechoslovaks, whose real purpose is to get out of Siberia at the earliest possible moment, in order to sail to France and Italy, and to take their places on the firing line against the Central Empires; next, the comparatively small force under General Semenoff, largely composed of officers of the old Russian Army, and numbering about 3,000 or 4,000; third, Admiral Kolchak, who has only a small force, and, fourth, the would-be dictator, General Horvath, who has asserted over the other

three elements an authority which none of them appears willing to recognize, and which he is, apparently, powerless to put in effect, as he has few or no disciplined troops, though Chinese and Japanese volunteers are said to have joined him. His move tends to the weakening and confusion of the allied cause in Asiatic Russia, hence the protest of the allied Ministers at Peking. On July 16 it was announced that General Horvath would facilitate the movement of the Czechoslovak troops eastward out of Russia.

* * *

ANGLO-AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF KEM

THE new railroad from the ice-free Kola coast to Petrograd touches, at a point half way between Kola and Petrograd, the White Sea port of Kem, which has recently been occupied, according to cabled reports, by a combined force of British and American marines, an occupation which at once drew a vigorous protest from Tchicherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister at Moscow. It would appear that the mixed British and American force came from the great port of Archangelsk, on the White Sea, where are lying immense quantities of war supplies and munitions, ordered, but not paid for, by the Russian Government, and therefore still British or American property. There is another large depot of munitions, in the same legal situation, at the Kola terminus of the new line; and it was to save these valuable munitions of war from falling into the hands of Germany, or of Finnish forces at present controlled by Germany, that the British and American forces acted.

This coast, and indeed the whole White Sea region, was first opened up to navigation by English explorers, who set sail from the Thames during the coronation of the boy King Edward VI., in 1547. Willoughby and other English commanders opened up the route from Archangelsk to Moscow, and over this route there was considerable trade during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Milton brought together the journals of these early voyages and from them compiled a history of Moscovia, one of his least known prose works, which includes a very interesting description of Russia and a narrative of

the coronation of the Czar Theodore, the last sovereign of the ancient House of Rurik, which became extinct at his death. The present British occupation is, therefore, the revival of adventures which belong to the days of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher.

* * *

THE "MARSEILLAISE"

THERE are curious popular misconceptions regarding the two central features of France's national festival, the "Marseillaise" and the Bastille. The song has been taken as the expression of revolution, and the Socialist Party has sought to appropriate it. But its author, Rouget de Lisle, was, when he wrote it and to the end of his long life, a convinced royalist, true to his oath of loyalty to Louis XVI.; some months after his great hymn was written he was arrested as a counter-revolutionary, and was saved from the guillotine only because Robespierre, the master terrorist, was executed. Rouget de Lisle was so hostile to the radicals that, rather than take part in the wars of revolutionary France, he retired from the army, becoming prominent again only after the July revolution, when King Louis Philippe made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and gave him a pension.

Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle was born in 1760 at Lons-le-Saunier, between Châlons and Geneva; as a youth he was noted for his love of verse and music; and, when he entered the army as a Second Lieutenant, in 1784, he continued to write both songs and music. By 1792 he had reached the rank of Captain in the Engineers and was in garrison at Strassburg when France declared war against Austria on April 20, 1792. The news of the declaration of war reached Strassburg on April 25; Dietrich, Mayor of Strassburg, gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison at which he lamented France's lack of a national hymn and urged the young officer, already known for his songs and compositions, to write one. Rouget de Lisle, returning to his quarters, set to work, and finished the great hymn, both words and music, that evening, and on the following day Dietrich sang it for the first time to his

guests of the preceding day. Then called "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," it was printed in Strassburg; copies found their way to Marseilles, where it was published as the supplement to the Journal of the Southern Departments, sung by Mireur at a banquet to the volunteers, distributed among the volunteers from Marseilles, and enthusiastically sung by them on their way to Paris; hence its present name.

A seventh verse, the "Strophe of the Children," was later added by another hand, but with this exception the "Marseillaise" remains as Rouget de Lisle wrote it. He lived in obscurity until 1836, and published several books, one of them being a set of French songs by various authors, which he set to music. In French art he is celebrated by a statue at his birthplace, by a monument and medallion at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, where he died, and by the picture by Pils in the Louvre, where he is represented as singing his great hymn before the Mayor of Strassburg.

* * *

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE

THE Bastille, which has become the symbol of a tyrant dungeon and of the oppression of the people by autocracy, was never, in fact, either the one or the other. With its eight towers in two parallel rows, linked by curtain walls and surrounding a courtyard, it was at first the military citadel of Paris, the first stone having been laid on April 22, 1370, by Hugues Aubriot, Provost of the Paris merchants. After the battle of St. Quentin, it was strengthened by Henry II. It remained a citadel until Richelieu turned it into a prison, but a prison only for high aristocrats or for distinguished heretics, like the Jansenists. During the eighteenth century it was more regularly used as a prison. There were rooms for only forty-two captives, and these were supplied with many luxuries, so that Necker, as a measure of economy, advised that it should be pulled down, and plans were even drawn for a "Place Louis XVI." to occupy the site after its removal. The destruction of the Bastille was, therefore, a royalist plan.

During the reign of Louis XVI. the

Bastile received only 240 prisoners, an average of sixteen a year. From Jan. 1 to July 14, 1789, only one prisoner was admitted—Reveillon, brought to the Bastile at his own request, after his house had been wrecked by the mob. At the time of its fall the Bastile contained only seven prisoners; four of these were aristocrats convicted of forgery; two were lunatics; the seventh was a high-born degenerate, the Count de Solages, who was kept in luxury by his family.

In July, 1789, the Bastile had a garrison of ninety-five old soldiers and thirty Swiss Guards, who made almost no resistance beyond firing a few volleys from the windows. But so dense was the crowd of sightseers who had gathered to watch the attack on the Bastile that 98 were killed and 60 wounded. In revenge, the mob massacred the garrison, and the former citadel was razed to the ground. Within a few months, had there been no French Revolution, it would have been destroyed by the King's command, mainly to save the cost of maintenance, which, in our money, equaled about \$60,000 a year.

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ALBANIAN AND SLAV

AFTER the first Balkan war of 1912, Austria, in order to shut the Serbians off from the Adriatic, where they had counted on gaining an outlet to the sea, supported the erection of Albania into a separate and independent State, under Prince William of Wied. This exclusion from the sea, which was a definite part of Austria's anti-Serbian policy, greatly hurt the Serbian cause, and led Serbia to seek an outlet toward Saloniki, thus involving the Serbian occupation of Macedonia, where Serbia sought compensation for what she had lost in Albania and the Adriatic. Serbia's occupation of Macedonia was one of the causes which induced Ferdinand of Bulgaria, at the instigation of Austria, to attack Serbia and Greece in the second Balkan war of 1913. But Rumania invaded Northern Bulgaria, and the Turks moved on Adrianople, this added pressure compelling Bulgaria to make peace at Bucharest, on terms very unfavorable to her ambitions, thus laying the foundation for her

adhesion to Austria and Germany in the world war. Rival claims to dominate Albania were, therefore, one of the main-springs of the present war, Austria espousing the cause of Albania merely in order to thwart Serbia.

* * *

A GIANT AIRPLANE

THE Germans have a new giant airplane, one of which was brought down in June near Soissons. It carried nine passengers, including the pilot officer commanding, two observer officers and machine gunners, two special engineers, a second pilot in charge of the engines, and two other specialist engineers. Its principal characteristics are as follows: Four motor engines, each of 300 horse power; spread of wings, 43 meters, (about 141 feet;) total length, 28 meters, (about 92 feet;) crew, nine men; weight, when empty, 9,200 kilograms, (over nine tons;) weight in flight, when fully loaded, 14,600 kilograms, (14½ tons;) weight of bombs that can be carried, about 2,000 kilograms, (about two tons;) maximum speed, 120 to 130 kilometers (75 to 80 miles) per hour; armament, four machine guns.

* * *

FRENCH AID IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

WHEN the Marquis de la Fayette landed in South Carolina, in April, 1777, he was only 19. He left behind him a young wife, and, equipping a ship of his own, he came with a handful of companions, including Berthier, later famous among Napoleon's Marshals, who, like him, had been inspired by the Declaration of Independence. Though he brought almost no troops, La Fayette contributed the inspiration of his personality, and also considerable sums of money and supplies, with which he paid and equipped the men whom Washington intrusted to his command. The young French volunteer saw his first fighting at the battle of the Brandywine, in September, 1777, where Washington was trying to block Howe's march to Philadelphia. La Fayette received a wound in the leg at the Brandywine. Six weeks later, Burgoyne sur-

rendered with his army of 6,000. The immediate result was a treaty between France and the United States, France undertaking to send a fleet, with an army of 4,000. England declared war against France. But the French forces played an important part only in the last act of the war.

Before Cornwallis went to Virginia, Rochambeau, with 6,000 fresh French troops, had joined Washington on the Hudson. With these and the greater part of his own army, Washington made a rapid and secret movement to the south, against Cornwallis, after arranging that the French fleet should attack Cornwallis from the sea. La Fayette, who was in command of the American forces in Virginia, was reinforced by a body of troops from the French fleet; and the converging American and French forces hemmed Cornwallis in at Yorktown. Cornwallis, who had 8,000 men, was besieged by the French and American forces, which numbered 16,000, for three weeks, when he surrendered on Oct. 19, 1781, thus practically bringing the war to an end, although it was not formally closed until 1783, when the Treaty of Paris was signed.

La Fayette had gone to France. In 1784, at Washington's invitation, he visited the United States, returning again in 1824, when he laid the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument. La Fayette was a Constitutionalist rather than a Radical, and he played a prominent part in the July revolution of 1830, in deciding France to accept the rule of Louis Philippe as a constitutional King.

* * *

THE VICISSITUDES OF LUXEMBURG

A REPORTED movement in Luxembourg against the pro-German Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide may serve to recall the many tribulations and changes through which that small State of 999 square miles has passed since the days when the Romans organized it as a part of Belgica Prima. It was a constituent of the Frankish Kingdom of Austrasia and the Empire of Charlemagne. In 1060, Conrad, Count of Luxembourg, made it semi-independent, and it re-

mained in the possession of his descendants until 1437, when it passed to the House of Hapsburg. It was seized by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in 1443, and regained by the Hapsburgs in 1477. Philip II. of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary of England, took possession of Luxembourg in 1555. It passed by treaty to the Emperor Charles VI. in 1713. Then, in 1795, Luxembourg was conquered by the victorious armies of revolutionary France, and remained a part of France until the downfall of Napoleon, when the Congress of Vienna made it a grand duchy, and assigned it to William I., King of the Netherlands, of the ancient House of Orange, which, for a brief period, ruled over England and its American colonies.

In 1830, the movement to detach Belgium from Holland and to make Belgium a separate kingdom sought also to add Luxembourg to Belgium, but in 1831 the great powers, which were in the main supporting Belgium's aspirations for independence, decided that Luxembourg should go to Holland. Holland, however, refused to agree to this arrangement, and Luxembourg was attached to Belgium until 1838, when the great powers overruled the wishes of Holland and attached Luxembourg to that kingdom, a part of which it remained until 1890, when King William III. of Holland died, leaving as his heir the 10-year-old Princess Wilhelmina, who came of age and was crowned Queen of the Netherlands in 1898.

The claim was made that, under the Salic law, the sovereignty of Luxembourg must remain in the male line; therefore in 1890 Luxembourg was separated from Holland and passed to a relative of the late King of Holland, Adolphus, Duke of Nassau. On his death, in 1905, his son William became Grand Duke of Luxembourg, who in turn was succeeded by his daughter Marie-Adelaide on Feb. 26, 1912. The Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide, the present nominal ruler of Luxembourg, is now 24 and unmarried. Her grand duchy has a population of 250,000, almost all of whom are Catholics, speaking a tongue oddly blended of French and German. The

great treasure of Luxemburg is the rich iron region, an extension of the mines of Lorraine.

* * *

BRITISH WAR PENSIONS

THE British Pension Minister, Mr. Hodge, announced in Parliament June 6, 1918, that up to May 1, 1918, the number of disabled men who had received pensions was 341,025. He had worked out the percentages of different forms of disablement, and these were as follows:

Eyesight cases	2.8	per cent.
Wounds and injuries to legs necessitating amputation....	2.6	per cent.
Wounds and injuries to arms necessitating amputation....	1.4	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to legs not necessitating amputation	11.9	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to arms not necessitating amputation	8.45	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to hands not necessitating amputation	4.45	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to head.....	4.0	per cent.
Hernia .....	.8	per cent.
Miscellaneous wounds and injuries	5.55	per cent.
Chest complaints and tuberculosis	11.60	per cent.
Rheumatism	6.5	per cent.
Heart disease	10.3	per cent.
Epilepsy	1.0	per cent.
Nervous diseases, shell-shock, &c.	6.0	per cent.
Insanity .....	.75	per cent.
Deafness	2.0	per cent.
Frostbite, including cases of amputation of feet or legs..	.9	per cent.
Miscellaneous diseases.....	18.36	per cent.

* * *

IN the six months ended July 1, 1918, the United States produced more than 1,112,897 new shipping tonnage. By the time the shipping objectives are reached in 1920, the nation will have spent \$5,000,000,000 on new bottoms and 1,000,000 men will be at work in the various yards. There are 158 of these yards in operation in the United States now. They are distributed along the ocean coasts and the Great Lakes, and employ about 300,000 men. The Emergency Fleet Corporation has 819 ways in use, and has contracted for about 1,700 ships. Not only has there been a great increase in volume, but records have been broken in the time taken to build many of the ships. Before the United States entered seriously upon its task, a year

was considered necessary to build a 6,000-ton ship. But the Tuckahoe, 5,500 tons, was built in thirty-seven days, and production has been accelerated generally in about the same proportion.

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COLLEGE ALUMNI IN WAR

EDWARD G. RIGGS has made a study of the number of college graduates who had entered the service of the United States up to July 1, 1918. Out of the living alumni, aggregating 396,619, those in service numbered 64,890, or 16.36 per cent. The figures for the larger universities were as follows:

Name of College.	Number of Living Alumni.	No. of Alumni in Service.	Per- cent- age.
Amherst	3,000	675	*
Brown	4,000	700	17.5
City Col. of N. Y..	4,400	200	4.5
Columbia	20,200	4,051	20.1
Cornell	25,000	5,000	20.0
Dartmouth	5,912	789	13.3
Harvard .....	..	5,348	..
Mass. Tech.	12,700	2,110	16.7
Northwest'n Univ.	14,500	1,070	7.4
Ohio State Univ..	12,000	4,000	33.3
Princeton	11,000	3,100	28.2
U. of Alabama....	6,000	600	10.0
U. of California..	12,670	1,794	14.2
U. of Chicago....	1,200	*	..
U. of Georgia....	4,000	1,000	25.0
U. of Minnesota..	13,000	2,500	19.2
U. of Missouri....	7,000	1,150	*
U. of Nebraska....	6,500	1,300	*
U. of N. Carolina.	8,000	800	10.0
U. of Penn.....	2,200	4,000	18.2
U. of the South...	5,274	513	9.7
U. of Tennessee...	4,100	700	17.0
U. of Virginia....	9,000	2,000	22.2
U. of Washington.	3,298	390	11.8
Vanderbilt	8,000	1,075	13.4
Wash. and Lee....	4,500	800	17.7
Williams	3,622	1,013	27.9
Yale	1,900	5,788	27.3

*Includes former students, nongraduates; therefore percentage is omitted.

* * *

THE total tonnage of American vessels lost prior to the entry of the United States into the war was 67,815. The total American tonnage sunk from the entry of the United States into the war up to July 1, 1918, was 284,408—a total of 352,223 tons sunk during the first forty-seven months of the war. Against those lost, the gross tonnage of emergency ships built in the United States since the commencement of the

war was 2,722,563 tons, 1,736,664 tons of which were built since April 6, 1917. In addition to this tonnage, 650,000 tons of German shipping have been taken over, besides tonnage acquired from Dutch, Japanese, and other vessels.

* * *

GENERAL PALLIS, the ex-Greek King's Aide de Camp, was tried June 15 by ordinary court-martial under charges of disloyalty to the present régime and failing to report to the authorities the arrival of spy officers, of which he was aware. General Pallis denied that he had knowledge of the spy officers' mission, but reiterated what he declared at the officers' trial to be his "principles," that is to say, his attachment to Constantine. He was sentenced to four years and one month's imprisonment.

* * *

THE Paris Temps of July 9, 1918, in a summary of the aerial and long-range bombardments carried out by the Germans on Paris and suburbs, says the first successful raid of importance took place on the night of Jan. 30-31 last, when 55 persons were killed and 203 were wounded. Up to June 30, 1918, there were twenty raids by Gothas, and the bombardment by the long-range guns comprised thirty-nine days. In the period from Jan. 1 to June 30 the killed numbered 141 and the wounded 432, according to the official statements. These totals, however, did not include persons who subsequently died from wounds nor the sixty-six persons who were crushed to death in a panic during a raid on March 11.

* * *

EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGUE, Secretary for India, and Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor General of India, presented a report to Parliament on constitutional reforms in India as the outcome of a six months' visit to India by the Secretary. Its main recommendations as agreed upon by the Viceroy and the Commissioner at Simla on April 22, 1918, are as follows:

Completion of the edifice of local self-government, giving a considerable measure of responsibility in various fields to provincial legislatures, which are to be

composed of directly elected representatives, and which will act under the broadest franchise possible under Indian conditions.

A viceregal legislature, which will be composed of two chambers, the second chamber being called "The Council of State."

The creation of an Indian privy council and a council of Princes, with a provision for the establishment of machinery for the conducting of periodic inquiries to consider whether other subjects may be transferred to popular control.

* * *

THE Municipal Council at Paris has named some of the principal streets in honor of the allied countries. What was formerly the Avenue du Trocadero, one of the finest streets of the city, was changed to Avenue Président Wilson. Hereafter the Quai de la Conference will be known as Cours Albert I., the Avenue d'Antin as Avenue Victor Emmanuel, the Avenue de L'Alma as Avenue George V., part of the Rue Pierre Charron as Rue Peter I., the Quai de Billy as Avenue Tokio, and Avenue Sofia as the Avenue Portugal.

* * *

ON June 20, 1918, there were under arms in the American Army 186,000 negroes; there are available for service a total of 900,000 negro soldiers in the United States between 21 and 50 years of age. Among the first 2,500,000 men of all colors between the ages of 21 and 31 examined for the selective draft, 25 out of every 100 whites were passed as physically perfect, 32 out of every 100 negroes. Of the 186,000 negro troops, 650 were commissioned officers, 225 were serving as doctors and dentists. Of the total negroes under arms, 29,000 volunteered, 7,000 joined the National Guard, and 7,000 were in the regular army before the war.

* * *

DURING the period between May 15 and June 1, 1918, seven British hospitals were bombed by the Germans on the north coast of France, with the following casualty results:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	11	18
Other ranks	218	534
Sisters	5	11
Queen Mary Army Aid Corps..	8	7
Civilians	6	23
Totals	248	593

LEADING AMERICAN MAJOR GENERALS



Maj. Gen. W. P. Burnham
(*Paul Thompson*)



Maj. Gen. C. T. Martin
(*Press Illus. Service*)



Maj. Gen. E. F. Glenn
(*Inter. Film Service*)



Maj. Gen. G. B. Duncan

AMERICAN NAVAL COMMANDERS



Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman
U. S. battleships in foreign waters



Rear Admiral H. B. Wilson
U. S. warships in French waters



Rear Admiral Albert T. Niblack
in the Mediterranean



Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight
Asiatic Fleet

Allied Successes On Three Fronts

Opening of Ludendorff's "Friedensturm" and the Operations That Made It Necessary

[PERIOD FROM JUNE 18 TO JULY 18, 1918]

WHEN Germany, on July 15, began her fifth and evidently, in her opinion, her most stupendous offensive, she attempted to apply a mighty counterpoise to the scales which for four weeks had been fatefully changing her military equilibrium. The movement was promptly met with counterattacks, which amazingly reduced its momentum, diverted its path, and possibly fatally harmed the morale of its reserve. The aim of the present review is to set down at close range the principal events from July 15 to 17, inclusive, with some attempt to indicate their relative importance.

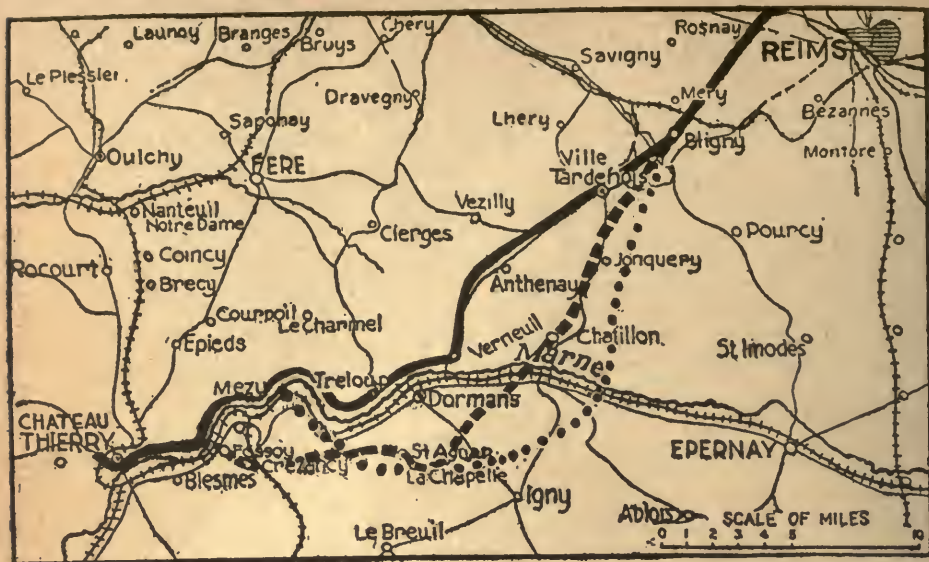
What preceded this fifth offensive is already upon record. In the first place, save for the costly attempt to carry Rheims by a prodigious assault on June 18, the Teutonic armies had been on the defensive on three fronts—in France, Italy, and the Balkans. Not only this, but the Allies had been conducting local offensives, the cumulative results of which may easily be overlooked in the absorption of the greater events that followed. In the four weeks which preceded the drive, the Teutonic powers had lost in these offensives of the Allies, conducted on each front in an entirely different manner in accordance with the local military and, sometimes, the political exigencies of the case, no fewer than forty divisions, or nearly half a million men, of whom 47,000 had been taken prisoner; in France they had suffered upward of 210,000 casualties, including 25,000 prisoners; in Italy, upward of 250,000, including 20,000 prisoners; in Albania, 14,000, including 2,000 prisoners.

Against this it is believed that the casualties of the Allies hardly passed the 150,000 mark for the same period. It had been a tremendous drain upon the Teutonic man power. But that was

not all. In France the British, French, Italian, and American troops, by their periodic assaults, both on the ground and from the air, on the Lys, the Somme, on the flanks of Montdidier and Soissons, on the Château-Thierry sector, and southwest of Rheims, had captured many important strategic positions, had broken up the enemy's moving detachments, ruptured his lines of communication, and injured both the material and the moral strength at his bases. In Italy the Austrian offensive had become abortive, with the loss of military approaches in the mountains and territory on the Piave Delta. In Albania the Italo-French forces had taken some 500 square miles of territory from the Austrians, threatening all Southern Albania, and with the corollary of an advance north by the Allies in Macedonia should the drive west proceed far enough.

LUDENDORFF STRIKES

It was a situation which demanded instant action on the part of Ludendorff. And on July 15 he took it—just where Foch expected he would take it—fascinated by the lure of Rheims and Paris and yearning to smash the Americans. On a sixty-mile line he took it—from Château-Thierry on the Marne, up the river beyond Dormans, then northeast across the Vesle and around Rheims, and then due east to a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. For this he had available seventy divisions, forty-two of which were employed up to July 18. Up to that date the official estimate of his casualties was 100,000. His attempt to isolate Rheims then consisted in a penetration of one mile on a three-mile base southeast of the city; on the west from the base line, Jaulgonne-Vrigny—thirty miles—he had made a penetration of five, up the



THE MARNE FRONT: SOLID LINE, ORIGINAL FRONT; BROKEN LINE, JULY 15; DOTTED LINE, JULY 17

Marne and toward the Montagne Forest, thus shortening the breadth of the Rheims salient to thirteen miles—from Pourcy on the west to Beaumont on the east—on a horizontal seven miles south of the city. West of this sector, as far as Château-Thierry, the Americans had thrown his troops back across the Marne. These results were brought about in the following manner:

On the 15th, at 6 A. M., the Germans, on the east of the line, attacked the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, at Vaux, and southeast on the Marne between Fossoy and Mezy. At Vaux it was probably a feint attack—delivered too soon. On the Marne 25,000 crossed, the Americans retiring on Condé-en-Brie. Then the Americans counterattacked and drove 15,000 back to the north bank. The rest remained as casualties—1,500 of them prisoners. Meanwhile, to the east the Germans gained and held the south bank before Dormans and penetrated the Italian lines at Bligny, southwest of Rheims, and the French lines at Prunay. East of Prunay terrific assaults were delivered; there the French lines under Gouraud held, and demolished wave after wave of assailants.

Before night closed Foch said: "I am satisfied—Je suis content."

On the 16th the Germans renewed the fruitless attack against the Americans on the left and attempted two new crossings by bridges—at Gland, just east of Château-Thierry, and at Mareuil-le-Port, near Dormans—each with appalling losses. On the south bank further to the east the Americans recaptured St. Agnan and La Chapelle-Monthodon. On the southwestern approach to Rheims the enemy widened the penetration made the day before at Bligny, in the vicinity of Marfaux and Cuchery. Southeast of the Cathedral City the pocket at Prunay was made deeper.

During the 17th the enemy attempted to reach Festigny on both banks of the river, but was thrown back; on the line southeast of Rheims he managed to reach the outskirts of the Montagne Forest, thus bringing Prunay, on the other side of the allied approach to the city, to within ten or a dozen miles—a narrow defense for an important allied position. Elsewhere the enemy was held or counterattacked back. On July 18 the French and Americans launched a counteroffensive from Château-Thierry along a twenty-five mile front between the

Marne and the Aisne; it was irresistible; within twelve hours the entire line was advanced from three to six miles, and thousands of prisoners and many guns captured; the Germans everywhere were retreating, and the Allies, flushed with success, were vigorously driving forward.

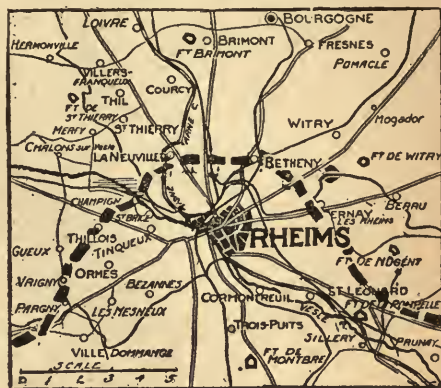
PRECEDING OPERATIONS

The operations of the month which preceded the first three days of this, the German - advertised "Friedensturm"—tempest for peace—will now receive attention.

The enemy's operations in an attempt to extend the front of the Marne salient, obtained in the last week in May, had caused the front on the left to assume the character of a semicircle partially enveloping Rheims, having radii averaging three and a half miles. It was similar to that which enveloped Ypres from January, 1915, to April, 1917, but with this difference: The Ypres sector was defended entirely by intrenched positions which, with the town itself, were constantly under fire from the enemy on the ridges on the right-rear; but the half circle of Rheims was made a circle by the French positions on the heights of the Vesle, Forts de la Pompelle and de Montbre, and the triangle of Tinquieux, Ormes, and Bezannes, whose artillery commanded the entire semicircle north of the Cathedral City.

It was to gain possession of this circle, with a circumference of thirty miles, and establish themselves on its southern perimeter, that the Germans, on a fourteen-mile front and with from three to five closely packed divisions, started a bombardment at 6 in the evening of June 18, followed up by infantry attacks at 9. Three divisions of the enemy were literally decimated. On the west and north of the city they were torn to pieces by the French counterbarrage; on the east an attempt to rush Fort de la Pompelle was hurled back. What was described in Berlin as a "surprise fire attack" ended in the early morning of June 19 as one of the most crushing repulses ever administered to Germany within similar limits of terrain and time. It demonstrated that the Rheims salient, in the

light of all local conditions, was invulnerable. That being an established fact, it gave Foch the long-desired opportunity to demonstrate in concrete form the unique strategy which was destined to



SEMICIRCLE OF DEATH AT RHEIMS, WHERE 40,000 GERMANS WERE UTTERLY DEFEATED JUNE 18

cause a postponement from day to day, from week to week, of the prepared fifth German offensive on the western front, with acute demoralization in the field, but with definite, although partially covered, political demoralization in the capitals of the German States.

There was a tense waiting period between June 19 and June 26, broken only by an aftermath of the Rheims assault, when, on the night of June 23, the enemy launched an attack southwest of the city, near Bligny. But this sector, held by the newly arrived Italian troops, closed in on the first line of advance, so that few escaped.

INTENSE LOCAL OFFENSIVES

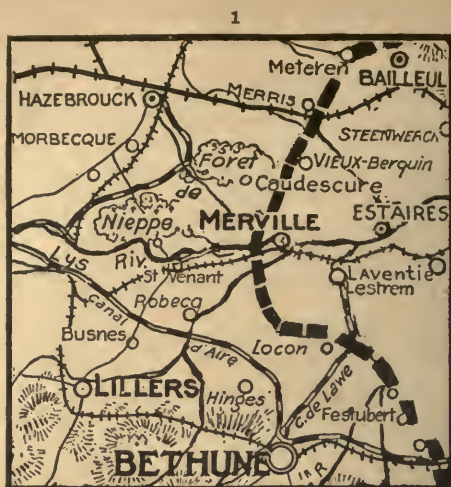
Then, on the 26th, began the series of local shock offenses carried out by the Allies over the entire front, which has rendered the operations of the month so remarkable. On that day the British opened an assault against a strong enemy position on the Lys salient, east of Hazebrouck, taking prisoners and machine guns. On the 28th they surprised the enemy on a four-and-a-half-mile front east of Nieppe Forest, going to a depth of a mile, and taking 300 prisoners, twenty-two machine guns, and occupying the hamlets of L'Eponette, Verte Rue, and La Becque. Simultaneously, the

Australians captured minor positions and took prisoners west of Merris, while the French advanced their lines one and a half miles west of St. Pierre Aigle, taking over 1,000 prisoners. The day closed with heavy enemy gunfire at all points of attack and with a fierce enemy assault on the Ambleny-Cutry sector, southwest of Soissons, which was dispersed by the French. On the following day, while the German bombardment of the foregoing points continued, the French won half a mile and captured 265 prisoners seven miles southeast of the town of Villers-Cotterets, and took 100 prisoners by improving their position near St. Pierre Aigle.

Then came on July 1 the spectacular taking of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, west of Château-Thierry, by the American troops. This operation, although comparatively limited, revealed consummate command of scientific artillery and infantry work, both separate and in combination, and the result was to improve the French positions near St. Pierre Aigle and Villers-Cotterets Forest. For three days the German gunners fought a duel with the American artillery for Vaux. Meanwhile, the Americans pushed their line east of the town by annihilating a counterattack. On July 3 the French carried German positions on a two-mile front, with a half-mile penetration, between the Oise and the Aisne, seven miles northwest of Soissons. The booty consisted of 457 prisoners and thirty machine guns. Here, later in the day, the French extended their lines and increased their number of prisoners to 1,066.

CAPTURE OF HAMEL

Early on the morning of Independence Day the scene of the offensive shifted in emphasis to the region south of the Somme, where on a four-mile front and a penetration of one and a half miles the Australians took a stretch of German trenches, the village of Hamel, and 1,500 prisoners with astonishingly light losses. On the 8th the front southwest of Soissons, a corollary to the operations northwest on the 3d, became active and the German lines were penetrated for



WHERE MOST GROUND WAS GAINED BY THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL MINOR OFFENSIVES OF THE ALLIES: (1) AGAINST THE LYS SALIENT BY THE BRITISH; (2) BEFORE AMIENS BY THE FRENCH AND BRITISH; (3) NORTHWEST OF CHATEAU-THIERRY BY THE AMERICANS

three-fourths of a mile, leaving in the hands of the French 247 prisoners. Simultaneously, there was demonstrated on the Somme, north of Hamel, the corollary of the 4th—the Australians on the river gained further positions, both north and south of it, and took prisoners.

On the 9th, between Montdidier and the River Oise, the French carried a two-and-a-half-mile front to a depth of more than a mile and held it. Here and in minor raids further south they captured during the day 530 prisoners. In the two days following the French here and the British on the Lys salient developed their fronts, capturing more positions and prisoners.

Again on the 11th the terrain southwest of Soissons became active where the French entered the Forest of Villers-Cotterets and regained the historic château and village of Corcy. On the day following the positions here secured rendered up the important strategic village of Longpont on the Savières River, east of Villers-Cotterets, while eight miles northwest of Montdidier, on a three-mile front, the enemy's positions were smashed to a depth of a mile and a quarter, rendering up the village of Casel, on the Avre, and 500 prisoners. On the 13th further gains by the French in this region enabled them to consolidate a strong line from Casel to the Savières.

Even the fifth German offensive did not apparently interfere with Foch's scheme of minor offensives. For while the Germans on July 15 were trying to cross the Marne we find the British taking 328 prisoners and improving their positions in Ridge Wood, in the Ypres sector, and advancing their line in the Somme sector at Villers-Bretonneux.

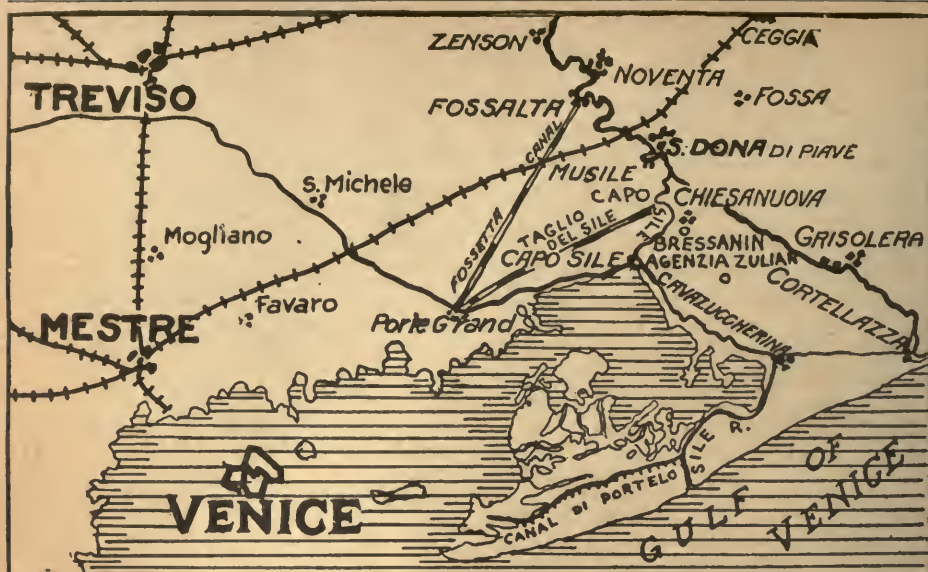
ITALY'S VICTORY

The Austrian offensive begun June 15 had proceeded three days when it became necessary to postpone further consideration of it until this month. The signs then visible—that it was not only a stupendous failure but abortive from the very start—have, meanwhile, been fully realized. Today the Austrians hold some fifty square miles of territory less than they did when they began operations,

having lost several strategic positions in the mountains and been entirely driven from the Piave Delta, where they had been intrenched since last November. The Italian General Staff places enemy casualties at between 270,000 and 300,000, (the Hungarian Premier on June 29 admitted the loss to eighteen Hungarian divisions alone to have been 100,000,) of whom between 50,000 and 60,000 have been killed and 20,000 taken prisoner. The early Austrian claims to having captured 35,000 prisoners have been discounted by Italian official reports and an intelligent analysis of the situation.

"We expect you to put Italy hors de combat," the German Emperor is reported to have said to Emperor Charles after the latter had meekly accepted a reprimand in regard to his "Dear Sixtus" letter. It was an order, a warning, possibly a threat—hardly the expression of trust in an ally.

The circumstances which made imperative a renewal of the Caporetto campaign of last year rather than an attempt to break new ground west of the Lago di Garda were set forth last month. The decision was early known in Italy and adequate steps taken to meet the situation. This situation demanded a counter-attack from the first. General Boroëvic's plan was twofold: Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf, in the north, should reduce the Italian positions on the Asiago Plateau and the Grappa-Tomba sector and then between them press down the Brenta Valley and the Val di Stagna and so break into the plain of Vicenza by way of Bassano. Meanwhile, Boroëvic himself would cross the Piave along a twenty-five-mile line extending down from Il Montello to the vertex of the Delta and develop his position there in the direction of the Fossetta Canal, so as to force the evacuation of Venice by threatening its destruction. Once in possession of Il Montello, a plateau of sixteen square miles with an average altitude of 900 feet, and the railway centres on the plain, Montebelluna, Castelfranco, and Treviso, would be dominated and the retreat of the Italian 3d Army under the Duke of Aosta cut off just as the 2d Army under Capello had been at Caporetto.



THE PIAVE DELTA—SCENE OF ITALY'S GREATEST VICTORY

ALONG THE PIAVE

We already know what first happened to Conrad in the mountains, but the operations on the Piave, between the launching of the attack across the river up to June 19, require further particularization than was possible to give last month, especially as there was then much confusion in designating the old Piave and the present bed of the river, between which the Delta is situated, and the forgotten fact that the Austrians all along had been in possession of part of this terrain on the right bank of the new river. Consequently they did not "cross" this, but the Piave Vecchia, in order to gain possession of Capo Sile, and all operations south of San Dona in which the Piave was mentioned referred to the old stream, cut off two centuries ago in order to reclaim the Delta and regulate the water of the lagoons, and opened again by the Italian engineers last November for the purpose of flooding that territory.

Aside from the capture of Capo Sile, the crossings further up the river gave the Austrians on June 15-16 San Andrea, near the railway bridge on the line Oderzo-Treviso, Candelu on the Oderzo-Treviso highway, and Nervesa on the eastern approaches to Il Montello. The next day they extended their line across

the head of the Delta—the junction of the old and new Piave—as far as Fossalta, three miles from the junction, and threatened the Fossalta Canal at its centre. They made no progress at the San Andrea crossing, but from Nervesa their line ran over the eastern end of Il Montello to Casa Serena. On the following day they almost reached the centre of the Fossalta Canal, but elsewhere on the right bank their penetrations were being countered or firmly held.

A week after the Austrian offensive began, the Italians with the allied British, French, and American aviators, had gained complete dominance of the air. On June 19 the French on the Asiago Plateau successfully stormed and captured the Austrian positions at Bertigo and Pennar, and the Italians took Costalunga in the same sector. Italian pressure was beginning to tell on the Austrian positions on the western bank of the Piave—at Montello, Zenson, from Fossalta to Musile, and thence over the Delta to the sea. On this date, on the Fossalta-Musile sector Czechoslovak detachments were first used on the Italian side, thus giving official and practical expression to the Pact of Rome of April 9-11.

By June 21 torrential rains in the

mountains had so swollen the Piave that the only two bridges which had survived the intensive air and artillery fire of the Italians were swept away, and many positions held by the Austrians within the Delta were submerged, thus opening new channels for the Italian naval floats, each armed with a 6, 9, or 12 inch gun.

On Sunday night, June 22-23, a definite counteroffensive was launched against the now isolated Austrians from Il Montello to the sea, and by the following Monday the Italians had taken between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners. Without food, almost without ammunition, the Austrians, bombed from the air and furrowed by machine guns and field pieces, gathered in dismal groups on the west bank seeking a ferry—like the souls described by Dante on the banks of the Acheron appealing to Charon for passage.

In the first week of July remnants of the Austrian detachments at Il Montello and Zenson managed to reach the east bank; the rest remained for record on the casualty lists. On July 6 the Italians drove the last of the enemy from the Delta across the new Piave—from the terrain which he had occupied since November. This is how the Austrian General Staff described this important manoeuvre:

As the Delta of the Piave could not have been held without heavy sacrifices, we have withdrawn our troops which were stationed there to the dike positions on the eastern bank of the main branch. This operation was carried out during the night of July 5-6. The enemy felt his way at midday yesterday (July 6) as far as the river.

Meanwhile, the Italians and their allies in the mountain regions had been conducting a series of successful operations against some of the most formidable strategic positions of the enemy. On June 29, on the Asiago Plateau the Italians stormed and took Monte di Valbella with 800 prisoners and an observation peak on Sasso Rosso with thirty-three prisoners. The next day they took Col del Rosso, an important height just southeast of Valbella, with prisoners which brought the total taken in this region since June 15 up to 2,000. On June 30 they occupied after a fierce as-

sault one of the spurs of the Col del Rosso, called Col di Chelo, or Peak of Echele.

Then the Monte Grappa region received attention. Here on July 1 a number of raids at isolated positions netted the Italians 569 prisoners and several machine guns. In this region on the 2d the Italians withstood a heavy Austrian counterattack at the head of San Lorenzo Valley. Here the number of prisoners to date since June 15 reached 621, besides several machine guns and a large quantity of material. Northeast of Monte Grappa on July 4 after an artillery preparation the Italians penetrated the Austrian positions at the head of Calcino Valley and gained the Porte di Salton heights. Intense but unavailing enemy counterattacks followed.

Throughout the month numerous minor operations have characterized both the region of Asiago and that of Grappa with the advantage invariably on the side of the Allies. Such an operation was that on July 14, when the French in the former region, in celebration, probably, of Bastille Day, made a couple of surprise attacks into the enemy's lines at Bertigo and Zocchi and captured prisoners and material.

IN THE BALKANS

The military operations begun by the Italian and French forces in Albania, between the Devoli River and the Adriatic Sea, on July 6, at once invited an interesting line of speculation as to their motive and possible effect. Were they a distraction for the Austrians or the beginning of a serious movement to drive the enemy from the Albanian littoral? Would they end at the Via Egnatia and the Valley of the Skumbi, or, this position being attained, would the long-expected advance of the allied army to the east in Macedonia take place?

After twelve days these questions still remain unanswered. In August, 1916, when Rumania entered the war on Bulgaria's flank, the public looked for an advance of the Macedonian Army, which, under the French General Sarraill, then numbered half a million men. But even if Sarraill did not suspect the be-



ITALO-FRENCH ADVANCE IN ALBANIA.
 DOTTED LINE SHOWS OLD FRONT; SOLID
 LINE NEW FRONT, JULY 18, 1918

trayal of Rumania by the pro-Germans in the Government of the Czar of Russia, which had as one of its supplementary intrigues the luring of his army north, he was perfectly well aware of the military situation in his own terrain: His army was exposed in the rear to a possible attack from the army of King Constantine, who might at any time decide to obey his brother-in-law, the German Emperor. Moreover, the Italian Army in Albania, with its base at Avlona, had not yet established communication with Sarraill's left wing before Monastir. So the allied army in Macedonia remained in its trenches and saw the crushing of Rumania without being able to lift a hand.

Since then Greece, under the direction of Venizelos, has thrown in her lot with the Allies, and, in addition to the 70,000 Greek volunteers already there, their front has been strengthened by 150,000 men of the new Greek Army. Strong communications have been established between Avlona and Monastir, and the

Italian force on the left has been increased from 300,000 to half a million.

Thus, when the present drive began there were over 1,000,000 troops of the Allies along the 300-mile front stretching from the Adriatic through Southern Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, across the Vardar, and down to the Aegean Sea, just east of the mouth of the Struma. Facing them, from west to east, were three or four divisions of Austrians, several German artillery batteries, the Bulgarian field army of about 250,000, and some Turkish detachments—in all less than half the total million at the service of the Allies. Besides, both Bulgaria and Turkey were war weary.

On the first day of the drive the Italians advanced their line north beyond the lower and middle Voyusa, British monitors acting as a movable bridgehead, and took 1,000 prisoners. On their right the French began their advance down the Devoli, and further east, before Monastir, the French artillery began a bombardment, under cover of which the Serbians there advanced their positions. This last movement, with others of the same nature which have occurred on the Macedonian front to date, can in no sense, so far, be designated as the military complement of what has been going on in



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF ALBANIA TO
 OTHER BALKAN STATES

Albania. So far there have been no real signs of a general movement on the Macedonian front.

By July 10 it became obvious that the immediate objective was Berat, with Elbasan, thirty miles to the north, as the remote objective. Elbasan is situated upon the old Roman road known as the Via Egnatia, which runs from Durazzo, on the Adriatic, east via Monastir to Constantinople, and over which the armies of Rome and those of the Crusaders used to pass. North of this road dwell those Albanian communities which, unconquered by the Turks in the old days, have since, under Essad Pasha, defied the Austrians. Only bridle paths lead to their hamlets. By the 10th also the Italians, on the coast, had reached the Levani-Fieri path to Berat, and cleared the Malacastra heights of the enemy southwest of the town. They had also made a measurable advance astride of

the Osum, on which Berat is situated, and had partially cleared the Tomorica Ridge to the east of the town. The French, who were also assisting in clearing the ridge, had descended the Devoli to a point northeast of Berat. It was announced from Vienna on the same day that the Austrians were to be withdrawn to the Skumbi River.

Berat was occupied by the Italians on July 11, and the angle formed by the Tomorica and the Devoli was completely cleared of the enemy save at the vertex. By the 13th this had been achieved by the French, who pushed on down the Devoli toward the Berat-Elbasan highway. On the 15th the French column formed a junction with the Italian right on the heights of Cafa Darza. By the 17th the movement toward Elbasan and the Via Egnatia had become a race between the Italians and French, with the latter five miles from the goal.

Defeating the German Offensive

American Troops, by Holding the Left Flank of the Invaders,
Checked Their Whole Advance

All the special correspondents during the first four days of the German drive—began July 15, 1918—united in giving the Americans credit for deflecting the main thrust of the Germans toward Paris, which resulted in the failure of the operation. The following was written on the morning of July 17 by Edwin L. James, one of THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondents with the American Army on the Marne:

TO comprehend what the Americans accomplished it should be understood that on Sunday, July 14, we held a line along the Marne from Château-Thierry to just west of Jaulgonne. Since then we have thrown more troops into the battle, so that from a point due south of Jaulgonne to a point just west of Nesle-le-Repons we are fighting with the French. When the Germans launched their drive on Monday morning, July 15, it was with the objective of a line sweeping from Château-Thierry through Courboin, through Montigny, and thence south to Epernay and Châlons, the grand objective. Montigny was to have been reached on the first day through the Americans.

It was after extraordinarily vicious ar-

tillery preparation that the Germans got troops across the Marne at ten points between Château-Thierry and Dormans. Against the Americans who were then holding the south bank of the Marne up through Mezy the crack German [deleted] Guard Division got across about 15,000 men by the use of canvas boats. The greater number crossed at two places near Fossoy and Mezy. Between 3 o'clock and 10 o'clock the Germans advanced against the Americans to a line running through Fossoy and Crezancy. When the Americans counter-attacked about noon the Germans were thrown back, and at midnight no Germans were on this side of the Marne up to Jaulgonne. Reliable reports say that the Americans practically destroyed the guard division that was sent against them. Hundreds were killed while trying to get back across the

Marne. It is estimated that the Americans killed or wounded 7,000 and our prisoners numbered 1,100, most of whom were taken by three companies of our troops—750 men.

Meanwhile the German line to our right had swept down from Courtemont around south of the Bois de Condé and south of St. Agnan around to Comblizy. The French retook St. Agnan and La Chapelle Monday afternoon with our troops in the second line. A counterattack by the Germans, launched at the same time of another smaller French attack, gave him these two places again. This was the situation yesterday afternoon when the French, reinforced by Americans, launched another attack at 1 o'clock.

In addition to going ahead with the French, our troops moved east on the west of the German flank. By 2 o'clock our combined forces had retaken La Chapelle and St. Agnan, as well as the important Hill 241 and Hill 223. The Americans drove the Germans back from the south edge of the Bois de Condé over the hill commanding the woods to the north side. A little later we took Chezy and Montlevon, and then continued our advance. The total gain of terrain was about two kilometers in depth on a front of eight kilometers. But the possession of the hills was more important. A considerable number of prisoners were taken. Those resting in the hands of the American units attacking west of the German flank number 345. The entire counterattack was a success.

The American troops fighting in the attack of Tuesday, the 16th, never before had been in battle. Their splendid performance came after a day and a half of heavy shelling with high explosives and gas, which they stood well. Their spirit was never broken.

A HEROIC COMPANY

The stuff that American soldiers are made of was shown in the case of a company led by Captain Mackey. In the fighting in the Bois de Condé this company of 250 men was surrounded by the enemy and reported captured. Three hours later Captain Mackey showed up with thirty-eight men. They had refused to be captured, although surrounded, and had fought their way back against great odds.

Another story of heroism is that of a platoon of Americans who were in Mezy when the Germans got across the river. When their comrades withdrew they stayed in the cellars in Mezy, where they placed machine guns in such positions that the Germans could not dislodge them. When the Americans got back into Mezy late on Monday night this platoon, without food, but with plenty of "pep," was still on the job. They had played havoc with the ranks of retreating Germans.

The only trouble the commanders had with the American troops was that they did not know when to retreat. One platoon did not

get or did not heed orders to withdraw, and, holding on, became surrounded. Then they cut their way out. Half of them got back.

German failures against the Americans mean that the enemy has been greatly handicapped in his efforts to get to Eprenay and Châlons. With the Americans holding as they are, the Germans will have to drive a much sharper and more dangerous salient than if our men had not held so well. Besides, the American successes give the Allies possession of the series of hills south of the Marne and just east of Château-Thierry, possession of which by the Germans would mean a serious menace to the allied line in this section. This same sort of service was performed by the 2d Division in holding Bois de Belleau and Vaux and Boursches.

The Germans are now getting a taste of their own medicine in the artillery fire from our side. Prisoners say it is exceedingly difficult to maintain communication across the Marne because of the accuracy of our fire on their pontoon bridges. It was believed that the Germans had a mask manoeuvre of forty-four divisions—600,000 men—with which to make the drive, but it now appears that they are using between sixty and seventy divisions. I understand that most of these have been put into the effort of the last two days. Certainly the German effort of yesterday was not so strong as on Monday.

EAST OF RHEIMS

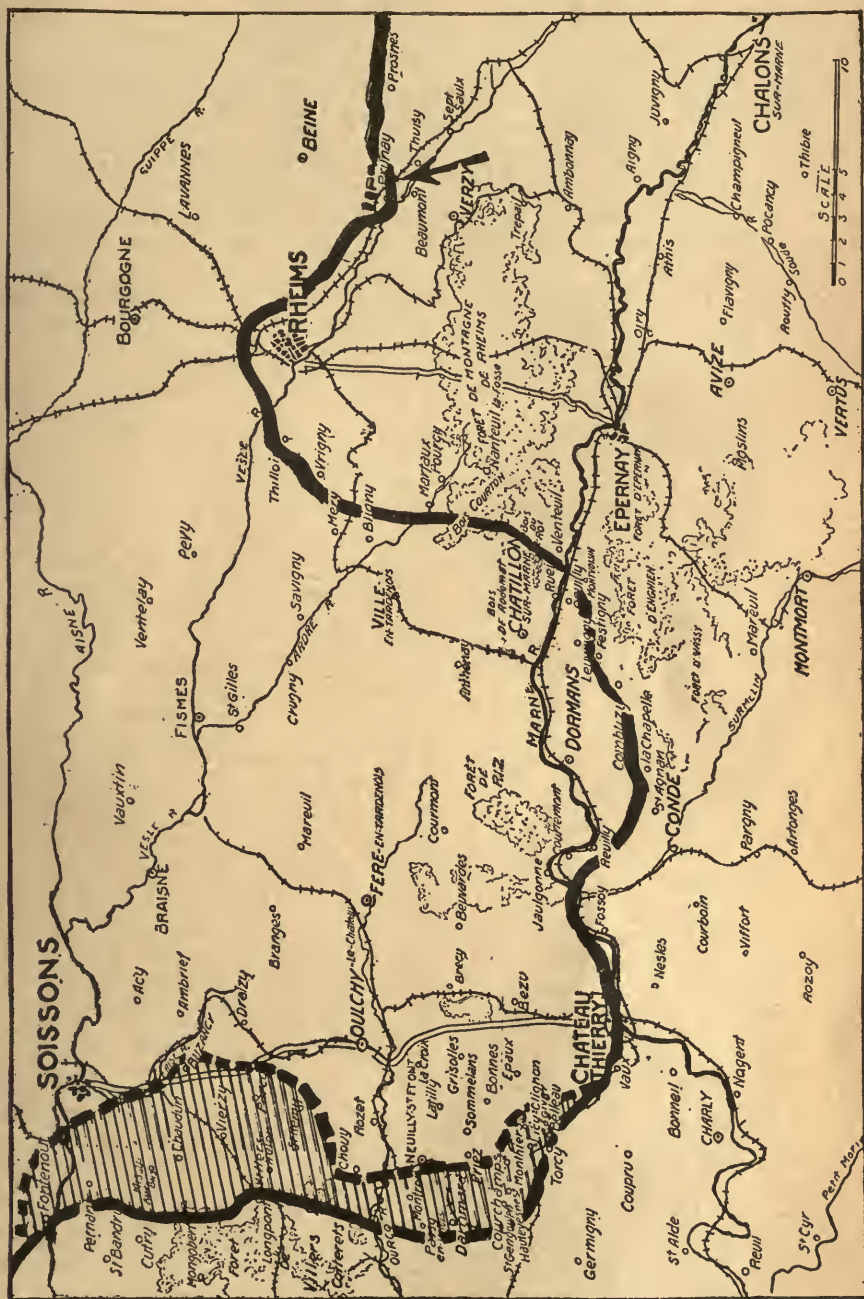
Reports that have just come in show that the Americans fighting east of Rheims held their own yesterday. They retired about two kilometers against the first shock of the drive, but since then they have stood firm. Just after starting the drive the allied artillery raked the German lines and back areas with sweeping barrages. The effect may be calculated by the fact that with the exception of small rushes the Germans have been unable to renew their drive for Châlons from the north. The country there is flat and sandy, almost entirely lacking of woods and valleys to shelter the German concentrations for attack. Prisoners say the allied artillery played havoc with their lines. Our artillery activity there evidently was more than the Germans expected and messed up their plans.

One of the prisoners captured today—he used to live in Philadelphia—said the barrage had caught his regiment when it was about to attack and made chop suey of it. Another youthful prisoner said that the division to which he belonged had been so chewed up by artillery fire that its remnants had been sent back to be used as replacements in other divisions. This was a crack guard division.

At one spot east of Rheims a German detachment with a machine gun had been

pestering our men, and a young Lieutenant with forty men was sent out to stop it. There was nothing to do but rush the posi-

tion. Half an hour later a runner brought back this note: "Attack a success. We killed them all."



SCENE OF THE VICTORIOUS BLOW OF THE ALLIES, JULY 18, 1918, BETWEEN THE AISNE AND THE MARNE

The Enemy Outflanked and Beaten

Beginning of the Allied Offensive

[See map on preceding page]

The French and Americans on the morning of July 18 advanced along a twenty-eight-mile front from the Marne at Belleau Wood to Fontenoy, west of Soissons, on the Aisne. They took the Germans by surprise, and delivered a crushing defeat, changing the whole complexion of affairs in a few hours. Their advance along the entire line was from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken and many large guns. The Germans were badly beaten and at places demoralized. The German losses were harrowing. The effect of the blow endangered all the positions gained by the Germans since March, 1918, and a general retirement was believed to be inevitable. It was the first major initiative of the Allies in a year and proved a brilliant success. The Americans were in the thick of it, and in one sector alone took over 4,000 prisoners. The news was received as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was going to press. We print below a brief extract from the description of the battle cabled by Edwin L. James of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

WHEN the German high command started its drive Monday morning, it started more than the Kaiser planned for. The French and Americans were entirely successful in guarding their secret, and the attack at 4:45 o'clock this morning, (July 18,) without one gun of artillery preparation, took the Germans completely by surprise. The Americans and French had an early breakfast and started out. Then with rolling barrages ahead of them they went on.

A big piece of military work, very recent in conception, but of Foch planning, was shown when, at the precise minute, 4:45 o'clock, the French and Americans along nearly thirty miles of front went over the top and against the invaders. As in halting the German drive the Americans were at two vital points of the allied drive—Soissons and Château-Thierry—and elsewhere as well. On what was done to the ends of the line depended the success of the whole movement.

I was present at the fighting this morning in the Château-Thierry region, where our boys had done so much to aid the allied cause already. Just as the whistle was blown for the doughboys to start, our gunners started barrages with their seventy-fives. Our troops swept down the hill north of the Bois de Belleau toward Torcy. Shouting as they went, the American soldiers advanced on Torcy, and at precisely 5:30 the commander reported that they had captured the town. A little to the south other Americans swept around

Belleau and closed up. Belleau was captured at 8:20 o'clock, and by that time German prisoners began coming back.

Captured officers admitted that the coming of the Americans had been a complete surprise. Sweeping north, the Americans charged into the Bois de Givry, and after a short fight with Germans went on down Hill 193 and into the village of Givry. Two hours later these troops had taken the town of Montfairs.

In the meanwhile other American detachments with the French had charged the German positions in front of Courchamps and, while held up temporarily, brought up reinforcements, chased the Germans out of the woods, captured eighteen guns and took possession of Courchamps.

I want to quote the report a young Captain made on this fight. It read:

"We met the boche on his line of resistance. A sharp fight took place, after which the boche turned tail and ran like hell up the hill, pursued by our troops."

It was in this fight that a platoon of Americans pursued the fleeing boche clean out of our own sector and had to be brought back by an airplane message.

PUSHING TOWARD SOISSONS

In the meanwhile, on the other end of the sector, in the Soissons region, the Americans, aided by a fleet of tanks, moved east from near Fontenoy, pushing toward Soissons. Our troops fought like demons. Encouraged by the good start the surprise attack had given them, they pitched into the German reinforcements with a will and defied the German artillery hurriedly turned in their direction.

While these two star performances were going on, the French and Americans, advancing, took possession of a number of villages. Reports just in say that there has

been heavy fighting around Soissons and to the south, where Germans have brought up reserves.

Prisoners of enemy are brought back in large numbers. They mostly belong to holding divisions, showing that the Germans were not expecting an attack on this line and had no shock troops ready.

The captures south of Soissons in the way of stores were immense, and included some airplanes which the enemy was unable to remove, so swiftly did the storming troops sweep through. Many prisoners and many guns still remain to be counted.

After passing the third objective set for the operations of the morning, the Americans, in co-operation with the French south of Soissons, launched a second powerful attack at noon. Showing the effect of splendid training, the American troops went forward swiftly and fought with fury. Nothing seemed to stop them, especially in the region of Soissons and to the south of that city.

Light and heavy pieces were moved up as the troops advanced, and, soon after each barrage ended, shells from the American guns were deluging the enemy's rear areas, playing havoc with his forces, whether those in retreat or reserves endeavoring to come up.

TERRIFIC LOSSES INFLICTED*

It was open warfare, with all the attending excitement, and through the gaps made by heavy guns and infantry the French cavalry dashed, beating down those in their path. Terrific losses were inflicted at all points on the enemy.

On the line south of Soissons the American troops carried all their objectives in the second attack with the same dash as the first, even proceeding further than had been expected.

The enemy was routed, and for the most part fled before the American advance,

abandoning even light guns and ammunition. Only here and there along the line was strong resistance offered, and at these points the Germans were attacked with rifle and bayonet, before which they retreated steadily.

The tanks did all that was expected of them. The great lumbering engines rolled along in front of the infantry, driving the Germans before them with streams of bullets and clearing away many obstructions that had escaped the artillery.

The enemy early began to bring up strong reinforcements. Fresh troops have appeared at various points, and a heavy counterattack will probably have to be withstood.

Soissons is now well within the range of the American guns. In this region, where the attack was especially successful, the Americans overcame all resistance by storm.

Early in the afternoon they had passed their final known objectives, including the Paris-Soissons road. From the second to the third objectives they swept behind a third barrage. The second objectives were usually taken by the troops of the first units, who had dug in at the first objectives.

The resistance to the south was especially vicious. At some places the American advancing troops were held up, but only temporarily.

The towns of Torcy and Givry and the Givry Wood were taken by the Americans in their advance. The final objectives in the Torcy and Givry sector were reached in about two hours of hard fighting. In one town alone on the southern part of the front under attack the Franco-American forces captured eighteen guns.

As the whole German flank is menaced, the enemy must draw in his troops from the Marne front or risk their being caught where they are. This means that the finishing blow possibly has been administered to the dying offensive.

Cabling American Weather Conditions to the War Front

Officials of the United States Weather Bureau have been assigned to the army and hold officers' rank in keeping with their duties, which are deemed important. Every day the weather conditions in America are cabled fully to these meteorological officers, and by them the data are transmitted to such points as may find it useful. Of course there are other reasons for sending the weather to the army besides the interest of the soldiers in home affairs. The main reason is that marked conditions of the weather in this hemisphere are likely to be reflected in the other, and the reason for that is the trend of the atmosphere toward the east. As the world revolves from west to east the atmosphere in mid-latitudes tends to move constantly toward the rising sun. A great storm in this country may have its counterpart in greater or less degree in Europe some days later. Fair weather on this side may mean fair weather over there within the week. Supplied with this, in addition to local information, the "officers of the weather over there" are aided in forecasting conditions favorable for airplane activity, artillery work, or other military operations.

Austria's Disastrous Offensive

By AUSTIN WEST

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The offensive launched on June 15, 1918, by the Austro-Hungarians against the Italians along a front of ninety-seven miles, from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, proved a disastrous failure. The Italians stated officially that they had taken 18,000 prisoners in their counterattacks, with a vast amount of booty, besides inflicting casualties in killed and wounded to the enormous total of 270,000. In the July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE Austin West's description of the first four days' fighting was given, and herewith follow his subsequent descriptions:

JUNE 20, 1918, (the sixth day of the battle.)—Austria's best divisions were played out toward the close of the third day of battle, and all the enemy reserves within a few miles of the front lines were under orders to advance, while the same evening entire divisions, stationed at Codroipo, forty-three miles away, had to be hurried up by forced marches.

The good news from the battlefield has wrought a very visible effect in relieving the anxiety and brightening the spirits of the Italian people. The heroic resistance of the whole army is rightly felt to have blotted out the episode of Caporetto, even as the brilliant naval exploits of Commanders Pellegrini and Rizzo have canceled the smarting sense of defeat that has lingered ever since the ill-fated sea fight at Lissa.

It is confidently believed that the worst phase of the Austrian onslaught is now over. Each succeeding dispatch from headquarters tends to show that the Austrian situation is becoming more critical.

Neither at San Dona nor Musile, where the struggle has assumed a tremendous intensity, nor anywhere else along the Piave, has the enemy been able to enlarge his bridgeheads. The deepest point of penetration from the right bank of the river is restricted to two and a half miles.

The enemy advantages, gained in the vicinity of Montello, have not only been arrested, but also reduced, for the Italian line between Giano and Sant Andrea has been pushed forward past Casa Serena, five miles eastward.

On the Alpine tableland Rafea Peak and Costa Lunga Ridge, east of Asiago, have been wrested from Conrad von

Hoetzendorf's grasp. The allied contingents are sweeping the heights to the right and left of Val Bela, so as to consolidate the positions that bar the outlet to the plain across the Frenzela Valley and the Brenta Canal.

Many Austrians have lost their lives in the Piave through the carrying away by the raging current of improvised bridges, boats, and rafts. Large numbers have also been killed either in the act of crossing or soon after reaching the Italian side by the pitiless fire from the interallied aircraft, to which their exposed or cooped-up positions render them frightfully vulnerable.

Two Hungarian battalions landed just as two Italian battalions were ready for a counterattack. A clash of forces ensued, finishing in a series of hand-to-hand duels to the death. Major Gen. Henry Volzano von Kronstatt, commander of a division and member of the Austrian Supreme Command, was killed while reconnoitring near Montello. Prince von Schoenburg, a cavalry General and a member of the imperial house, was mortally wounded by a shell explosion in the same sector.

FLOODS AID ITALIANS

June 21.—Torrential rains have converted the Piave into a vast rushing cataract which is sweeping away everything in its course to the lagoons. British aviators had wrecked all seven of the permanent bridges, hailing down about ten tons of bombs. Those which Field Marshal Boroëvic was constructing for moving across his heavy artillery were destroyed in the flood with the lighter pontoons, so that feeding the famished enemy troops herded on the right bank

is possible only by resort to hydroplanes between Zenson and Musile.

The outlet into the Gulf of Venice at Cortelazzo is obstructed by an enormous accumulation of floating timber, the débris of smashed boats and rafts, carcasses of animals and corpses of men.

Last night the battle was waxing most furiously from Candelu to Capo Sile. With fresh divisions at his command, General Wurm was renewing his assault on the intrenched camp of Treviso and reattempting the passage of the Piave between Ponte di Priula and Candelu. Simultaneously strong masses of infantry were trying to push through on the Treviso road near San Biagio di Callatto and along the Mestre road near Meolo.

"Da qui non si passa!" (they shall not pass) has become the grim battlecry of Italy's brave warriors. The Potenza Brigade with the Bersaglieri Cyclist Corps routed the 26th Austrian Army Corps during its wild dash toward Monastir.

June 23.—Fragmentary details only have reached here at present about the Austrian defeat. Preparations for retreat beyond the Piave were discovered by Italian raiders in the enemy lines in the early hours of Sunday morning. Instantly the Italian artillery began a furious bombardment against the passages across the river.

At dawn General Diaz ordered a series of infantry attacks along the whole line, and they were pressed with irresistible energy. By 11 o'clock Italian regiments had smashed the enemy front at Montello, reoccupied the entire ridge, and driven the now bewildered foe down the slopes.

By the water's edge there and at other spots where the fleeing troops were massed in waiting to get across hastily improvised bridges, allied aviation squadrons, including the pioneer American corps, raked and pelted their dense formations incessantly and mercilessly with a fiery hail, till the passageways were blocked with dead and wounded and the crimson waters of the Piave were covered thickly with wreckage of war, interspersed with thousands of bodies.

After a short but violent bombardment had destroyed the town of Nervesa, it was recaptured during the afternoon in a brilliant bayonet charge. Besides recovering all the guns lost last week, the Italians seized there a large number of Austrian cannon intact with their munition stores.

Great public rejoicings greeted tonight's announcement of the disorderly, disastrous retreat of the Austrian Army across the Piave from the Montello heights to the Venetian Gulf.

ENORMOUS ENEMY LOSSES

June 25.—From the Montello upland to San Dona the whole countryside is one vast cemetery, and in many places thousands of unburied bodies render the air unbreathable. Throughout this district there are no longer any Austrians other than dead, wounded, or prisoners; but from San Dona seaward strenuous fighting, according to the latest reports, is still going on because the width of the river and the insidious nature of the currents thereabout add to the difficulties of the Austrian retreat.

Taking advantage of this situation, Italian cavalry regiments have been brought into play, and in furious charges are punishing the fugitives with their swords. At Campolungo, south of Zenson, their mighty onrush, overwhelming all resistance, brought them to the very pontoons crowded with Austrians about to cross. Italian infantry and cyclist Bersaglieri, following, destroyed the passageway, taking many prisoners.

It is estimated that the Austrian losses now approach a quarter of a million men. The Austrian Isonzo army, which on the eve of the battle was augmented by from three to four army corps—about fifteen divisions—had lost 60,000 combatants by Saturday evening. Its 10th, 12th, and 77th Divisions each counted 5,000 in dead, wounded, and missing. One regiment was reduced to five officers and 362 men. Ten among them, the best fighting regiments, and divisions of Schützen, Honved, and Feldjäger, were cut utterly to pieces at the same time.

Austrian officers themselves reckoned about 40,000 men and horses lost in com-

bat in their 6th Army fronting Montello, while the losses incurred in the subsequent catastrophe of the retreat are not known with any sort of precision. Hundreds of bodies have been carried out to sea. The General commanding the 91st Schützen Brigade was found near Meolo with his brains blown out, having killed himself amid the corpses of his forces annihilated after a valiant resistance.

Many Italian prisoners and wounded have been recovered, lying famished and untended in caves and abandoned houses and despoiled of all personal belongings, even to their boots and clothing. The body of the gallant Italian aviator, Major Baracca, was found beside his burned machine at the foot of Montello.

Allied airmen have detected the Austrians busy on the left bank of the river moving some miles inland the prodigious array of artillery, amounting to some 3,000 pieces, with which they began the battle of the Piave.

PIAVE DELTA CLEARED

The pressure against the Austrian lines continued with unabated vigor from June 25 to July 6, when the crowning triumph of the Italian resistance was achieved. The Austrians were driven from the delta of the Piave, where they had stubbornly withstood all the enemy's attacks for nearly eight months. Every day from June 25 to the final expulsion, one strategic point after another was gained by the Italians, with the French and British actively co-operating at the extreme left wing, until the west bank of the Piave was entirely cleared and the Austrians forced back beyond their original lines. The final act of the drama is thus described by Mr. West in a cable-gram dated July 7:

Now that the splendid but hard-won Italian victory has scraped the whole Venetian plain thoroughly clean of the enemy up to the opposite bank of the great Piave stream, I am permitted to give some thrilling details of the terrible guerrilla warfare, rich in unrecorded deeds of heroism, which has been going on unceasingly day and night amid the mud and insidious marshlands of the lower Piave.

The second extraordinary bulletin, which General Diaz issued last night, contains the first clear intimations to reach the public of the important fact that the entire triangular sector having its head at San Dona and its base along the Adriatic Gulf from Cortellazzo to the extreme outlet of the old Piave River bed by the Venetian lagoons, has been held in the tenacious grip of the Austrian invader ever since November last.

Unable to dig trenches or to operate in large masses on this sodden soil, the Austrians had split up into innumerable small groups. Every factory, farmhouse, and cottage they converted into a fortress. They fixed machine guns in every treefork available, and sowed thick with them the banks of the countless canals. About 1,300 of these mitrailleuses have been already listed in the enormous booty captured, but hundreds more are left buried in the swamps or beneath the wreckage of demolished buildings.

Some of the severest fighting was sustained by the Italian Royal Marine Corps in the Cortellazzo Woods and in the extreme angle of the lagoons, in clearing which they encountered the famous Vienne "Company of Death," composed exclusively of volunteers, clad in black sweaters, the breasts of which are embroidered in white with a human skull.

Floundering in the bogs and losing their weapons, both sides were often driven in desperation to tearing each other with their teeth. During the tremendous hand-to-hand contests that accompanied the closing phase of the battle the Italian Arditi, or daredevils, performed astounding feats of agility. Their special task was to silence a swarm of machine guns protected by barbed wire entanglements.

The Arditi hit on a method altogether novel in the history of this war. Providing themselves with long leaping poles, they made a mighty rush, jumped the obstacles, and, landing in the rear of the bewildered gunners, drove daggers into their backs. One daredevil alone sent eight Austrians stampeding into the Italian lines under the menace of an uplifted hand bomb.

GENERAL DE MAUD'HUY



One of the leading French army corps commanders

SCENES MADE HISTORIC BY GREAT BATTLE



Entrance to the Chateau at Villers-Bretonneux



Ruins of the village of Locre, at the foot of Mont Kemmel

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From June 19, 1918, Up to and Including July 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

- Attacks by Turkish troops on the American consulate at Tabriz, Persia, and the looting of an American missionary hospital in that city were reported to the State Department June 19.
- The Fourth Liberty Loan bill, authorizing bond issues of \$8,000,000,000, was passed finally July 5.
- A treaty with Great Britain for the reciprocal conscription of British and American citizens was ratified by the Senate on June 24.
- The second draft lottery was held in Washington on June 27.
- In a letter sent to the House Military Committee July 2, Secretary Baker disclosed the fact that there were now 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 men in the army.
- General Peyton C. March announced on July 13 that more than 1,100,000 soldiers were in the overseas army and that three army corps of about 700,000 men were in the fighting line.
- A joint resolution giving the President power to take over telegraph, telephone, radio, and cable systems was passed.
- Ninety-five ships of 474,464 tons and seven-teen war vessels were launched on the Fourth of July.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

- The Norwegian freighter Augvald was sunk by a submarine June 23, 125 miles east of Cape Race; three members of her crew were drowned and thirteen others were unaccounted for. The British transport Dwinsk, while on its way to America for troops, was sunk about 550 miles east of Sandy Hook, June 24. A German submarine captured the Norwegian bark Manx King, on July 6, 300 miles off Cape Race, and set the crew adrift in small boats. It was not known whether the ship was sunk or converted into a German raider. The sailing vessel Marosa was sunk about 1,200 miles east of Sandy Hook July 8.
- Germany announced on June 23 that ships sunk in the month of May aggregated 614,000 tons.
- A statement issued by the British Admiralty on June 26 showed that the total British, allied, and neutral tonnage sunk during May was 355,694, of which 224,735 tons were British. American and British ship construction in May was 372,608 tons.
- Twenty Norwegian ships were sunk during the month of May, and thirty-one men were lost.
- Announcement was made on June 26 that the

Canadian Pacific liners Pommeranian and Medora had been sunk.

The Canadian hospital ship Llandoverly Castle was sunk off the British coast June 27, and 234 persons were missing.

The American transport Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was sunk while en route from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. Six members of the crew were lost.

Passengers on a steamship which arrived at an Atlantic port July 4 reported an attack upon a convoy of vessels returning from Europe, and the loss of the British steamship Orissa on June 25. They also reported that the destroyers of the convoy had sunk two submarines with depth bombs.

A transport which returned to the United States from France July 8 was attacked by eight submarines in the Bay of Biscay when she was eastward bound and loaded with troops, but she escaped and sank one of the attacking U-boats. The destroyers escorting her sank another.

Announcement was made on July 17 that a Spanish steamship on which Minister Lopez de Vega was returning to Spain from Greece had been torpedoed, in spite of the fact that it was flying the Minister's flag and that the German Government had been notified of the Minister's departure.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

- June 19—First German Army, under General von Below, makes unsuccessful drive at Rhelms on a fourteen-mile line; three divisions smashed by the French; two American patrols cross the Marne east of Château-Thierry.
- June 20—Americans take German trenches in front of Cantigny, and advance at Belleau Wood; British and French make successful raids from Ypres southward to the Oise.
- June 21—American forces northwest of Château-Thierry make further gains on the north side of Belleau Wood; reconnoitring thrusts by the Allies all along the line; French gain north of the Ourcq.
- June 23—British enter German positions near Bucquoy and Morlancourt; French carry out successful raids between Montdidier and the Oise; Italians, co-operating with the French, check German attack at Bligny.
- June 24—Germans raid American trenches east of St. Die and southeast of Luné-

On the Saloniki front, between January and June, 21 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 13 were driven out of control. Four British machines were reported missing.

From March to June, in Egypt and Palestine, 26 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 15 were driven out of control. Ten British machines were reported missing.

Thirty-three air attacks were made during June by the Allies against German towns and cities, according to a statement issued at Berlin July 17. Thirty-four persons were killed and 37 were severely injured. Thirty-five others suffered slight wounds.

NAVAL RECORD

Thomas J. McNamara, Financial Secretary of the British Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons on June 19 that twenty-one German destroyers and a large number of submarines were penned in the Bruges Canal docks as the result of the British naval operations at Zeebrugge.

Reports of the presence of a fast and heavily armed German raider in West Indian waters were received on June 25. A large British steamship was reported torpedoed.

Four British torpedo-boat destroyers fought a long-range engagement with a German destroyer force off the Belgian coast, June 27. The action was broken off before any decisive results were attained.

Word was received on July 12 that an American naval launch, after helping a French destroyer to tow a disabled seaplane to safety, was sunk by German shore batteries. Two of the crew were drowned and one taken prisoner.

The steamship Wimmera was sunk by a mine off the coast of New Zealand, with the loss of twenty-six lives, according to a dispatch from Vancouver dated July 17.

RUSSIA

Word was received June 23 that the Soviet Government would be compelled to conclude a foreign loan, and that in return for it Germany would be granted wide exploitation of Russia's natural resources.

General Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated by two Social Revolutionists on July 6. At the same time a formidable counter-revolutionary movement was attempted in Moscow by the Social Revolutionists. It was suppressed with bloodshed.

A state of war was proclaimed in the province of Archangel, June 23, due to Finnish attempts to take Kola. It became known on July 3 that Germans and Finns had invaded East Karelen and threatened the Murman Railway. Consuls of the Allies on that day received delegates from the Murman coast and the White Sea coast, asking for the protection of the Entente allied Governments.

The entire population of the Murman coast broke with Russia on July 7 and joined the Entente. Supplies from the United States were received at Murmansk. On the same day White Guards occupied Yaroslavl, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, and cut communications between Moscow and Vologda.

American and British forces occupied the whole of the Murman coast, July 15, taking possession of the Port of Kem on the White Sea and advancing toward Torok.

General Tuan Chi-jui, the Chinese Premier and War Minister, announced on June 22 that Chinese troops were available for co-operation with the Japanese against the Bolsheviks.

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The Stars and Stripes

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The invincible flag that our fathers defended;

And our hearts can repeat what the heroes have sworn,

That war shall not end till the war-lust is ended.

Then the bloodthirsty sword shall no longer be lord

Of the nations oppressed by the conqueror's horde,

But the banners of freedom shall peacefully wave

Over the world of the free and the lands of the brave.

On the Saloniki front, between January and June, 21 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 13 were driven out of control. Four British machines were reported missing.

From March to June, in Egypt and Palestine, 26 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 15 were driven out of control. Ten British machines were reported missing.

Thirty-three air attacks were made during June by the Allies against German towns and cities, according to a statement issued at Berlin July 17. Thirty-four persons were killed and 37 were severely injured. Thirty-five others suffered slight wounds.

NAVAL RECORD

Thomas J. McNamara, Financial Secretary of the British Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons on June 19 that twenty-one German destroyers and a large number of submarines were penned in the Bruges Canal docks as the result of the British naval operations at Zeebrugge.

Reports of the presence of a fast and heavily armed German raider in West Indian waters were received on June 25. A large British steamship was reported torpedoed.

Four British torpedo-boat destroyers fought a long-range engagement with a German destroyer force off the Belgian coast, June 27. The action was broken off before any decisive results were attained.

Word was received on July 12 that an American naval launch, after helping a French destroyer to tow a disabled seaplane to safety, was sunk by German shore batteries. Two of the crew were drowned and one taken prisoner.

The steamship Wimmera was sunk by a mine off the coast of New Zealand, with the loss of twenty-six lives, according to a dispatch from Vancouver dated July 17.

RUSSIA

Word was received June 23 that the Soviet Government would be compelled to conclude a foreign loan, and that in return for it Germany would be granted wide exploitation of Russia's natural resources.

General Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated by two Social Revolutionists on July 6. At the same time a formidable counter-revolutionary movement was attempted in Moscow by the Social Revolutionists. It was suppressed with bloodshed.

A state of war was proclaimed in the province of Archangel, June 23, due to Finnish attempts to take Kola. It became known on July 3 that Germans and Finns had invaded East Karelen and threatened the Murman Railway. Consuls of the Allies on that day received delegates from the Murman coast and the White Sea coast, asking for the protection of the Entente allied Governments.

The entire population of the Murman coast broke with Russia on July 7 and joined the Entente. Supplies from the United States were received at Murmansk. On the same day White Guards occupied Yaroslavl, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, and cut communications between Moscow and Vologda.

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Americans on the Battlefront

More Than 1,100,000 of Our Men in France, and
700,000 on the Fighting Lines

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1918]

COINCIDENT with a remarkable acceleration in the sending of American troops across the Atlantic, units already in France have been gaining fresh laurels on the firing line and gradually relieving the Allies of sectors and parts of sectors. On June 21 it was stated that American troops were then holding thirty-nine miles of the western battlefront, occupying positions in six different sectors. Here they continued the minor operations, made several small gains, and scored at least two important successes on a larger scale.

The success at Château-Thierry in the Marne region was followed up by the Americans who attacked the German line northwest of the town during the night of June 19. They advanced more than half a mile and drove the Germans back from a small pocket on the northern side of Belleau Wood. Here, during the morning of June 21, the Americans straightened out their line by a series of small but brilliantly executed attacks.

Cantigny, in the Montdidier sector, was the scene of another short and fierce struggle on the morning of June 20, when American troops stormed German trenches and machine-gun nests in front of the village. Most of the German troops, acting under orders to hold their positions at all costs, were killed by rifle and machine-gun fire and bayonet. Considering the small scale of the operation, the casualties suffered by the enemy were unusually heavy.

By far the most complete operation planned and executed by American officers and men up to date was the American advance in the Marne Valley on July 1, resulting in the capture of the town of Vaux. The advance was on a two-mile front to a depth of about a mile, taking in some high-lying ground behind Vaux as well as the town itself. [Full descriptions of this American achievement will

be found in succeeding pages of this issue.]

The Australians, in their advance at Hamel of one and a half miles on a four-mile front on July 4, had the assistance of American infantry units, which greatly distinguished themselves and won high praise from their comrades. The only criticism the Australian officers had to offer was that the Americans were too enthusiastic and too eager. How our men fought alongside the antipodeans is also fully described in this issue.

A MILLION IN FRANCE

The past month has been prolific in evidence of the remarkable growth of the American Army abroad. More than 1,100,000 men have been sent abroad, and more than 700,000 are combatants under General Pershing. A large number of Americans are in training in Great Britain, where General Biddle is in command of units which are stationed at nearly eighty points throughout the country.

The remarkable acceleration in the rate of sending troops across the Atlantic, already mentioned, was shown in a letter from the Secretary of War to President Wilson on July 1. The facts disclosed for the first time were the following:

The first ship carrying military personnel sailed May 8, 1917, having on board Base Hospital 4 and members of the Reserve Nurses Corps.

General Pershing and his staff sailed on May 20, 1917.

The embarkations in the months from May, 1917, to and including June, 1918, are as follows:

1917—		1918—	
May	1,718	January	46,776
June	12,261	February	48,027
July	12,988	March	83,811
August	18,323	April	117,212
September ...	32,523	May	244,345
October	38,259	June	276,372
November ...	23,016	Marines	14,644
December ...	48,840	Total	1,019,115

The total number of our troops returned from abroad, lost at sea, and casualties, is 8,165, and of these, by reason of the superbly

efficient protection which the navy has given our transport system, only 291 have been lost at sea.

MARCH'S STATEMENT

General Peyton C. March, Chief of the General Staff, in a statement on June 22, threw considerable light on recent American military activities in France. Of figures concerning those on the fighting line he said little, but he disclosed the fact that about 12,000 marines were there under Brig. Gen. James G. Harbord of the regular army. He said a good word for the colored troops, and added that "so far, whenever the test has come, regardless of the character of the troops themselves, the American troops have done well."

To the 1st Regular Army Division, under Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard, General March gave the credit for the capture of Cantigny. This was the first American division landed in France. In connection with the Cantigny battle General March emphasized the "very striking example" it afforded of high-class teamwork between infantry and artillery, "and particularly the staff." It showed that our staff training, he said, had now reached the point "where it can work successfully."

Good words were said by General March also for the Rainbow Division—the 42d—under Major Gen. C. T. Menoher, and the New England Division—the 26th—under Major Gen. Clarence Edwards.

Speaking again on June 29, General March announced that the 77th National Army Division, composed mostly of New Yorkers and trained for service at Camp Upton, Yaphank, L. I., had taken over a sector on the western front. This was the first National Army division assigned to a place on the firing line. The division was originally trained by Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell, and after his relief from command was taken across by General Johnston.

General March also made known that five divisions of American troops that had been assigned to veteran British units for intensive training had been transferred to the direct command of General Pershing. This was in accord-

ance with the understanding reached with the British Government at the time the United States consented to have some of its contingents placed with British troops under British commanders. None of these American units has been in France for any considerable period. The American Army overseas was reaching such a state of efficiency that General Pershing could henceforth use his own experienced units as monitors and instructors for troops green in the game of war.

General March disclosed also that the first American troops were landed in Italy on July 28, 1918, and that they consisted largely of Sanitary Units.

On June 28 additions to the sectors in France, where Americans are holding positions, were announced, bringing the total number up to eight. The last sector taken over was in Alsace, near where the battlefront crosses from Germany into France. The eight American sectors were then in the following vicinities: Near Montdidier, northwest of Château-Thierry, immediately east of Château-Thierry, at Toul, in Lorraine, and three in Alsace, one near the border line, another south of that, and one in front of Belfort.

THREE ARMY CORPS

Following an announcement on July 1 that the first American Army corps was just being organized, there came on July 13 the news that General Pershing now had so many properly trained divisions at his disposal that he had been able to form three army corps, which did not include several hundred thousand men training in France and Great Britain and on the way across the Atlantic. Each army corps numbered from 225,000 to 250,000 men, so that approximately 700,000 Americans were actually on the battlefront. The three corps were designated the 1st, 2d, and 3d. The 1st was composed entirely of veteran troops, including the 1st and 2d Divisions of regulars and the Marine Corps Brigade, which distinguished itself in the Château-Thierry-Soissons sector. The complete composition of the three corps, as given out by General March, was as follows:

FIRST ARMY CORPS

Temporarily commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.

1st (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.

2d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Omar Bundy, including marines.

26th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, composed of New England troops, many of whom had seen service on the Mexican border. This was the first National Guard division sent to France.

42d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher, known as the Rainbow Division.

41st (National Guard) Division, originally commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, composed of troops from the Pacific Coast States and known as the Sunset Division.

32d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William G. Haan, composed of troops from Michigan and Wisconsin.

SECOND ARMY CORPS

77th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George B. Duncan, composed of New York troops. This was the first National Army division sent to France and to the front.

35th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. W. M. Wright, composed of troops from Kansas and Missouri.

82d (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William P. Burnham, composed of troops from Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

30th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George W. Reid, composed of troops from Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.

28th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. H. Muir, composed of troops from Pennsylvania.

4th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George H. Cameron.

THIRD ARMY CORPS

3d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman.

5th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John E. McMahon.

78th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. J. N. McRae, composed of troops from Delaware and New York.

80th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite, composed of troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

33d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George Bell, composed of troops from Illinois.

27th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, composed of troops from New York.

General March explained that the commanders of the 2d and 3d Corps had not yet been selected, as the policy of the War Department was to wait until Major Generals acquired the experience necessary for the handling of large bodies of men. As soon as the permanent corps commanders were chosen they would be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General.

The total number of officers and men in the army about the middle of July was approximately 2,200,000, distributed as follows:

On the front with General Pershing.	700,000
Training in France and Great Britain, and en route to Europe.....	400,000
Training in the United States and stationed at army posts.....	1,100,000
Total	2,200,000

American casualties up to and including July 15, 1918, were as follows:

Killed in action.....	1,379
Lost at sea.....	291
Died of wounds.....	606
Died of accident or other causes.....	508
Died of disease.....	1,345

Total deaths.....	4,129
Wounded	5,459
Missing, including prisoners.....	522

Grand total.....10,110

To the above should be added the following Marine Corps casualties up to and including July 15:

Dead	573
Wounded	1,044
Missing, including prisoners.....	65

Total

The aggregate on July 15 of all casualties sustained abroad was 11,792.

\$12,000,000,000 Army Bill Passed

Congress on July 6 finally disposed of the Army Appropriation bill, providing \$12,085,000,000, which was duly signed by President Wilson. The principal appropriations included:

Ordnance and ammunition	\$3,000,000,000
Clothing	1,230,000,000
Machine guns.....	575,000,000
Armored motor cars.....	347,000,000
Transportation	1,532,000,000
Aviation	884,000,000

Among the provisions of the bill are those changing the basis of States' draft quotas from total population to the number of men in Class 1, registering subjects of the Allies made liable to military service by treaties such as the recently ratified Anglo-American reciprocal draft agreement, the organization of a Slavic legion, consisting of Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, and Poles in the United States who wish to fight against Austria-Hungary.

The bill originally provided for the promotion of Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General, to the rank of Lieutenant General for the duration of the war.

In declining the proposed honor, General Crowder summarized the work done under his direction in administering the selective draft law:

Forty-eight States and three territorial headquarters and nearly 6,000 local and district boards, with an aggregate membership of nearly 18,000 citizens, assisted by legal and medical advisory boards in every jurisdiction, have co-operated with the national headquarters efficiently and honorably, many without compensation, in the superb teamwork which has produced the gratifying result attained under the selective service law. These results embrace the registration of more than 10,500,000 citizens and their classification for military service, and the entrainment of nearly 1,000,000 men now serving with the colors. By Aug. 1 of this year this number will be approximately 2,000,000, and by the close of the year, if ex-

pected requisitions are received, the aggregate will approach 3,000,000.

The proposed promotion was stricken from the bill on the ground, advanced by General Crowder, that it would be invidious to recognize his work and not that of the citizens who had co-operated with him.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain and Canada was signed on June 3 and ratified by the Senate on June 24, whereby Americans in Great Britain and Canada who are within the American draft ages of 21 to 31 years, and Britons and Canadians between 20 and 44, who are resident in the United States, are made subject to compulsory military service if they have not, within sixty days after the exchange of ratifications, returned to their native land or enlisted in the military forces of their own country.

The War Council, which had been created by the Secretary of War, was abolished by Mr. Baker on July 8. All the general officers who had been members of the council had been assigned to various other positions, and the council had therefore become unnecessary. They included General Bliss, appointed American military representative on the Versailles War Council; General Biddle, who was sent to Great Britain to take command of the American troops training there; General Weaver, since retired, and General Sharpe, detailed to the command of the Southeastern Department.

America's War Effort

By NEWTON D. BAKER

[SECRETARY OF WAR]

The following is a summary of what was accomplished by the United States War Department from April 6, 1917, when war was declared, to July 1, 1918. It is a letter sent by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives:

SINCE April 6, 1917, the regular army has increased from 5,791 officers and 121,797 enlisted men to 11,365 officers and 514,376 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service from 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men to 17,070 officers and 417,-

441 enlisted men; the Reserve Corps in actual service has increased from 4,000 enlisted men to 131,968 officers and 78,560 enlisted men; the National Army has been created with an enlisted force of approximately 1,000,000 men.

The army has increased in fourteen

months from 9,524 officers and 202,510 enlisted men to approximately 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 enlisted men.

The number of men in France on en route to France, including combatants, medical service, service for supply, and all the units which go to make up an entire army, is on July 1 practically 1,000,000 men.

2. *Supplies for Soldiers*—The size of this undertaking may best be seen by these typical purchases by the Quartermaster Corps from the beginning of the war to June 15, 1918:

HARDWARE AND METALS

Articles and Unit.	Quantity.
Hammers, each	2,567,000
Axes, each	5,121,729
Files, each	10,870,000

VEHICLES AND HARNESS

Halters, each	1,700,000
Escort wagons	120,000
Combat wagons	26,000

ANIMALS

Horses and mules.....	339,593
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CLOTHING AND MATERIAL FOR CLOTHING

Shoes, pairs	27,249,000
Boots, (rubber, hip,) pairs.....	2,340,000
Overshoes, (arctic,) pairs.....	4,010,000
Cotton undershirts, each.....	43,922,000
Denim cloth, yards.....	103,028,000
Stockings, (wool,) pair.....	104,333,000

3. *Health of Men in Cantonments*—

The deaths per thousand from all causes in the regular army of the United States have been as follows:

1898	20.14	1901	6.90
1900	7.78	1916	5.13

The death rate per 1,000 among all troops—Regulars, National Army, and National Guard—in the United States for the week ending May 31 was 4.89, and for the week ending June 7, 4.14. The death rate for disease only among all troops in the United States for the week ending June 7 was 3.16, which is still lower than that of the preceding week, 3.2, which was then the record low rate since that of Nov. 2, 1917.

Hospital Accommodations in France and the United States and Supplies Therefor—The bed capacity on June 5 in all department hospitals in the United States was 72,667. New construction now under way will provide for a total of 87,344 beds. The number of base and general hospitals in this country has increased

from seven to seventy-two, and will be further increased. Vast hospital facilities have been organized and are being organized in France, providing beds numbering from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the number of men in the American Expeditionary Force.

Psychological examinations, of which more than 500,000 have been made, result in the weeding out of about one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the men examined.

Nutritional surveys, in 270 messes in 50 camps, have resulted in a readjustment of rations and a conservation of food.

The number of officers in the Medical Corps has increased from 900 to 24,000; the number of enlisted men from 8,000 to 148,000. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the Sanitary Corps and of the army nurses.

4. *Transportation in France*—With the completion of the organization of five new regiments and nineteen battalions of railway engineers there will be over 45,000 Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France. Nine regiments of railway engineers have been in France since last August.

There have been produced for the railroad operations of the War Department in France more than 22,000 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter freight cars and more than 1,600 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter locomotives. In addition to this, purchases of both cars and locomotives have been made abroad.

A double line of railroad communication has been secured from the French by army engineers, extending from the coast of France to the battlefield, including the construction of hundreds of miles of trackage for yards and the necessary sidings, switches, &c.

5. *Aircraft Production* — (Training planes, bombing planes, combat planes, and guns therefor; and production of Liberty engines.)

Deliveries of elementary training planes to June 8, 4,495.

Deliveries of advanced training planes to June 8, 820.

The average weekly production of advanced training planes during April was

22; during May, 45½; week ended June 8, 78.

To June 8, 286 combat planes were delivered. The weekly average of this type of machine in April was 5; in May, 38, and for the week ended June 8, 80.

Six thousand eight hundred and eighty elementary training engines were delivered to June 8.

Two thousand one hundred and thirty-three advanced training engines were delivered to the same date.

More than 2,000 Liberty engines have now been delivered to the army and navy. The average weekly production in April was 96; in May, 143, and in the first week of June, 115.

Thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty machine guns were delivered for use on airplanes before June 8.

6. *Rifles and Ammunition*—More than 1,300,000 rifles were produced in America and delivered between the declaration of war and June 1 of this year.

Deliveries of new United States model 1917, the so-called modified Enfield, have passed the million mark. In the two weeks preceding June 1 more than 66,000 rifles were delivered. Sufficient rifles are being received now to equip an army division every three days.

7. *Ordnance Supplies, Artillery, Browning Guns, &c.*—As to machine guns, heavy Browning guns for instruction purposes are in every National Guard camp and National Army cantonment in this country where troops are in training. During May more than 900 of these heavy machine guns were delivered.

More than 1,800 light Browning machine guns were delivered in May.

Probably the most difficult undertaking in the outfitting of an army is the manufacture of heavy artillery. Not only are the forging and machining processes extremely difficult, but it has been necessary to create manufacturing facilities for the vast proportion of the program. Sixteen plants had to be provided for the manufacture of mobile artillery cannon. In practically all cases these plants had to be retooled, and in some cases they were built from the ground up. The same difficulty is

met in the design and manufacture of artillery carriages, but the artillery program is now approaching a point where quantity production is beginning.

The first of four Government-owned shell-fitting plants has been completed and is beginning to produce. In addition, a number of private plants are at work loading shells. Vast as were the privately-owned facilities for the manufacture of powder and high explosives, the Government has provided additional facilities which are very much larger than those which private enterprise had created.

Ordnance engineers, it seems, are well on the way to a solution of the problem of the motorization of field artillery. The problem of motorization of light artillery has been a constant factor in slowing the advance of troops to await the bringing forward of their supporting guns. Tractors have been used by all nations, of course, to haul heavy pieces along good roads, but they have been unable to develop tractors for hauling light pieces over shell-shattered ground. On June 3 the Ordnance Department demonstrated a five-ton armored artillery tractor, which proved capable of negotiating the most difficult terrain, hauling a 4.7 howitzer, which weighed approximately 9,000 pounds.

Approximately \$90,000,000 is being spent to provide for the manufacture of nitrates, which are essential in the manufacture of explosives, but which heretofore had to be procured from Chile. The building of these plants will add to our powder output, will save large amounts of cargo space, and it is supposed after the war will produce nitrate for fertilizing American farms.

8. *Port Facilities in France*—Among the most dramatic stories of the war is that of the development by American engineers and American enterprises of port facilities on the French coast. It is not permissible to say where this development has taken place, but the scope of it may be judged by the fact that it would be possible to handle during the month of July a maximum of 750,000 tons at the ports of the American Army in France.

It was necessary before troops of the

American Expeditionary Force could be landed to send an organization of foresters into the woods of France, to send knocked-down sawmills after them, to cut down trees, to shape them into timbers, and to build them into docks in order that our troops might leave their ships. Fast as this work was, and large as the flow of troops has been accelerated, the facilities for dockage have kept pace with the shipments of troops and supplies.

9. *Morals of the Army*—Consensus of opinion is that drunkenness in the army is completely under control, both in the United States and France. General Pershing states: "As there is little beer sold in France, men who drink are thus limited to the light native wine used by all French people. Even this is discouraged among our troops in every possible way."

You may travel for weeks in France without seeing an intoxicated American soldier. In The Congressional Record on or about March 31 there is a reprinted statement of a journalist in France, beginning:

"Every one is on the water wagon at the American front. During the last month I have been at the front daily and often twice a day, seeing thousands of American soldiers. In that time I saw exactly one man drunk, and one other who was under the influence of liquor."

The Third Assistant Secretary of War in ten days at a National Army camp adjacent to Chicago saw two men intoxicated.

There is no permanent military camp

in the United States with a red-light district in its vicinity.

The Commission on Classification of Personnel reports that a surprisingly large proportion of recruits ask to be placed in the most hazardous branches of the military service. If a reply is needed to those who say that the men in the National Army are in camp because they have to be, it is this—that those same men are going over the top because they want to go.

The desire among men in the military service to get to France and to the front is universal. The Secretary of War stated before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that he had seen grizzled men, of the army turn away from their desks to hide their tears when they were asked to do organization work in America rather than go to France, where the glory of their profession lies. When the Secretary of War started for Europe and was on the ocean he was approached, in a number of instances, by seamen, requesting transfer to the army in order that they might see service which seemed more active and closer to the front.

In France it was necessary to change the name of the zone behind the armies from the Service of the Rear to Service of Supply, because of the difficulty in getting men to serve in a region having the shell-proof connotation of the word "rear." Even at the actual front there is something of a tradition against the use of the term No Man's Land. Our men prefer to call it—and to make it—Yankee Land.



American Victories in France

Important Advance at Vaux, Near Château-Thierry, and Capture of Hamel, in Conjunction With British

The most important engagements of the Americans in the period between June 15 and July 15, 1918, were, first, the capture of the village of Vaux, followed by the advance of their lines a mile on a two-mile front, in an action entirely conducted by Americans in the Château-Thierry district on July 1; second, on July 4, the taking of Hamel, south of the Somme, in an action in which Americans and Australians fought side by side, advancing more than a mile on a front of four miles, capturing 1,500 prisoners and much material. The fighting in this sector was participated in by the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions, the units in the 2d Division including the 9th and 23d Infantry Regiments, the 12th, 15th, and 17th Artillery, the 2d Engineers, and the 5th and 6th Marines.

Taking the Village of Vaux

By CAMERON MACKENZIE

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THE Americans on July 1 scored in one of those deft, eminently businesslike operations with which for more than a month now they have been pushing steadily ahead in the Marne Valley. They advanced their lines to a depth of about a mile on a two-mile front and captured the town of Vaux and certain high-lying ground to the north of it, bringing back no fewer than 500 prisoners, and all within the space of forty minutes.

The thrust, every detail of which was planned and executed by officers and men of the United States Army acting alone, was by far the most "finished" piece of warfare in which the new troops from overseas have yet been engaged.

It was as a logical development of their earlier successes in the Château-Thierry sector that the Americans advanced in the evening of July 1. Although with the taking of Belleau Wood in the previous week a definite chain of operations had in the American military view been brought to completion, there remained an unfortunate loop, or sag, in their front which it eventually was deemed advisable to straighten.

The straightening of it involved the occupying of Vaux with its tap on the main railroad line into Château-Thierry, the capture of a knoblike crest of ground

designated as Hill 192, on the edge of Clerembauts Wood, and also the routing of Germans from a right sizable cluster of trees, midway between the two other points and known as Laroche Wood. The town, hill, and wood became the American objectives, and preparations for the adventure began.

There was something splendidly thoroughgoing in the manner in which the job was approached. Vaux offered the chief problem. The village, which in peace times had a population of about 700, was heavily garrisoned with German troops, and also it was known that nearly every principal building sheltered a well-manned machine gun.

The Americans began with the usual maps and air observations, but soon supplemented these methods of intelligence with others. The countryside was scoured for refugees from Vaux. An old mason-builder was found among others, who as it turned out actually knew the interior arrangements of most of the dwellings in the place.

Scouting parties and patrols night after night kept locating nests of machine guns by carefully drawing their fire. Picture postcards were gathered wholesale, and other methods were invoked.

Before 6 o'clock in the morning the

United States Army knew practically all there was to know about the once sleepy little village of Vaux, knew every turn of its cobbled streets, knew every structure and precisely where it stood, knew every room, every attic, every cellar, and all had been mapped, with a little map and the most minute instructions for every khaki doughboy who was to have a part in the push.

At 6 o'clock the American artillery unlimbered, and until the turn of noon pounded away with great throaty heavies on back regions of the objectives. The guns fired were American guns, the gunners who fired them were American gunners, and the shells that methodically and with a sort of unemotional, matter-of-fact regularity went whining forth from the depths of a copse of leafy woods, sundering the hot Summer's morning, were American shells.

INTENSE BOMBARDMENT

By noontime it was judged that the rear positions of the Germans had been sufficiently plastered with iron, and the American artillery then began intensive fire upon more immediate points of the coming attack.

The bombardment which the United States artillery conducted in the afternoon is worthy of note. To begin with, never before have Americans attained a violence of fire comparable with that which they then attained. Of course, there was no such intensity as has been frequently reached upon British and French fronts, but it, nevertheless, was very high-keyed shellfire and decidedly suggestive of warfare as England and France have come to know it.

In the next place the fire was of the most telling accuracy. After the troops entered Vaux later, they did not find a single building that had not been struck at least once. At one time during the afternoon the Germans attempted to move separate groups of reserves into the village, but every one of the groups was annihilated in its tracks.

After the fighting was over I saw a very pale and very shaky German, who had been slightly wounded and was receiving care—and splendidly decent care it was—in an American field hospital.

His declaration was that at noontime there were 4,000 Germans concentrated in Vaux, but that before 6 o'clock, when the attack proper came, all but 700, under the force and terror of the searching and ceaseless American artillery, had fled.

OVER THE TOP

The exact hour when the doughboys went over was three minutes before 6 P. M. In one long-drawn, well-aligned wave they crawled from their trenches or shelters, and, closely hugging an almost perfect barrage, without getting their noses into it, set out all along a two-mile front at an evenly smart pace. Their slight dip down into the long, gentle scoop of a ravine, a not difficult scramble up the opposite slope, and their bobbing tin hats were gone into the roaring evening. In twenty-four minutes they were in Vaux and in twenty-six minutes they completely possessed themselves of Hill 192.

In Laroche Wood a little sharp, close work and some expeditious bombing and bayoneting had been done. Forty minutes were required for the job of that objective.

The resistance in Vaux proper was not very stiff. The Germans endeavored to get machine guns into effective play, but to do so skillfully was difficult. Every American moved to the particular post in the town to which he had been previously assigned, there to perform the particular job he had been bidden to do. None failed, and with such admirable smoothness did the machinery work that as if in a twinkling all was over, and within half an hour a line of American ambulances was wheeling into the village.

WAR IN EARNEST

Of the military value of the action it is difficult at present to form any estimate. The attack was not unrelated to the French thrust toward points south of Vaux, but of its value to American confidence and spirits there can be no doubt, nor can there be doubt that in its adroitness, dispatch, its thoroughness, its sustained team work, what it accomplished was a small triumph.

How much more poignantly than any

words of statesmen or barebone figures of troops brought to France did the entire episode bring the conviction that the United States really was in the most utter truth in the war over and over again! That thought recurred as one passed the long lines of American transport, slow, shadowy, and mysterious, crawling through the night, or came upon dusky columns of American doughboys moving cautiously with bated breath forward to the line, or saw American lads with bandaged heads and limbs lying moaning, or perhaps mute and still, beneath the candle-lit images and crucifixes of some tiny, dim French chapel converted into a hospital or dressing station.

Yes, in the Marne Valley one feels that the United States is immensely in the war, and after Vaux all doubts seemed silenced to nothingness by the tireless American guns which, not content with their work of destruction by day, were with gradually paling flashes roaring in the dawn of the new day.

AMERICAN GUNFIRE

Precisely twelve hours before the infantry had advanced the American guns, firing American shells, manned and directed exclusively by American gunners, had unlimbered for the work of preparation. At that time Vaux was completely intact. Its walls had been somewhat nicked by rifle fire or straying shrapnel,

and many window panes, according to the American scouts, were missing. Here and there a roof gaped to heaven in token of some preliminary range testing, but Vaux was still a town, a place of habitation, and not a building there but had its four walls solidly standing. Moreover, there was hardly a structure in Vaux that was not of stone. It was against such a stronghold that the American artillery battered for twelve hours on Monday, July 1.

The next day Vaux was an utter and complete ruin, a mere heap of shattered masonry. Not a building was left. A few jagged walls remained standing, but very few. The centre of the town, which was the chief point of the American fire, was battered flat.

The Château-Thierry road, running through the heart of Vaux, and down which on the first day of June the Germans passed on one of the most determined of their pushes toward Paris, is piled high with huge fragments of blasted stone. For the sake of comparison, take the towns of Ypres, Arras, and Bapaume as they existed in the middle of last Winter. Not one of these places had then been reduced by the Germans to the completely debilitated condition in which Vaux is today. The American artillery has proved itself capable of executing within a very brief space of time a veritable masterpiece of demolition.

Thorough American Work at Vaux

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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THE fight had been planned ten days. Our intelligence officers had learned the exact details of the village. Maps of the two villages had been made on a large scale, showing not only every house, but the nature of every house and every cave, winecellar, or other retreat that might hide soldiers. These caves were known to harbor Germans and were certain to be their refuge. On these maps every battery had a number of houses to destroy, and every cave was

assigned to some gunner, who was charged with closing the entrances. To the infantry were given maps of the villages, and to squads under Corporals was assigned the job of clearing up the cellars containing Germans, so many Americans being assigned to each cellar.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of July 1 our artillery let loose on Vaux. Guns scattered over a long stretch were centred on the unfortunate place. Then in merciless, methodical fashion we set to

work to depopulate Vaux of Germans. All morning our guns, big and little, pumped high explosives and gas into the village. The accuracy of aim was the same as that which gave rise to the saying that American naval gunners can hit a ten-cent piece at ten miles.

At noon the commander of the artillery reported that Vaux was on fire, and that every house had been hit at least once. Standing on a hill to the south, one could see the big shells land in some little house. There was a cloud of yellow smoke, and the house was no more. But the bombardment did not halt at noon. All the afternoon our guns kept pounding. They were guns made in America.

FOLLOW A CREEPING BARRAGE

At 6 in the evening, after an early supper, the infantry started. But first the artillery range was lifted from Vaux, and the first creeping barrage ever put over by Americans started over the whole area. This area had been divided into checkerboard squares, to each of which one of the guns had been assigned to drop shells. At the start of the barrage a line of shells was dropped across the nearest edge of the area. Three minutes later there was another line of shells a few yards further on. In these lines shells fell about ten yards apart and made a curtain of steel under which no German could live except in a dugout.

Certain and sure that raking fire went across that area, and moving along after it went our infantry. From the first they found that the Germans had been absolutely demoralized by our fire. With the exception of a barrage that the Germans got down on some of our men just before they started, the first 1,000 yards of advance brought remarkably few casualties.

Our line started from a long ravine sheltered by trees. In front of the men was a large wheatfield, with Vaux over beyond the northeast end, and the Bois de la Roche lying to the north of it.

From a neighboring hill our infantrymen could be seen, their brown backs bobbing through the wheatfield, with the curtain of shells ahead.

The advance started at 6 o'clock, and at 6:25 the first of our men entered the village of Vaux. By 6:40 they had gone through the woods, gaining all their objectives. Our stormy petrels took Vaux in clean-up style. Squads were ready with their hand grenades to mop up the cellars, but many of these had been closed by our fire, and the Germans had been buried in them. From others the Germans came out and surrendered. In some there was difficulty, and in that case our men threw in hand grenades in great numbers. Generally, if there were any Germans left, they surrendered. There is a strong probability that, when all the prisoners captured are accounted for, the total will be above 500.

TERRIBLY EFFICIENT

Every action connected with the attack was most efficient. Four hours after the men went over the top American telephone lines were working from Vaux back to our headquarters. By 7:30 our ambulances were running into the wrecked village.

The German prisoners agree that the American artillery work was terrific. In the operation we used many thousand high-explosive and gas shells. A wounded German brought in about 10 o'clock said that in the morning there had been 4,000 Germans in the village, but after the barrage started some had been withdrawn, leaving only those who could be sheltered in sixty-eight caves in the village. He said the cave in which he took refuge was wrecked by an American shell and that he lay wounded for six hours until the Americans came in, when one of them heard him yelling "Kamerad!" He said that for twelve hours the bombardment of Vaux had been hell and that the Germans were glad when the artillery stopped and the attack came.

TALAAT PASHA



Grand Vizier of the Turkish Empire
(Paul Thompson)

FIELD MARSHAL BOROEVIC



Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian armies in Italy up to
July, 1918

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The Advance at Hamel

By PHILIP GIBBS

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THE Australians, assisted by American infantry and supported by tanks, delivered a smashing attack on the Germans July 4, making an advance of one and one-half miles on a four-mile front, including the village of Hamel and the trench system beyond, south of the Somme.

Under the widespread flight of shells, (the bombardment extended over a wide front,) the tanks started forward. Smoke screens were sent up in front of them in dense clouds, which lay low on the ground, to hide them from the German anti-tank guns, and into this fog they went, nosing their way at a steady pace.

Besides the officers and crews, shut up inside their steel walls, working the engines and guns, there were three or four men sitting on the tops, utterly exposed. Their legs dangled over the sides of the tanks, like those of boys going for a joy ride, and in this way they rode into hellfire, as it seemed to the men watching them, because of the smoke screens and the flashes of the shells beyond.

The infantry followed in waves, loose and open lines of men extending forward as they went, close to the barrage, rolling slowly on ahead of them—so close that they took the risk of being wounded by their own fire, but preferred this risk to the more deadly one of lagging behind and giving time for the German machine gunners to get to work.

There were only a few places where the German machine guns opened fire and gave trouble. One of those positions was in the rear trench, where no tank could get into position, and here the enemy fought stubbornly, firing machine guns with a persistent tattoo until they were rushed by Australians.

All this battle happened in a kind of twilight. At 3 o'clock there was a faint line of dawn over the trenches and woods, and ten minutes later there was fair visibility for 300 yards ahead, as tested by

Australian staff officers. In this half light, fogged over certain lines by smoke wreaths, the Australians made their way, shouting for the enemy to surrender.

The companies of Americans who assisted in the battle were eager to go forward to meet the enemy face to face for the first time and prove their fighting quality. They have proved it up to the hilt of that sword, which is in their temper and spirit.

Australian officers with whom I spoke told me the Americans attacked with astonishing ardor, discipline, and courage. If they had any fault at all, it was over eagerness to advance, so that they could hardly be restrained from going too rapidly behind the wide belt of the British shellfire as the barrage rolled forward.

CELEBRATING THE FOURTH

It was a historic day for them and for the British. It was the Fourth of July, the day of American independence, when many French villages quite close to the fighting lines were all fluttering with the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes in honor of their comradeship in arms and symbolizing the hope of peace in the united strength of the armies that now defend her soil.

And it was the first time the American soldiers had fought on the British front. They understood that on their few companies, fighting as platoons among the Australians, rested the honor of the United States in this adventure. Their General and his officers addressed them before the battle and called on them to make good.

"You are going in with the Australians," they said, "and those lads always deliver the goods. We expect you to do the same. We shall be very disappointed if you do not fulfill the hopes and belief we have in you."

The American boys listened to these

words with a light in their eyes. They were ready to take all the risks to prove their mettle. They were sure of themselves, and were tuned up to a high pitch of nervous intensity at the thought of going into battle for the first time and on the Fourth of July.

"LUSITANIA," BATTLECRY

The Americans were not tender hearted in that eighty minutes of the advance to the ultimate objective with any of the enemy who tried to bar their way. They went forward with fixed bayonets, shouting the word "Lusitania" as a battlecry.

Again and again the Australians heard that word on American lips, as if there was something in the sound of it strengthening to their souls and terrifying to the enemy. They might well have been terrified—any German who heard that name, for to the American soldiers it is a call for vengeance.

It is a curious fact that with less provocation than the French, who see their own towns destroyed before their eyes and a great belt of ruin across their country and a world of tragedy where their own families are separated from them by the German lines, the American soldiers have come over here with such a stern spirit and with no kind of forgiveness in their hearts for the men who caused all this misery.

Today the young American soldiers who come out of battle wounded tell their experiences, and through them all is the conviction that the Germans are "bad men," and that death is a just punishment for all that they have done.

KILLED SEVEN GERMANS

One American Corporal, only 21 years of age, was wounded three times, but killed seven Germans, which, as he reckons, is two boches for each wound and one over. He had an astonishing

series of episodes in which it was his life or the enemy's. After going through the enemy's wire near Vair Wood, he found himself under fire from a machine gun hidden in a wheatfield, and was wounded badly in the thigh with an armor-piercing bullet designed for tanks.

He fell at once, but, staggering up again, threw a bomb at the German gun crew and killed four of them. One ran and disappeared into a dugout. The American Corporal followed him down, and the man turned to leap at him in the darkness, but he killed him with his bayonet.

He went up from the dugout again to the light of day above, and a German soldier wounded him again, but paid for the blow with his own life.

Another German attacked him, wounded him for a third time, and was killed by this lad whose bayonet was so quick.

That made six Germans, and the seventh was a machine gunner whom he shot. By this time the American Corporal was weak and bleeding from his wounds, and while he lay, unable to go further, he hoisted a rag on to his rifle as a signal to the stretcher bearers, who came and carried him back.

The American companies had very light casualties, and are satisfied. They accounted for many of the enemy. They are glad of that in a simple, serious way, and the spirit shown by those American soldiers in action on the British front for the first time seems to me, in spite of their youth, like that of Cromwell's Ironsides, stern and terrible to the enemy, who to them is the enemy of God and mankind.

The General commanding the French Army in the Château-Thierry sector announced that the Bois de Belleau, where the Americans won their victory June 26, would be known hereafter as the "Bois des Américains."



Heroic American Deeds

Edwin L. James, THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent with the American Expeditionary Force, relates these typical instances of individual courage:

LYING on a corner cot in a hospital was a young American soldier who took part in the fighting north of Belleau Wood on June 26. And he had a terrible grouch as he told me his troubles. He was afraid that the war would be over before he could get back into it, since he had had the ill-luck of being wounded just when he was getting really interested.

As I turned away an army surgeon called me aside and told me this lad's story.

In the severe fighting of June 26 this boy of 19, who is a Sergeant, was leading seven men with their rifles busy. One by one his men fell, until he was left alone.

Still shooting at every German head he could see, he came to a little clearing, where he got five Germans covered. They threw down their rifles, held up their hands, and yelled "Kamerad!"

The American youth kept his rifle on them and advanced, when a sniper got him through the right arm. He had to drop his rifle, but drew his automatic with his left hand and kept on going. Then the sniper wounded him in the left leg. That did not halt him. He forced the Germans to disarm; then he directed them to make an improvised litter for him.

Pressing his automatic into the back of one of the Germans, the Sergeant ordered them to carry him back to his post command. Down through woods swept by machine-gun fire, down a road, across a field, and then to his post command his captured litter bearers took him. Then he was put into an ambulance and taken to the rear.

After his wounds had been dressed at a field hospital he was completely disgusted when told that he had to go to a base hospital for a long time. He was still aggrieved when he said to me, "Hell, the war will be all over before I get back." I would like to give this brave lad's name, but the censorship rules for-

bid until after the War Department notifies his family that he is wounded, which will be from ten days to two weeks.

For individual accomplishments in the way of bagging Germans the palm for fighting on June 26 goes to Private Frank P. Lenert, who hails from Chicago. Lenert got himself surrounded by Germans about 3 o'clock in the morning. Seeing that he was alone, he thought it best to call off the fighting for a bit.

Lenert is a German-American. His captors were seventy-eight privates and five officers. They showed great interest in knowing how many Americans were in the attacking party. Lenert told them that eight regiments had attacked and many more were coming after them.

The Germans knew the American barrage behind them had cut off their retreat, and they told Lenert that since so many Americans were coming it was useless for them to fight longer, and they craved the honor of surrendering to Lenert.

Not losing for a moment his self-possession, despite the situation thrust upon him by his overstatement of our forces, Lenert asked for his rifle and got it. Then he ordered the Germans to throw all their arms away, which they did.

Placing himself behind the eighty-three boches, he marched them triumphantly to the rear. On his way he met a detachment assigned to take back prisoners, but Lenert said, "Nothing doing. These are my meat."

At just 5 o'clock he reached his headquarters with his prisoners. His General believes that Lenert's bag is a record for an individual capture.

"My God," said Lenert, "no wonder these boches believe the lies their officers tell them when they swallowed mine about how many regiments were coming after them."

As the soldiers come out of the fight many tales of heroism are being told.

One group of Americans, commanded by a young Lieutenant, cut their way into a German company and were surrounded. Refusing to surrender, they cut their way out, losing half their number, but fifteen minutes later, with the aid of reinforcements, they cut their way back into the German company and killed or captured all the members of it.

At a hospital I saw one of the Germans of this company. I asked him how his company had fared, and he said:

"Sir, there were thirty killed by the Americans and fifty captured. There were eighty in our company."

Fighting in the American forces were many drafted men who had been brought up as replacements. They gave a good account of themselves in all instances by the side of the seasoned fighters.

One of the higher officers told me how two men who had been in the army only a few months were manning a machine gun, when a shell burst, destroying the machine gun and wounding both of them. They went back to their post command, asked and obtained another machine gun, and, going back, manned it until the fight was over. Both men are now in hospital. Our officers are enthusiastic over the good omen of the individual bravery of the drafted men.

The German wounded are surprised at the excellent care taken of them by our surgeons. With the exception of the Prussians, most of them behave in a very decent manner. The Prussians are insolent.

One Prussian youngster, when asked if his army was well fed, replied that they had plenty to eat, as had the German civilians. When the bread and coffee was passed around soon afterward, he was not served. This forced him to say that he had had nothing to eat for three days and was almost starving then. He got a small cup of coffee and one slice of bread, while the others got two. The majority of the prisoners are Poles, who are glad to be captured.

In spite of their bravado, all the Germans said they hoped the war would soon be over, and they are obsessed with the idea that it will end in three months with a German victory.

None knew anything about the Austrian reversal, and would not believe it when newspapers were shown them. Hindenburg rather than the Kaiser seemed to be their idol.

FRENCH PREMIER'S PRAISE

On the morning of June 27, 1918, Premier Clemenceau appeared on the American front where the deeds recounted above occurred and warmly complimented the troops on the operation, which he said was "peculiarly American in conception, plan, and execution." It was in this action that the Americans drove the Germans out of Belleau Wood, killing and wounding over 1,200, capturing 311, besides taking eleven machine guns.

Premier Clemenceau in his address placed due emphasis on the fact that the successful operations had been planned by American commanders and executed by American soldiers unaided.

This sent a thrill of joy through the American fighters, for because of the necessary extended training of Americans under the direction of the French the German command had drawn for home consumption the lesson that the Americans were not to be trusted to fight unaided. Propagandists and correspondents had been pushing this idea hard. It was the first time that Clemenceau had personally thanked an American unit in the line for good work. American officers today found the French Premier thoroughly familiar with their record since June 1. Speaking perfect English, he told the General and his staff that he had entered Richmond five days after Grant and had then learned the valor of American fighters which the descendants of the fighters of 1861 are now living up to.

He said the bravery of the American soldiers and their numbers made the doom of the German hopes of victory certain. He observed that Americans were now arriving in France at the rate of 300,000 monthly.

Despite his seventy-odd years, the Premier was hale and hearty, and showed the enthusiasm of a boy in his praise of the Americans.

Citations by General Pershing

On June 24 General Pershing cited a number of Americans for especial acts of bravery. These citations are typical of many scores of others that have followed since then, recording the actual deeds of American fighting men on the battle-fronts. They are placed on record here as examples of the courage of American troops under fire:

Private Herbert L. Lennox, Pottsville, Penn.—Severely wounded and unable to retire, concealed autorifle in bushes and with pistol in blouse lay on ground until enemy passed. When the enemy had been driven back in a counterattack. Lennox crawled back to the autorifle and opened fire on the retreating enemy, killing or wounding many.

Private Axel Jermanson—Wounded, but refused to quit. Acted as loader for automatic rifle until too weak to continue; ordered to the rear, picked up the rifle of a wounded man and fought in the trenches until the enemy was repulsed.

Sergeant U. B. Norman—Remained in fight, although seriously wounded, refusing treatment until others had been treated first.

Captain William B. Woodward, Brooksville, Miss.—Showed sound judgment and coolness in changing the missions of his batteries, giving maximum assistance to the infantry and protecting the artillery personnel.

Major L. E. Hohl, Pittsburg, Kan.—Rare courage and leadership in rallying remnants, 200 strong, of different organizations, dispersed by blowing up an ammunition dump.

Lieutenant N. Alnes Brown—Efficiency and coolness in the evacuation of wounded at personal risk, under trying conditions.

Private Robert Nelson—Exposing himself to heavy shellfire and acting as lookout.

Sergeant Samuel Core—Worked for nearly two hours without cover, wiring in a strong point within sight of the enemy's heavy shell and machine-gun fire.

Sergeant R. R. Buckwalter—Wounded before a fight, insisted on going forward with his section, buried by a shell; remained at work until the end.

Corporal Boleslaw Sugmocki—Unaided and with disregard for danger killed several German snipers who had inflicted casualties on the front line.

Private Samuel D. McCain, Philadelphia.—Rescued a severely wounded comrade, carrying him on his back across an area swept by machine-gun fire; carried another wounded comrade to a dressing station one kilometer under shellfire.

Private Ross E. Read, Portland, Ore.—Rescued a wounded comrade who became entangled in barbed wire during the height of machine-gun fire.

Private George Laube, Atlanta, Ill.—Gathered timbers to complete a bomb-proof shelter under a heavy machine-gun fire.

Sergeant Kenneth K. Burns, Rodeo, N. M.—Voluntarily installed and maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Louis I. Dial, Stamford, Texas.—Maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Oscar R. Knodel, Springfield, Mass.—When communications failed, voluntarily went forward under shellfire and procured valuable information on the progress of the fighting.

Private Albert A. Hazeltine, Butte, Mon.—Passed over road and fields under heavy shellfire to get information on the progress of the attack when the lines of communication failed.

Captain William P. Crooke, Anaheim, Cal.—Displayed courage in maintaining telephone communications, his great efficiency enabling his command to follow at all times the progress of the fighting.

Private Floyd Coulburn, Salisbury, Md.—At a time when it was necessary for the enemy not to obtain an identification, he brought in the body of a comrade killed in action. He was wounded and since has died.

Private Aug.—For heroic conduct with a daylight patrol in carrying out an important mission in the face of artillery and machine guns.

Private Raymond Upton.—For the same performance.

Lieutenant George M. Flack, Providence, R. I.—He kept his men in hand and held a post, despite serious losses, during an enemy raid.

Private Jesse Hyden.—After the Corporal and the remainder of the gun crew were injured and the gun put out of action he repaired the gun and resumed firing. Wounded in the head, he helped to carry two wounded men of his squad to a first-aid station.

Private John Norris—He repaired telephone lines under a terrific shellfire and was wounded.

Privates Roy Sage and Earl Arnold—They worked twelve hours on the night of May 27, laying telephone lines that had been cut three times, compelling them to return for more wire, under terrific shellfire and gas bombardment.

Private Harry March, Long Branch, Cal.—Volunteered to carry messages through a devastating fire and returned with valuable information.

Corporal Sam Zingman, Kovno, Russia—He repaired telephone lines for twelve hours, perfecting connections under a terrific shell and gas attack.

Private Charles D. Fair—Was killed in action while repairing telephone lines under shellfire.

Privates Joseph Beck, Philadelphia; Ernest A. Becker, Henry C. Franz, Edgar A. Hartman, Robert E. Carson, and Mike Vujnovich—For repairing telephone lines under shellfire. All were wounded.

Lieutenant Robert W. Markus, Quincy, Ill.—He led a machine-gun section to a forward

position until he became unconscious from exhaustion.

Sergeant James W. Koon, Weems, Ohio.—He operated the machine gun of the section until the ammunition was exhausted and ran through a heavy artillery fire to report to the platoon commander.

Sergeant Henry W. Endter, Bernard, Ohio.—In disregard of personal danger he directed and assisted in digging out members of a platoon buried by the explosion of a large shell and cheered his men while under heavy fire.

Corporal Talmage W. Gerrald, Gallivants Ferry, S. C.—Killed while carrying a wounded man through barrage to a first-aid station.

Private Lindlay McPhail, Park Ridge, Ill.—He exposed himself to danger in assisting and directing the evacuation of wounded.

Captain E. S. Dollarhide, Philadelphia.—Refused to leave a machine gun, although suffering from shell wounds, until forced to do so by his commander. He returned and fought throughout the engagement.

Private Paul Tereschenko, Philadelphia.—Was wounded while delivering a message, but refused to go to the rear.

Private Daniel R. Edwards, Philadelphia.—Handled a machine gun, although wounded. All his comrades were killed.

Sergeant Henry Krothe, Atlanta, Ga.—Remained at his post, seriously wounded, directing machine gunners.

Private L. C. Kohmann.—Displayed a great courage and example to his men in braving machine-gun fire while delivering messages.

Private William R. Cox.—For capturing seven German prisoners single handed after advancing 300 yards into the woods ahead of his comrades.

Corporal Judson E. Steele, Edgewood, Iowa.—Buried three times by shell explosions and wounded, he kept his machine gun in action and refused to leave until ordered to do so.

Private Ivan L. Colner.—Manned a machine gun, although buried three times, and when his gun was shattered remained at his post with a rifle.

Sergeant Thomas W. Clemens, Kuttawa, Ky.—Although troops on both sides of him retreated owing to an intense bombardment, he kept his men at their post and prevented a panic.

Lieutenant W. P. Waltz, Belen, N. M.—Under personal risk he walked from gun to gun, directing and encouraging the machine gunners under heavy bombardment.

Privates Leo Ernest Du Bois, Marquette, Mich.; Leon Louis Smith, Waldo Emerson Canfield, and Donald Hartman Moore.—For remaining on duty as observers in front-line trenches under violent shellfire.

Sergeant John Takach, Winburne, Penn.—His post cut off, he took charge of his men and fought until all were wounded; displayed skill and judgment in making a counterattack and retiring.

Corporal Carter C. Selfe, Bristow, Va.—Showed coolness and courage while severely wounded, going to the assistance of isolated comrades with an automatic rifle.

Private Benjamin Ferill.—Displayed daring in climbing a tree to observe the approach of the enemy and giving timely warning to his platoon.

Private Cris Lee.—Seeing the loader of an automatic rifle wounded, ran forward and seized the equipment of the wounded man and served the gun until severely wounded.

Lieutenant Gerwin D. Adair.—For the same performance.

Heroes Rewarded With Distinguished Service Crosses

Distinguished Service Crosses were awarded to more than 100 American marines who performed deeds of exceptional valor in the fighting near Château-Thierry in June. Thirty-seven additional crosses were awarded July 11. The order of the American General issued in connection therewith was as follows:

It is with inexpressible pride and satisfaction that your commander recounts your glorious deeds on the field of battle. In the early days of June on a front of twenty kilometers, after night marches and with only the reserve rations which you carried, you stood like a wall against the enemy advance on Paris. For this timely action you have received the thanks of the French people whose homes you saved and the generous praise of your comrades in arms.

Since the organization of our sector, in

the face of strong opposition you have advanced your lines two kilometers on a front of eight kilometers. You have engaged and defeated with great loss three German divisions and have occupied important strong points—Belleau Wood, Buresches, and Vaux. You have taken about 1,400 prisoners, many machine guns, and much other material. The complete success of the infantry was made possible by the splendid co-operation of the artillery, by the aid and assistance of the engineer and signal troops, by the diligent and watchful care of the medical and supply services, and by the unceasing work of the well-organized staff. All elements of the division have worked together as a well-trained machine.

Amid the dangers and trials of battle every officer and every man has done well his part. Let the stirring deeds, hardships, and sacrifices of the past month remain forever a bright spot in our his-

tory. Let the sacred memory of our fallen comrades spur us on to renewed effort and to the glory of American arms.

[It was reported July 2 that the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions of United States

Regulars, commanded by Major Gens. Robert L. Bullard, Omar Bundy, and Joseph T. Dickman, respectively, were in the Château-Thierry region and took part in the capture of Vaux.—EDITOR.]

German Official View of the Americans

AN official German Army report was captured July 7 on an officer taken in the Marne region. The document was as follows:

Intelligence officer of the Supreme Command at Army Headquarters, No. 7, J. No. 3,528, Army Headquarters, June 17, 1917.

Second American Infantry Division.

Examination of prisoners from the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 23d Regiments captured from June 5 to 14 in the Bouresches sector.

Purpose of the Attacks—The prisoners were not informed of the purpose of the attacks. The orders for the attacks on Belleau Wood were made known only a few hours before the attacks took place.

Arrival in Line and Relief—The marine brigades went into sector from June 2 to June 4, and elements of the other two regiments from June 5 to 6 in the area Torcy-Vaux, (4 KM. W. of Château-Thierry,) one battalion from each unit being in the front line. There they relieved French troops of various divisions whose identity they did not know. They had no information concerning their relief. Only the prisoners from the marine brigade considered that on account of heavy losses their relief was imminent.

Paragraph One—The 3d Marine Brigade belongs to the Marine Corps, which was already in existence in the United States during peace time. The 1st and 2d Marine Brigades are said to be still at home.

Paragraph Two—Regarding the distribution of machine guns, the prisoners made contradictory statements. They claim that in the 3d Marine Brigade, for instance, each regiment, in addition to the infantry battalion, has one machine-gun battalion of four platoons, each platoon having twelve machine guns. Furthermore, each brigade is said to have one brigade machine-gun battalion.

According to a captured order of battle of the 26th American Division, (Intelligence Officer 7, No. 3,228, June 8, 1918,) that division has only one machine gun company to a battalion in each regiment. In case the vague statements of the prisoners are correct, the discrepancy can be perhaps explained by the fact that the Marine Corps was part of the United

States peace army and was therefore equipped according to principles other than in the case of the 26th American Division, which has been formed from National Guard troops since the war began.

Elements of the 2d American Division were put into the Moulaville (Verdun) sector from the middle of March to the middle of May for training, and were relieved by unknown French troops.

The division was then moved by rail to the vicinity of Vitry-le-François, where it remained about five days. From there the division was transferred by rail, via Coulommiers-Denis-Pont-Oise, into the regions west of Beauvais. The 5th Regiment of marines was in the vicinity of Gisors, thirty kilometers southwest of Beauvais. The 6th Regiment of marines was at Chars, seven kilometers northwest of the marines along the Pont-Oise to Beauvais railway.

The 9th and 23d Regiments were quarantined with and near the marines.

The division rested eight days in this region. Manœuvres on a large scale or with large units were not held; only exercises in minor tactics, hand grenade throwing, and target practice were carried out. A few long practice marches were made.

On May 31 the 3d Marine Brigade was ordered to move and put into French motor trucks, (twenty men or ten officers in each truck.) The 5th Regiment of the marines was the first to leave and traveled via Beaumont, Lucarches, Ermenonville, (west of Nateulles,) Plessis, Belleville, and Meaux to Lisy-sur-Ourcq, where they were unloaded after a journey of eighteen hours.

The next regiment to leave was the 6th Regiment of marines, which followed the same route, while the 9th and 23d Regiments apparently moved via Beaumont, Ecoven Genesse, Aulnay, (environs of Paris,) Clave, Meaux, and were unloaded in the neighborhood of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. The 5th Regiment of marines was put into line during the night of June 2-3 as the first regiment of the division, the other elements taking up their positions in the sector in échelon.

The 2d American Division may be classified as a very good division, perhaps even as assault troops. The various attacks of both regiments on Belleau

Wood were carried out with dash and recklessness. The moral effect of our firearms did not materially check the advance of the infantry. The nerves of the Americans are still unshaken.

Value of the Individual—The individual soldiers are very good. They are healthy, vigorous, and physically well developed men of ages ranging from 18 to 28, who at present lack only necessary training to make them redoubtable opponents. The troops are fresh and full of straightforward confidence. A remark of one of the prisoners is indicative of their spirit: "We kill or get killed."

Method of Attack—In both attacks on Belleau Wood, which were carried out by one or two battalions, the following method of attack was adopted: Three or four lines of skirmishers at about thirty to fifty paces distance; rather close behind these isolated assault parties in platoon column; abundant equipment of automatic rifles and hand grenades. The assault parties carried forward machine guns and were ordered to penetrate the German position at a weak point, to swing laterally, and to attack the strong points from the rear.

Particulars on the American Position—No details are available. The prisoners are hardly able to state where they were in position. According to their statements, it may be assumed that the front line consists only of rifle pits one meter

deep, up to the present not provided with wire entanglements. The organization of the positions in rear is unknown.

Morale—The prisoners in general make an alert and pleasing impression. Regarding military matters, however, they do not show the slightest interest. Their superiors keep them purposely without knowledge of the military subjects. For example, most of them have never seen a map. They are no longer able to describe the villages and roads through which they marched. Their ideas on the organization of their unit is entirely confused. For example, one of them claimed that his brigade has six regiments, his division twenty-four. They still regard the war from the point of view of the "big brother" who comes to help his hard-pressed brethren and is, therefore, welcomed everywhere. A certain moral background is not lacking. The majority of the prisoners simply took as a matter of course that they have come to Europe in order to defend their country.

Only a few of the troops are of pure American origin; the majority is of German, Dutch, and Italian parentage, but these semi-Americans, almost all of whom were born in America and never have been in Europe, fully feel themselves to be true-born sons of their country.

(Signed) VON BERG,

Lieutenant and Intelligence Officer.

Bastile Day in the United States

Celebration of French Holiday

THE French national holiday, July 14, 1918, the one hundred and twenty-ninth anniversary of the fall of the Bastile, was celebrated throughout the United States with unexampled sincerity and fervor. Fully 200 American cities had official celebrations and a number of Governors of States officially recognized the day and called upon the people to observe it with appropriate ceremonies.

During the day in New York City there were salutes of warships in the harbor; formal military and naval ceremonials at forts, naval stations, and training camps; special services in honor of France and the French spirit of liberty in many churches; open-air meetings in the afternoon, and feasts of flying performed in the air over the city by French and American aviators. In the evening a monster meeting was held in Madison

Square Garden, where 10,000 persons of all nationalities heard addresses by the Ambassadors from Great Britain, Italy, and France; also by Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, who represented Independent Poland. Former Supreme Justice Charles E. Hughes presided. The celebration closed with a tableau showing those whom France had befriended in their hour of need, those whose aspirations she had fostered and whose fights for freedom she had helped, rallying to her aid when the hour came in which she needed help to preserve her own liberties. Into a space kept open in the floor of the Garden 2,000 soldiers and sailors marched in an allied tableau. First came a detachment of French marines, with fixed

bayonets, bearing the Tricolor. They halted in front of the platform and came to a salute as the "Marseillaise" was played. Then came a group of Belgian aviators behind their national flag; a British detachment; a detachment of Serbian veterans; Poles from the training camp at Fort Niagara; Italians, Greeks in costume, and then large detachments of American soldiers and sailors, all rallying to the aid of France.

President Wilson sent the following message to the people of France:

America greets France on this day of stirring memories with a heart full of warm friendship and of devotion to the great cause in which the two peoples are now so happily united. July 14, like our own July 4, has taken on a new significance, not only for France, but for the world. As France celebrated our Fourth of July, so do we celebrate her Fourteenth, keenly conscious of a comradeship of arms and of purpose of which we are deeply proud.

The sea seems very narrow today, France is so neighbor to our hearts. The war is being fought to save ourselves from intolerable things, but it is also being fought to save mankind. We extend our hands to each other, to the great peoples with whom we are associated, and to the peoples everywhere who love right and prize justice as a thing beyond price, and consecrate ourselves once more to the noble enterprise of peace and justice, realizing the great conceptions that have lifted France and America high among the free peoples of the world.

The French flag floats today from the staff of the White House, and America is happy to do honor to that flag.

President Poincaré of France sent the following:

France is profoundly grateful to the great sister Republic for joining with her in the celebration of the anniversary of the 14th of July, as France herself joined America to celebrate Independence Day. These mutual tokens of friendship have not the conventionality and coldness of mere official manifestations. They spring like a living flame from the hearts of our two peoples and have the force and the spontaneity of great national movements.

America and France feel closely linked across the ocean by their common aims and hopes. Like their allies, both seek to deliver the world of imperialistic tyranny and ambition. For this sacred cause, the valiant American soldiers are fighting today on French soil and, of late, on Alsatian ground.

I send to their parents, their mothers, their wives, their children, to all those whom the war has momentarily separated from those brave men, the assurance that they are and will be treated by France with the same affection as her own children, and that we will consider them not only as our brothers in arms, but as brothers by adoption, for whom shall be reserved forever a place at the family hearth.

Those who will have fought together for liberty will remain united to each other by indissoluble links. I express to the whole American people my admiration and my wishes for victory.

RAYMOND POINCARÉ.

General Foch sent the following:

We are celebrating today the anniversary of our independence, and we are fighting for that of the whole world.

After four years of struggle the plans of the enemy for domination are stopped. He sees the number of his adversaries increase each day, and the young American Army bring into the battle a valor and a faith without equal. Is not this a sure pledge of the definitive triumph of the just cause?

Cablegrams were sent to France by the Presidents of all the leading trade union organizations and labor societies, representing millions of toilers. These messages expressed the deep affection felt in America among all classes for France and renewed in vigorous terms the pledge that the war would be fought until France's rights were redeemed. Leading American public men, Judges, publicists, authors, and business men, issued statements extolling France and promising the fullest support to the French people in achieving their rights and in expelling the Germans from their soil.

The following dispatch, which was sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Allied Tribute to France, expresses the general note which everywhere in the United States was sounded on that day:

Spontaneously, without official decree, every city, great and small, throughout the United States, over 200 in number, is gathered in mass meeting, procession, or open-air demonstration to pledge its loyalty to France. We are ratifying by the voice of the people the history-making declaration of our President that the wrong done to France in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine shall be righted. You have fought with such patience that the very word tomorrow has been forgotten in your souls. We give you back tomorrow Alsace-Lorraine. In city, vil-

lage, in church, in camp, and in the great councils of associated labor, there is but one thought—France and America, united now and forever!

Former President Roosevelt sent the following letter to George W. Pepper, to be read at the Philadelphia celebration of Bastille Day:

July 2, 1918.

In this great war we stand unequivocally by all our allies, by every nation which has continued to fight, and which will continue to fight to the end, for the great common cause. We stand for England, and Italy, and Japan, for cruelly wronged Belgium and ruined Serbia, but for no nation do we stand more strongly than for France.

We feel for France ancestral friendship, and we have to France a hereditary debt to pay. Moreover, France has been the keystone of the arch of resistance to the weight of German brutality. France has suffered terribly. Not only must Germany make good her losses, but France must be guaranteed against a repetition of the wrongdoing. There is only one way to accomplish this purpose, and that is by insisting upon the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. This nation has been committed by the President himself to this purpose. The President has stated that Alsace and Lorraine must be re-

turned to France, and to this statement all wise and far-sighted Americans join in with a grateful "Amen."

We all stand unalterably and unequivocally with the President in this pledge. If Germany keeps Alsace-Lorraine, any peace is a peace of victory for Germany—a German peace. Of course, far more than restoring Alsace-Lorraine must be done, or else the peace will still be a German peace. But unless Alsace and Lorraine are restored to France it will of necessity be a German peace anyhow. When the peace negotiations come we must stand by all our allies.

In especial we must insist upon justice for every nationality oppressed by Austria, Turkey, or Bulgaria, whether in Asia Minor, in the Balkan Peninsula, or in the Dual Empire, and we must prevent the exploitation of Russia by Germany, and we must see Belgium amply indemnified. But above all else we should insist upon the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France, for by her terrible suffering and her gigantic achievement France has won the right to the whole-hearted, the unequivocal, and the unalterable support of this nation in the determination to replace her European boundaries where they were prior to the war of 1870.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania Council of Defense.

Sinking of the Llandoverly Castle

Hospital Ship Deliberately Sunk by a German Submarine, With Heavy Loss of Life

WHAT was considered the blackest crime thus far committed by a German submarine in the campaign of unrestricted warfare was the sinking of the Canadian hospital ship Llandoverly Castle, an 11,000-ton vessel, seventy miles off the Irish coast, on the night of June 27, 1918. The ship had been chartered by the Canadian Government and had been carrying wounded and sick from England to Canada for many months previously. The Llandoverly Castle, at the time of its sinking, was on the way to England, having on board 258 persons, including eighty men of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and fourteen woman nurses. Only twenty-four per-

sons reached land, all the women being among those drowned.

The British Admiralty statement read in part:

Germany's awful debt to the world continues to grow. Another hospital ship has been torpedoed, this time seventy miles from the nearest land, and her people turned adrift in their boats to sink or swim as best they might. And though, as it happened, she was a Canadian hospital ship, returning from Halifax with no wounded aboard, the tale of crime reveals wanton deliberation on the part of the submarine commander.

It was during the night of June 27, toward 10:30, that the crime occurred. The Llandoverly Castle, steaming on her course at some fourteen knots, showed the usual navigation and regulation hospital ship lights. Under the overcast sky

she was plain to see, and could not be mistaken for anything but what she was—a ship immune by every law of war and peace from attack or molestation. No one on board saw the wake of the torpedo. The first intimation of the presence of a submarine was a jar and the roar of an explosion from aft. Then the lights went out.

All that followed, save when a dim light was obtained from an emergency dynamo, just before the ship foundered, took place in the darkness. The engines were rung once to stop, then full speed astern, but from the engine room came no answer. The rehearsed routine of the ship, however, held good. Along the darkened decks the crew groped to the boat stations and stood by for orders to leave her. From the bridge the Captain's megaphone, loud in the night, bade them hold till way was off the ship. The carpenter was aft making an examination of the damage.

In his wireless cabin the Marconi operator was trying in vain to transmit the ship's position. His key gave no response, the spark was gone. The carpenter's report was that No. 4 hold aft was blown in, and that the ship could not remain afloat. The order was given to lower away the boats on both sides and abandon the ship.

The officer commanding the Canadian Army Medical Corps on board reported that his people were out. This is important, in view of the fact that no boat but the Captain's has been picked up.

Save for any of the ship's company or engine-room crew who may have been killed by the explosion of the torpedo, it is clear that every one got away. One of the small boats, called "accident boats," was held back for those last to leave the ship. But when all the others were away the Captain went to his cabin for an electric torch, and on returning to deck found that this also had gone.

The submarine hailed the boat in English. "Come alongside," it ordered.

The boat was pulling down to pick up a drowning man. The second officer stood up and shouted back: "We are picking up a man from the water."

"Come alongside," repeated the brusque voice from the submarine. The boat held on its way, and forthwith two revolver shots were fired at or over it.

"Come alongside. I will shoot with my big gun," shouted the submarine commander. The boat lay alongside the submarine and the Captain (probably the man picked up) was ordered on board.

The commander asked him sharply, "What ship is that?"

"It is the hospital ship Llandovery Castle," answered the Captain.

"Yes"—the commander did not at-

tempt to appear surprised—"but you are carrying eight American flight officers."

"We are not," replied the Captain.

"We have seven Canadian medical officers on board. The ship was chartered by the Canadian Government to carry sick and wounded Canadians from England to Canada."

To the submarine commander's reiterated, "You have been carrying American flight officers," he added, "I have been running to Canada for six months with wounded. I give you my word of honor that we have carried none except patients, medical staff, crew, and Sisters."

The commander then demanded if there were any Canadian medical officers on the boat, and he was told there was one. He was ordered to come aboard.

"Where are our other boats?" asked the Captain. The submarine commander did not answer. He was watching the Canadian medical officer being roughly hauled on board and thrust along the deck. This was done so violently and with such plain intention to injure the Canadian, Major T. Lyon of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, that he actually had a small bone in his foot broken by the handling he received.

There was another German officer in the conning tower, the second in command, who had not yet spoken. In reply to the Captain's question, he motioned over his shoulder with his field glasses northward.

Major Lyon was interrogated after protesting as a medical officer, and ordered back into the boat. The Captain also was allowed to go. The boat was cast off, and pulled away from the submarine. The submarine began to circle round the wreckage at full speed. Several times it shaved the boat narrowly, once swirling past within two feet of it; once it stopped and again took the second and fourth officers aboard and questioned them.

By this time the submarine commander invented a new excuse. He stated that there was a big explosion aft as the vessel sank, and that therefore she must have been carrying ammunition. The second officer explained patiently that this was the explosion of the boiler and the falling of the funnel. They were allowed to return to the boat, which then made sail and proceeded.

Again, for a while, the submarine circled and threatened her by swooping close to her, then moved off and seemed to come to a stop. From this position, says the Captain's official statement, she opened fire at an unseen target, firing about twelve shells. It is perhaps too early yet to guess what the unseen target may have been. Possibly the other boats, when they are picked up, can furnish evidence on this point.

The Captain's boat had been towed for some distance while alongside the sub-

marine. Nothing was to be seen of the others. Since no wireless was sent out, there was no hope of assistance arriving from the north. The Captain therefore decided to make for the Irish Coast to send help. After sailing and pulling for about seventy miles they were picked up by the destroyer *Lysander*, which immediately sent a wireless that search should be made for the other survivors, and carried the occupants of the Captain's boat into Queenstown.

Major Lyon, on arriving in London, described his experiences. "The Germans," he said, "seemed obsessed with the idea that American aviators were aboard, and it took us some time to convince them otherwise." He continued:

I was taken to the conning tower and kept standing about three minutes while I was interrogated by the German commander regarding my being a medical officer. I saw eight or ten men while aboard. All of them spoke English.

Finally they sent me back to the life-

boat, my story having tallied with Sylvester's.

This seemed to surprise the Germans, as they pretended to be sure that aviators were aboard. I have my doubts about this belief being genuine, my idea being that the Germans simply used this as a pretext for the torpedoing of the *Llandovery Castle*. * * *

After our experience we all agreed that their first intentions were to sink without trace, but why they spared us is inexplicable unless it was because most of the survivors in our boat were men of the sea, and they tell me there is a sort of Freemasonry among them.

As the submarine disappeared in the darkness we heard ten or twelve shots, one over our heads. I shall never forget the cries of the helpless men in the water clinging to the wreckage that night. While the sea was rolling, it was not really rough, and I believe that if the Germans had not delayed us we would have been able to assist quite a number.

All the 234 persons in the other boats have been given up as lost.

Shipping Losses and Shipbuilding Progress

COMPLETED statistics for the month of May, 1918, showed that the production of new vessels by American and British shipyards was coming close to the amount of shipping lost by enemy action. The figures for the first five months of the year are shown in the following tables:

OUTPUT

	United States Gross Tonnage	United Kingdom Gross Tonnage	Total Gross Tonnage
January	55,316	54,907	110,223
February ...	77,265	93,785	171,050
March	107,881	151,509	259,450
April	100,178	105,625	205,803
May	162,025	162,444	324,469
Total.....	502,665	568,330	1,070,995

LOSSES

	British Gross Tonnage	Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage	Total British, Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage
January	218,528	136,187	354,715
February ...	254,303	134,230	388,542
March	222,549	176,924	399,473
April	220,709	84,393	305,102
May	224,735	130,959	355,694
Total.....	1,140,824	662,702	1,803,526

According to these figures, the average loss per month to the end of May was

360,705 gross tons, as compared with an average output of 214,199 gross tons. But the monthly production of new tonnage has advanced at a great rate. The production in the United States in May was 300 per cent. greater than in January, and also showed a big advance over the preceding month of April. The June production was still greater, amounting to 177,076 gross tons.

It should be kept in mind also that the United States figures are exclusively Emergency Fleet Corporation construction, while Great Britain's figures include all new tonnage built there.

It is also important to note the difference between "deadweight" and "gross" tons, since the indiscriminate use of the two terms has been the cause of considerable confusion. Deadweight tonnage means the maximum cargo, bunkers, consumable stores, engines, boilers, and all other matter, including the crew. Gross tonnage means the number of units of 100 cubic feet each of the entire cubical capacity of a vessel, including space occupied by cabins, boilers, engines, coal bunkers, &c. To reduce deadweight tonnage to gross tonnage, the term gen-

erally used, the deadweight tonnage must be divided by 1.60. In some cases the division is 1.65.

The further activities of the German U-boat which made the attack on shipping off the United States coast in the latter part of May, 1918, were indicated by the following reports:

The British transport *Dwinsk*, torpedoed on June 18 when 550 miles south by east of Sandy Hook, New Jersey.

The Belgian steamer *Chilier*, sunk by shellfire on June 21 when 1,400 miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The Norwegian steamer *Augvald*, destroyed by bombs on June 23 when 1,100 miles east of Sandy Hook and 125 miles East of Cape Race, Newfoundland.

The Norwegian bark *Manx King*, captured by a German submarine on July 6 when 300 miles off Cape Race.

These operations suggested that the German submarine was making its way in a homeward direction.

An official French dispatch received in Washington on July 3 pointed out that there were only a dozen German submarines at sea, instead of twenty, which had been generally operating at any given time. The dispatch continued:

It would seem that the enemy can no longer keep up his effort at this strength at all times and in all places, and that he needs to take breath for fresh efforts.

Doubtless a part of this falling off of the submarine offensive must be attributed to the operations against the ports in Flanders, to the fatigue of the crews,

exhaustion of materials, and, above all, to the losses it has sustained, because for a long time their losses have far exceeded the additions to the service of new submarines.

At the end of June a certain activity again manifested itself, but in the areas far out at sea, rather than in inclosed waters or near coasts. Whatever the causes, the submarine results made no progress in June.

The United States Army transport *Covington*, formerly the Hamburg-American liner *Cincinnati*, 16,339 gross tons, was sunk in the night of July 1, 1918, by a German submarine while on her way from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. All the officers and crew, except six, were saved and taken to a French port.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which dealt with the loss of the transport *President Lincoln* on May 31, found that the vessel was sunk by "an act of war" and exonerated the officers and men from all responsibility.

One of the notable features of the Fourth of July celebrations was the launching of nearly 100 ships at American shipyards. They included fifty-three wooden vessels and forty-two steel vessels, aggregating 296,540 gross tons. Seventeen war vessels, consisting of fourteen destroyers, one gunboat, and two mine sweepers, were also launched on July 4.

Enemy Aliens in the United States

Nearly 4,000 in Internment Camps—How the Camps Are Conducted—The Rumely Propaganda Case

ENEMY aliens in the United States for the most part have been permitted to pursue their normal way of life with very little restriction. Natives and subjects of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires have been registered and must carry certificates of identification. They are forbidden to go near camps, arsenals, navy yards, and other military and naval establishments, and they are not per-

mitted to reside in or visit certain districts.

By a bill approved by President Wilson on April 19, 1918, the provisions of the Espionage act were extended to women subjects of enemy countries. Such women thus become obliged to register. The well-known fact that women are employed as spies was responsible for this precaution.

The only enemy aliens that are in-

terned are, first, prisoners of war, including members of the enemy military and naval forces and officers and seamen of merchant vessels, and, secondly, civilians resident in the United States who are either found guilty or suspected of treasonable or seditious activities. The number of German prisoners is now between 3,500 and 4,000. Included among them is the crew of the German raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, which put in at Hampton Roads when the United States was a neutral. The crew was interned at the time under the international laws of neutrality. But when the United States entered the war the men became prisoners of war. A large proportion of the other Teutonic prisoners are officers and crews of the German steamers which were seized by the United States in April, 1917. The remainder are enemy aliens whose activities were regarded as dangerous at the time of their arrest—men who attempted or were suspected of attempting to destroy munition plants and interfere with the Government's military and naval preparations, or of spreading pro-German propaganda, or of giving utterance to seditious ideas and sentiments. This class includes a considerable number of Germans who were prominent figures in financial and commercial life or in art and learning.

THREE INTERNMENT CAMPS

There are three principal internment camps. The first is at Hot Springs, a North Carolina health resort, where the Government took a large hotel and its grounds. This is where the interned seamen are kept. The hotel can accommodate 500, and in the grounds there is plenty of room for barracks. The other prison camps are at Fort McPherson and Fort Oglethorpe, both in Georgia. Here cantonments similar to those occupied by United States troops have been erected.

As soon as the Government found itself confronted with the problem of handling war prisoners it decided that, no matter what the treatment of American prisoners in Germany might be, the United States was going to be scrupulously fair-minded and abide by The

Hague agreement. Under the provisions of this agreement prisoners of war have certain rights. For example, they may not be compelled to work at anything contributing to the Government's military activities; they are permitted to communicate with their friends; and if they work they are paid wages as officers and soldiers of the same grade. Many of the Germans are skilled workers and have done a good deal of the building at the cantonments where they are held as prisoners, and since the completion of the buildings have done all the necessary work in the camps.

The prisoners have been allowed to develop ways of life and amusements of their own. At Hot Springs they have built a German village which has every appearance of one of the old picturesque corners in Bavaria or the Black Forest. Here there are theatres and concert halls, stores, and a canteen, and practically everything required for the decency, comfort, and distraction of the modern man. And in addition the Y. M. C. A. has stationed Secretaries at all the prison camps for the same purposes as they serve with the army abroad and in the clubhouses in the United States. The food is good and the Germans are allowed to have it cooked in their own way by those among them who were cooks before being interned. Supplies, other than the rations, are bought at cost price, which is considerably lower than what is paid in stores outside.

ENEMY ALIEN PROPERTY

Not only are enemy aliens subject to special wartime laws and regulations, but all property belonging directly or indirectly to enemy subjects has been brought under the control of the Government. This work comes under the direction of the Alien Property Custodian, (A. Mitchell Palmer,) and is becoming more extensive and complicated every day as the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy and the Espionage acts are put into force. Several hundred million dollars in stocks, bonds, and other instrumentalities, real estate and fixed capital, and general merchandise have been seized.

An example of the extent to which German interests had developed in the United States has been seen in the investigation of the activities in this country of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, the great financial institution which has played so large and important a part in German imperial expansion. The investigation, which was made by the New York State Attorney General, Merton E. Lewis, and Federal officials, and which also covered the financial interests of certain German-Americans in Germany, indicated that there was \$300,000,000 worth of property in the United States the beneficial ownership of which was practically all held in Germany by enemies of the United States. Among the schemes unearthed was one to corner the wool supply of the United States for after-the-war consumption in Germany. The importance of German woolen interests in this country was further disclosed when the Alien Property Custodian seized six great German-owned woolen mills in New Jersey, valued at more than \$70,000,000. Similarly, German firms and individuals were largely interested in cotton, and several large groups of corporations involved in a scheme to supply Germany with cotton were taken over. The effect of the operation of German interests upon the actual conduct of the war was demonstrated in the case of a corporation referred to as the "L. C. Company," capitalized at more than \$50,000,000. It was one of the largest coke concerns in the United States. Until America entered the war the Germans represented in the ownership were able to keep all of its trinitrotoluol (TNT) by-products out of allied hands, although the stockholders lost a huge sum of money by doing so. The Deutsche Bank was largely interested in the company until it was reorganized under American control and its TNT by-products were made available for the Allies and the United States.

The Transatlantic Trust Company, which was organized in New York in 1912, was taken over by the Alien Property Custodian early in July on the ground that the majority of the stock

was owned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, which acted through three Budapest banks. On July 11 four Austro-Hungarian subjects connected with the institution were arrested. They were Guido von Steer, formerly private secretary of the late Emperor Franz Josef; Julius Pirnitzer, President of the company; Andrew Gomary, Pirnitzer's private secretary, and Dr. Isidore Szekely, until recently press agent of the company. Guido von Steer, who had been in the United States for three years and had made his headquarters at Allentown, Penn., was described as the company's "manager of confidential agents."

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

A sensational phase of the activities of the German Government in trying to use the press for propaganda purposes was exposed in connection with the arrest of Dr. Edward A. Rumely on charges of purchasing The New York Evening Mail with money supplied by the German Government and of making false statements about its ownership. The definite accusation was one of perjury, arising out of a statement filed with the Alien Property Custodian, in which Rumely asserted that The Evening Mail was an American-owned newspaper.

In many respects the financial features of the transaction—which, the Government charged, transferred the control of The Evening Mail from American to German interests—were similar to the plan followed by Bernstorff, Adolph Pavenstedt, and Hugo Schmidt in transferring the huge sum which was paid to Bolo Pacha, the executed French traitor, to debauch French public opinion in favor of a German-made peace. In the case of Bolo, the funds, which totaled about \$1,700,000, passed through a number of banks before they reached Bolo.

In the Rumely case, according to the Government agents, there were also several transfers, Dr. Heinrich Albert, the former German paymaster in this country, drawing the money out of banks in the form of cashiers' checks, which went to Walter Lyon of the former Wall Street house of Renskorff, Lyon & Co.

Lyon, in turn, indorsed the checks to that firm, which, it was alleged, subsequently paid the purchase amount in a single check to Lyon, who then, it was charged, paid it to Rumely. For this transaction, according to the Government, Lyon received a commission of \$5,000. The banks figuring in the original transactions, which involved the first payment of the purchase price of \$735,000, were the Equitable Trust Company, the Manhattan Company, the Columbia Trust Company, and the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company. But the \$750,000 payment was only about one-half of the financial outlay expended by the Germans in their efforts to have their own public opinion-making New York daily. After The Evening Mail had passed into Rumely's control, the New York State Attorney General said, it soon began to lose money. With its change from pro-ally to pro-German sentiment its subscription lists began to dwindle, and its income from other sources began to decline. The result was that, beginning in January, 1916, and up to the time that Bernstorff was dismissed from the United States The Evening Mail, according to the Government agents, cost the Kaiser an additional \$626,000, or a total, including the purchase price, of \$1,361,000.

According to statements made in Washington the money invested by German agents in The Evening Mail was part of a sum of \$30,000,000 set aside by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments for propaganda in the United States. The arrest of Rumely, it was stated, would be only the first step in a nation-wide investigation to discover whether other newspapers were taken over with money put into the \$30,000,000 fund. The publication of The Evening Mail was continued by the bondholders.

While the charges made against Rumely have so far been the most serious in connection with pro-German propaganda in the United States, numbers of individuals have been arrested and imprisoned for isolated utterances of a disloyal or seditious character. A general survey of the situation, however, shows that since America entered the war the German element in the population and pro-German sympathizers have for the most part kept silent, and discouraged those among themselves who feel inclined to give expression to their opinions and sentiments, the most numerous cases of sedition arising in connection with the propaganda work of Socialists and similar opponents of the nation's war policy.

New Forces at Work to Save Russia

Allied Troops Guarding the Murman Coast and a Czechoslovak Army Fighting Bolshevism in Siberia

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1918]

THE factors in the Russian situation which attracted most attention in July were the Czechoslovak movement, with the various concomitant developments, and the efforts, so far upon the whole ineffectual, of the native Russian population to overthrow the Soviet régime.

At the time of the Bolshevik coup d'état there were in Russia a number of military units composed chiefly of Czechs

and Slovaks who had formerly been in the service of Austria-Hungary and who had gone over to the Russians, in the hope of fighting for their national independence on the side of the Allies. It is understood that at the request of the French the Soviet authorities equipped these soldiers for service on the front. Upon the conclusion of peace at Brest, an agreement was reached with the Chief of the Soviet Army whereby the Czecho-

slovak troops were permitted to proceed unmolested across European Russia and Siberia on their way to the western front.

The attitude of the Czechoslovaks to the Bolshevik Government had all the time been one of strict neutrality. Some friction between the two was caused by what the Czechoslovak soldiers construed as an unwillingness on the part of the Moscow Government to furnish them the means of transportation across Siberia. The friction turned into open hostility when, yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon the Bolshevik Government by Germany, Trotzky ordered the Czechoslovak troops to be disarmed.

The conflict began on May 26, when the Soviet attempted to enforce Trotzky's order. The Czechoslovak forces opened operations against the Bolshevik troops simultaneously in the Volga region and in Siberia. Early in June several towns along the Volga were in their hands. About the same time large numbers of them arrived in Vladivostok. During June 9 and 10 they occupied Samara and advanced to Ufa, in the Urals. They seized control of the chief grain routes and deprived Northern Russia of the Siberian food supply. In the middle of June they controlled the southern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Samara to Chelyabinsk, the northern branch from Chelyabinsk to Yekaterinburg, and the main line on the east of Novonikolayevsk. A month later they held the Trans-Siberian Railway from Chelyabinsk, in the Ural Mountains, to Krasnoyarsk, a distance of 1,300 miles, as well as its eastern terminus, scattered Czechoslovak units operating on an area stretching clear across Siberia.

The Czechoslovak forces defeated and ousted the Bolsheviks at Irkutsk and Vladivostok, (June 30.) During the fighting which took place in the latter city allied marines were landed for the purpose of protecting the consulates. Having disarmed the Bolsheviks at Vladivostok, the Czechoslovaks advanced into the Amur region and occupied Nikolayevsk, on the Amur River, as well as a number of other towns. On July 12 the Czechs held most of the Trans-

Siberian Railway, and detachments from Vladivostok were marching west to effect a junction with their comrades. Polish detachments were reported to have joined the Czechoslovaks.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST CZECHS

An official Moscow communication, dated July 9, announced a great victory over the Czechoslovak forces. It was stated that the Soviet troops took Syzran and Bugulma, in the Volga region, the Czechoslovaks and the White Guards fleeing in the direction of Samara. Three more towns were occupied by the Government troops. One of these cities, Yaroslav, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, was previously reported to have been taken by White Guards. The Soviet troops also launched an offensive against the Czechs in Siberia, and claimed to have retaken one town. The communication stated that the Czechoslovaks committed atrocities upon railway men in Western Siberia. Another Soviet communication told of the suicide of General Muravyov, who led the Soviet troops against the Czechs. According to the official version, the General turned traitor, ordered his men to advance on Moscow, and, when the troops refused to obey his order, shot himself.

According to information obtained by the Washington Government, the Czechoslovak forces in Russia number 50,000. Colonel Vladimir Hurban of the Czechoslovak National Council estimated them at 80,000, and the number stationed in Vladivostok at 15,000. Well-informed Russians in London—and the German press—were inclined to double Colonel Hurban's estimate. The men were reported to be well fed and well clothed, but insufficiently armed. They were commanded by the Russian General Dieterichs, who was Chief of Staff under General Dukhonin.

Responsible leaders declare that the Czechoslovak forces now operating in Russia do not desire to undertake or in any other way to interfere in Russian internal affairs. A memorandum presented to the Japanese Foreign Minister and the allied Ambassadors in Tokio by Colonel Hurban speaks in the following

terms of the course the Czechoslovaks seek to follow: "The Czech Army consists of volunteers, whose object is to fight Germany and Austria, to liberate the Czechoslovak Nation, and to establish an independent State. The Czechoslovaks * * * have no moral right to pursue the policy of protection with regard to such a State as Russia. * * * Their clear duty is to pursue a strategical movement toward France." In discussing the situation the delegate of the Czechoslovak National Council for America pointed out, however, that the policy of the Czechs may be altered in view of the fact that the Bolsheviks broke the agreement with them.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SOVIETS

In a statement addressed to the American representative of the Finnish People's Republic, the Czech Socialist Federation of the United States protested against an attempt to identify the Czechoslovak soldiers, most of whom, the document asserts, are Socialists, with the cause of the counter-revolution in Russia. The statement quotes Professor Masaryk as saying: "Our army is struggling against the external foe. We are the guests of our brothers in Russia and we will not interfere in their internal affairs." The clashes between the Soviet troops and the Czechoslovak forces the federation considers to be the result of a misunderstanding, for which either the local Soviets or the armed Teuton prisoners are responsible.

In spite, however, of the Czechs' repeatedly proclaimed neutrality with regard to Russian internal affairs, it is certain that wherever their troops seized control the anti-Bolshevist elements immediately took the opportunity to overthrow the Soviet régime. After the Czechs had taken Samara the anti-Soviet portion of the population wreaked vengeance on their opponents. More than 100 Red Guards and many civilians were shot and the Soviet leaders arrested.

The triumph of the Czechs in Western Siberia apparently led to the overthrow of the Soviets in the entire region from Tobolsk to Semipalatinsk. Having de-

feated the Bolshevik forces at Vladivostok, the Czechs dissolved the local Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. They pursued a similar course of action at Irkutsk and elsewhere. A Peking dispatch, dated July 4, reported that, assisted by the Czechoslovaks, the counter-revolution was spreading all over Western Siberia, and that the Bolsheviks were fleeing to Mongolia. The Czech Army was frequently referred to in the allied press as a nucleus for the struggle against Bolshevism in Russia.

NEW SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

It was reported on July 10 that a new Provisional Siberian Government had been established at Novonikolayevsk. This city is situated in Western Siberia, on the River Ob. It is one of those urban centres in Siberia which for the last twenty years have grown from insignificant hamlets into large towns. The new Government has set for itself the following tasks: The overthrow of the Bolshevik régime in Siberia; restoration of order throughout the country, if possible without foreign help; the convocation of the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage; distribution of land among the landless; State control of the nation's economic activities; the creation of a provincial organ of self-Government and a Labor Bureau.

Another non-Bolshevist Siberian Government was reported to have been set up at Nizhne-Udinsk.

A dispatch from Harbin, dated July 10, announced that General Horvath, Vice President of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had proclaimed himself Premier of a Temporary Siberian Government. This Government intends to act in complete accord with the Allies and repeal all Bolshevik decrees. It would renew all allied treaties, re-establish a disciplined and nonpolitical army, and restore property. General Horvath pronounced himself in favor of religious freedom and autonomy for Siberia. He appointed a Temporary War Cabinet for Siberia.

In the first half of July important developments took place in the Murman region, in Northern Russia. The move-



MAP OF MURMAN-PETROGRAD RAILWAY, SHOWING KOLA AND KEM, NOW OCCUPIED BY ALLIED TROOPS

ment here is directed both against the Bolsheviki and against German-Finnish encroachment. Its object is to defeat the German plan to occupy the Murman ice-free ports and establish submarine bases on the Arctic. It also aims to prevent the Germans from seizing the strategic points along the Murman Railway, and from taking Vologda and thus isolating Petrograd from Siberia.

Finnish-German forces made their first attack on the Murman Railway early in April. The Allies intervened by sending an Anglo-French detachment to reinforce the Russian Red Guards who faced the Finns at Kem. Complete harmony seems to have existed at that time between the local Soviet and the allied expeditionary force, and the defense of the coast and the railway was intrusted to

the leadership of a committee consisting of a Russian, a Britisher, and a Frenchman. In June the Finns and Germans resumed their advance toward the Murman Railway, aiming at the important stations of Kem and Kandalaksha. According to a Washington dispatch of July 2 the Finno-Germans completed a railroad to Kem. The same dispatch reported that 35,000 or 40,000 Finnish-German troops were concentrating around Vyborg, and that submarines were already supposed to be in the White Sea. The next day the Finnish-German campaign against the Murman region was reported to have begun.

In view of these developments, the Allies landed a number of troops on the Murman coast, to reinforce the detachments—including American marines—



MAP OF THE MURMAN COAST AND RAILWAY TERMINAL, SHOWING RUSSIA'S ONLY WINTER PORT AVAILABLE FOR ALLIES

which guarded the supplies at Kola. According to a dispatch of July 9, munitions from the United States had already arrived at the Murman terminal. It was announced on July 7 that the entire population of the Murman coast had seceded from Russia and joined the Entente Allies. Because of the opposition of the Soviet Government to the allied landing and its willingness to trade the region to the Finns, the local population had decided to appeal for protection to the Allies. The anti-German population of Northern Finland also appealed to the Allies. It is noteworthy that since the revolution the Murman population has received its food supplies from America and the other allies.

As a reply to the landing of allied troops on the Murman coast the Soviet War Commissary for the Northern District called into service the peasants and workmen of the classes of 1896-97 and issued orders for immediate military preparations. Three hundred Serbian and Italian officers were arrested at Archangel by the Bolsheviks.

WHY PORT IS ICE-FREE

The strategic as well as economic importance for Great Russia of the Murman ice-free port and its railway can hardly be exaggerated. The term "Murman coast" applies, strictly speaking, to the section of the arctic shore stretching between the Russo-Norwegian frontier, at the mouth of the River Voryema, to Cape Svyatoy, on the White Sea, a distance of 252 sea miles. "Murman" is a corruption of "Norman," i. e., Norwegian. The Island of Kildin lies between the Western and Eastern Murman, which is also known as the Russian, coast. The western part of the coast is a succession of bare cliffs broken by long, easily accessible, fjordlike inlets, such as Varanger, Motovsky, the Gulf of Kola, with several harbors, Teribersky, and others. A branch of the Gulf Stream laves the coast and keeps the sea and the gulfs free from ice all year around, while the White Sea further south is icebound for more than six months of the year. Only the innermost points of the inlets extend-

ing far into the mainland freeze during the Winter. Polar icebergs never reach Western Murman.

The region, which is a part of the Government of Archangel, is both ethnically and historically Russian. It was colonized by the ancient Novgorodians, and the present aboriginal inhabitants of it are descendants of that sturdy and intelligent race. The town of Kola, on the shores of the Kola Bay, is first mentioned in the Russian annals under the year 1264, and there is an ancient Russian monastery near Pechenga Bay.

IMPORTANCE OF PORT

The idea of developing a port on the ice-free Murman coast and connecting it by a railway with the interior of the country is not a new one. The project of constructing a railroad to Kola was under official consideration as early as 1894. With the outbreak of hostilities the construction of the railroad became a matter of the highest military importance. It must be recalled that with the closing of the ports of the Baltic and the Black and Azov Seas Russia lost six-sevenths of all its imports. Russia had to find a new line of communication with the Allies. The Murman coast furnished it. On Jan. 1, 1915, the construction of the railroad was authorized by the Emperor. The necessary surveying was done in the Winter of 1914-15, and the actual construction was practically completed by November, 1916, in spite of the handicaps of a roadless, swampy, uninhabited region, a severe climate, and the frightful incompetence and corruption of the bureaucratic administration.

The railroad, which is about 1,000 kilometers long, runs from Petrozavodsk to the little port of Kem, on the White Sea. Then it becomes a coast railway and reaches Kandalaksha, also on the White Sea. Thence the railroad cuts the practically virgin region of the Kola Peninsula on its way to the Port of Kola. There is an extension from Kola to the town of Romanov, on the eastern shore of the inlet, and to Murmansk, on its western shore. The harbor of Murmansk, known as the Yekaterina Haven, is a part of the Kola inlet, and is situated

at its mouth. It is described as a large flask-shaped bay, protected from storms, free from ice throughout the year, deep, and accessible even to large oceangoing craft. Murmansk, the terminal station, has grown up for the last two or three years from a collection of barracks into a town with a tatterdemalion population of 6,000. The town is reported to be a workmen's commune, without shops and hotels, governed by seven autonomous councils.

A ship from an English port will reach Murmansk sooner than Petrograd. Besides, it will have the advantage of traveling all the while on the high seas. The journey from New York to the Murman coast is twenty-four hours shorter than that from New York to Libau.

CHIEF ENGINEER'S VIEW

V. Goryachevsky, Chief Engineer of the Murman Railroad System, is responsible for the following estimate of its carrying capacity: "At the present time, provided as it is with stations, water supplies, dwellings, and materials, the Murman Railway, once furnished with the necessary rolling stock, can easily carry 3,500 tons of supplies per day, while the port of Murmansk, with its piers, cranes, and tracks, is equipped to receive the same amount of tonnage daily." Mr. Goryachevsky has the following to say about the attitude of the inhabitants of the region penetrated by the new railroad toward the Allies:

They could never forget how much they owed to the Allies. After the Soviet Government came into power and communications were demoralized the Murman population was completely isolated. The Bolsheviks ignored us entirely, and we faced terrible misery and privation until I appealed to America for help. Within a month's time America sent three vessels full of provisions, and my workmen were eating American biscuits and American meat and smoking American tobacco. In that way the Russians in the Murman have come to look upon America and the Allies as a source of help and food, and that's why they look forward eagerly to the day when an allied force shall step on Russian soil and deliver their country from the Germans on the one hand and the demoralizing Bolsheviks on the other.

When the Murman Railroad became

a reality, Russian economists compared its construction to the building of the transcontinental American railways. The new railroad, even in its present undeveloped form, is bound to open up the resources of a region of 74,000 square miles which is rich in forests and ores and which has a practically inexhaustible wealth of fish. It is estimated that the herring which could be caught on the Murman coast would supply the entire internal Russian market. An impulse will also be given to the colonization of the Russian Canada, as the Governments of Archangel and Volga have been called, for the territory penetrated by the Murman Railroad has only an average of two men to a square mile. At this moment, however, it is the strategic value of the railroad that counts. The Murman port, with its railway, is invaluable to the Allies as a line of communication with Great Russia. During the coming Winter it will be Russia's only open seaport in Europe. It is believed, therefore, that Germany will make every effort to deprive the Allies of this avenue of approach.

ASSASSINATION OF MIRBACH

On July 6 General Count von Mirbach, German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated in Moscow. The next day Lenine sent the following communication to M. Joffe, Russian Minister in Berlin:

Two unknown men entered the German Embassy at 2 o'clock this (Saturday) afternoon, having documents from a special committee. They threw a bomb in Count von Mirbach's office, wounding him so severely that he died.

Representatives of the Government immediately visited the embassy and expressed indignation at the act, which they considered as a political manoeuvre to provoke trouble. The Government is taking every measure to discover the murderers and bring them before a special revolutionary tribunal.

Extra measures have been taken to protect the German Embassy and citizens. The Government requests you to express to the German Government the Russian Government's indignation and convey its sympathy to the family of the late Count.

Two days before he was murdered von Mirbach was savagely denounced by Social Revolutionary speakers at the

All-Russian Soviet Congress in Moscow. Reports from various sources linked the assassination with the anti-Bolshevist terror alleged to have been organized by the Social Revolutionists. In his speech before the Reichstag on July 11, Imperial Chancellor von Hertling blamed the murder on the Allies, saying that they instigated the deed in order to involve Germany in a fresh war with Russia. The murder was also attributed to an underground nationalist organization.

The assassination of the German Ambassador was followed by an armed revolt against the Soviet Government in Moscow, organized by the Social Revolutionists. For a short while the Government telegraph office and a part of Moscow were in the hands of the rebels. After fierce fighting in the streets the uprising was quelled and a great many people arrested. Among those seized by the Bolsheviks were said to be Tseretelli, Chernov, Skobelev, and Savinkov, all members of the Kerensky Cabinet. On July 12 it was reported that Chernov, one of the most prominent leaders of the moderate Social Revolutionists, was marching on Moscow at the head of a peasant army. He was also reported to have emerged from obscurity as the leading spirit of a powerful anti-Bolshevist movement, inspired by a platform combining the tenets of Social Revolutionism and the principles of democratic, non-class government.

After a moment of hesitation Germany apparently decided to continue its policy of supporting Lenine's régime, in spite of the murder of her Ambassador. On July 10 the Berlin Government announced semi-officially that it did not intend to hold the Soviet Government responsible for the assassination. "The German Government and Nation," the statement added, "hope that the Russian Government and people will succeed in nipping the present revolutionary agitation in the bud." After having blamed the assassination on the Entente, von Hertling, in his speech of July 11, said:

We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim. On the other hand, it is true

that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire—movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

An Amsterdam dispatch of July 13 conveyed the impression that the anti-Bolshevist revolt in Moscow was not completely suppressed. Herr von Rosenberg, one of the German representatives at the Brest-Litovsk conference, was appointed on July 14 to succeed Count von Mirbach.

ALLIED INTERVENTION

Allied intervention in Russia, after long hesitation, became a fact about the middle of July. A dispatch from Moscow by way of Amsterdam announced on July 15 that the whole Murman coast was occupied by American and British troops. After capturing Kem, a railroad station on the White Sea, they had advanced toward Toroki. The Bolshevik authorities at that point had withdrawn to Nirok. Unofficial Washington advices indicated that the American portion of this force consisted of a small number of marines, who were co-operating with much larger units of British and French troops. All had entered the country at the express invitation of the Russians in the Murman region.

The commanders of this Entente force issued an appeal to the population for help against Germany and Finland. The Murman coast was formally declared to be Russian territory under the protection of the Entente Powers. M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, addressed a note to Great Britain demanding that the British detachments on the Murman coast be re-embarked without delay. The demand was ignored.

On July 13 it had been reported that England had sent fresh troops to Siberia to assist the Czechoslovaks and the native population in their struggle against the Bolsheviks and the armed prisoners. It was also stated that the Supreme War Council at Versailles had laid before the Washington Government definite and

positive recommendations regarding armed military intervention in Russia.

There were no indications, however, that President Wilson had changed his attitude of favoring an informal commission of American financial and industrial experts, carrying material aid and advice and protected by ample police force. The possibility of some sort of conditional recognition by the American Government of the Soviet régime was not excluded.

CONFLICTING COUNSELS

During the month under record a great many persons and groups laid their views regarding intervention before the American Government. Professor Masaryk, head of the Czechoslovak National Council, and other well-informed men urged the dispatch of a civil mission for the purpose of educating the masses and developing the resources of the country. Others recommended armed assistance. According to Mr. Konovalov, Minister of Trade and Industry under three Provisional Governments, allied military intervention is the only logical solution of the present Russian situation. At a meeting held at Harbin, Manchuria, a group of Russian citizens, representing different social and political organizations, appealed for immediate armed aid for Russia from the Entente Allies. A similar appeal was made by a group of prominent Russians in London and by the Far Eastern Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland.

Alexander Kerensky, too, admitted that without allied military aid Russia would be unable to restore her national independence. The Premier of the overthrown Provisional Government appeared unexpectedly in London on June 26 at the meeting of the Labor Conference, after having escaped from Russia via the arctic. He made a speech in which he said, among other things: "I bear witness here that the Russian people will never recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a treaty which has hurled Russia into the abyss of annihilation." On July 13 Kerensky was reported to have recommended that the allied nations should each send imme-



MAP OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA, SHOWING CHIEF POINTS WHERE BOLSHEVIKI HAVE BEEN FIGHTING CZECHOSLOVAK AND OTHER ANTI-BOLSHEVIST FORCES.

diately to Russia a small expeditionary force, but, above all, war munitions. He asserted that the various recent attempts of the Russians to overthrow the German rule had been planned while he was in Russia.

The American Administration's indecision and inaction were criticised in the Senate on July 13. "To stand aside," said Senator Borah, "while Russia is making this struggle, to offer neither aid nor counsel nor advice, is to fail in what is perhaps the uppermost task of the war."

RUSSIAN EMBASSY'S VIEW

The following review of the situation in Russia was issued by a member of the Russian Embassy at Washington:

The always-changing conditions in Russia have passed in the last few days into a new critical phase which modifies almost

entirely the whole situation. Unveiling new hopes and possibilities, the situation is at the same time pregnant with new dangers and perplexity. Two important events have happened: The Moscow revolt is being suppressed, and the valiant Czechoslovak troops are seriously threatened by combined German-Bolshevist attacks.

The fact that the uprising in Moscow, which had a distinctly national and anti-German character, is now violently crushed and thus dooms to imprisonment and humiliation those best representatives of the Russian revolutionary democracy, such as Savinkoff and Tzeretelli, gives an evident manifestation of the following factors prevailing in Russia's present conditions:

1. The elements for a national movement tending to liberation from the German grip exist in Russia and revealed themselves through the Moscow events, these elements originating directly from the peasant and popular organizations, which the Social Revolutionary and the

Social Democrat Parties undoubtedly are.

2. The apparent failure of this national movement proves once more that, no matter how sincere and genuine the anti-German feelings which inspire the national Russians, an attempt of a national character would not succeed without a friendly allied help, and this on account of the fact that the watchful eye of Germany, her propaganda and authority with the Bolshevik Government, will undoubtedly oppose and crush every attempt of that nature, which would be a real threat to Germany's successes in Russia, and if developed might be the mortal blow we here wish that Germany should receive from a regenerated Russia.

3. As to the fact which appears today beyond any doubt that Germany has a direct interest in opposing every move that could lead to an uprising of the national spirit in Russia, I would simply quote the present attitude of Germany, who has openly expressed her satisfaction and even congratulations to the Bolshevik Government for the happy suppressing of the revolt. Furthermore, Germany is even willing to pass over the murder of her Ambassador in Moscow, which under other circumstances she certainly would not have done.

MIRBACH'S DUPLICITY

But I feel that it might be timely to reveal to the American people all that we know of Count Mirbach's activities in Russia. This adroit Prussian diplomat, while entertaining the most cordial relations with the Bolshevik Government and flooding the country with fake news and deliberate misrepresentation, was simultaneously making all efforts to tempt the moderate Russian groups to accept German military help for the overthrow of the Bolsheviks. He was assuring the national Russian organizations that Germany had certainly a real interest in having in her neighborhood a moderate Government which would only agree to friendly relations with the Central Powers. Mirbach went so far as to promise an immediate reconsideration of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Russian national groups, although not concealing their hopeless condition and growing despair from the lack of any signs of allied help and their desire to liberate their country from the Germans, yet rejected with indignation Mirbach's ignominious proposals. What happened later is known—Mirbach was assassinated.

According to recent news from the parts of Siberia and Central Russia where the Czechoslovaks have passed and have been greeted by the population as a symbol of anti-German revolt, the Soviets disappeared naturally without any bloodshed, simply through the fact that an

anti-German movement involved representative popular organizations.

Having referred to the Czechoslovaks, I have approached the second of the two above-mentioned new factors in the Russian situation—I mean the danger which is threatening these fighting units belonging to the allied armies. I did not happen to meet anybody whose mind could not be preoccupied and filled with anxiety in considering the possibility of the Germans annihilating the valiant Czechoslovak troops.

Can the Allies afford to abandon these Russian patriots? Can they afford to lose conscientiously the real friends they still have in our country, thus paralyzing the possibility of a national regeneration of Russia which we consider to become a direct result of a nonpartisan and unselfish allied help?

BOLSHEVIST CONSCRIPTION

The reply of the Soviet authorities to the attempts to overthrow their régime and to the menace of allied intervention was an effort to enforce conscription. On July 12 the Bolsheviks were reported to have raised 600,000 troops of a questionable fighting value. Leon Trotzky reported to the All-Russian Soviet Conference, on July 13, that a part of the Bolshevik force had deserted to the enemy and that the discipline of the troops had suffered from Anglo-French propaganda.

Trotzky recently began a campaign in favor of a general military conscription. The international situation was such, he argued, that the Soviet Republic needed a large and powerful army based on the principle of obligatory military service. "But if we shall not be able to produce such an army, said the bulletin of the War Commissariat, editorially, (June 20,) "then Russia will "disappear for a long time to come as "an independent country. She will "merely serve as a war theatre for other "countries, and her plains will be walked "over by hordes of Germans, English, "and Japanese, all equally foreign and "hostile to the free Russian people, who "will devastate her in their common "struggle." Trotzky thought it, however, inadvisable to extend the obligatory service to the bourgeoisie. The latter would be formed into noncombatant units, to be used for digging trenches and cleaning barracks.



MAP SHOWING THE CHIEF RAILWAYS OF RUSSIA

Late in June it was reported in the press that the Berlin Government was elaborating a plan of intervention in Russia for the purpose of restoring order in the country with the aid of the Soviet troops. Early in July a Vienna newspaper published a Moscow dispatch to the effect that "if the Japanese and English should occupy Russian territory, the Soviet Government would immediately join Germany."

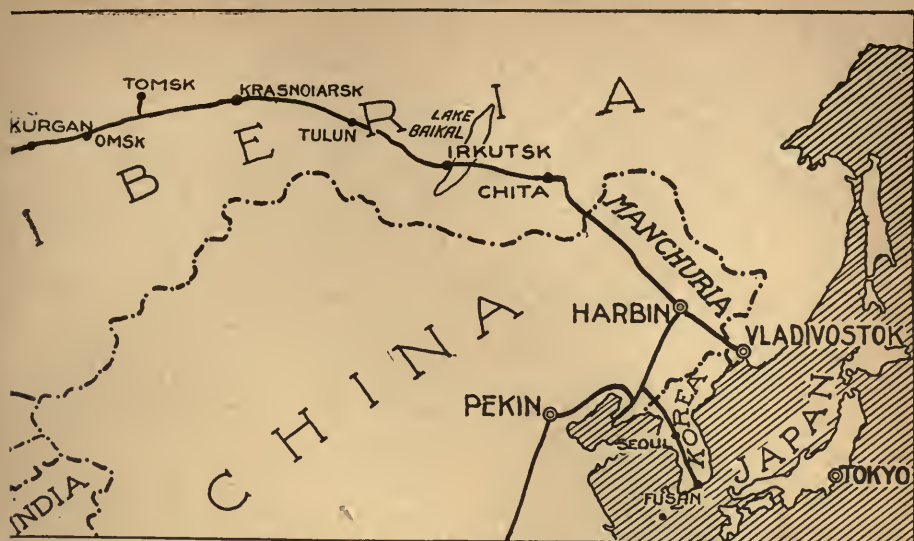
Early in June the number of Austrian and German troops on the territory of the former Russian Empire, exclusive of Finland, was estimated at 300,000, and the German troops in Finland at from 50,000 to 100,000. In July the Central Powers were said to possess in Russia thirty-two German and fifteen Austrian divisions, and one German division in Finland. In the middle of July the advanced line occupied by the Teutons ran from the Finnish Gulf to the City of Smolensk, then to the east and south, past Voronezh and Tsarytsin, and reached the Sea of Azov at Rostov. In the south the Germans were assisted by General Krasnov, who had set up a pro-German government in the Don region. In the Caucasus the Germans, resisted by the Armenians, as well as the local Bolsheviks, and aided by the Turks, were aiming at the oil region.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of

Soviets was summoned for June 28 to consider the dangers which beset the Socialist Republic, but it did not open until July 4. The delegates numbered 678 Bolsheviks, 278 Social Revolutionaries, 30 Maximalists, and 6 Internationalists. In the middle of June the Central Executive Committee had ordered all local Soviets to expel those of their members who represented Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries of the Right and the Centre. It justified this step on the ground "that the authority of the Soviets, presiding through an extremely difficult period, is being attacked simultaneously by international imperialism and its coadjutors within the Russian Republic, who are in conflict with the Government of the workmen and peasants."

No financial reforms were carried out, and no steps taken to provide for the indirect taxation planned by Lenine. The presses were still turning out paper money at the rate of 3,000,000,000 per month, thus rapidly increasing the aggregate of 40,000,000,000 paper rubles which were in circulation in June. The Financial Department estimated the assets of the nationalized and private banks at 30,000,000,000.

The mixed commission appointed, in accordance with the Brest treaty, to consider the claims of the States, reported



AND MAIN POINTS ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

on July 12 that Germany's claim for indemnity from Russia amounted to 7,000,000,000 rubles.

HUNGRY RUSSIA

In his message to the American people, made public late in June, Prince Kropotkin, the well-known Russian revolutionary thinker and leader, says that at the present moment the most urgent necessity is to save European Russia from impending starvation. He implores America to send to Russia seeds, tractors, and agricultural experts, as "a direct gift and a friendly service from nation to nation."

Recent advices convey the impression that famine is a grim actuality in Northern Russia, especially in urban regions. In the middle of June it was reported that in Petrograd men and women frequently dropped in the streets, overcome by sheer hunger. There is often no bread to distribute, the maximum allowance of black bread being two ounces, and the population of the former capital has to make shift with potatoes and desiccated vegetables. "Hungry citizens," to use the language of a Petrograd daily, "seek ravenously among offal and rubbish heaps, and lick the paste off street posters and placards." Intolerable conditions obtain also in Central Russia. Raw materials and

manufactured articles are extremely scarce. The business of providing food is the paramount preoccupation, and political indifference is prevailing among the famishing masses.

Lenine has apparently pinned his faith to the plan of combating hunger by means of making the poorer elements of the peasantry break the power of the more opulent farmers. The latter, he argued at a meeting, are the only ones to hoard the grain; once their autocracy is destroyed bread will be plentiful. In the meantime, foraging parties of armed workmen have become a regular feature of the Soviet Government. From time to time they sally into the countryside on their dangerous errand of provision hunting and bring the seized foodstuffs into the towns.

The following fragmentary data, given by the Commissariat of National Economy, furnish precise information on the decrease of the cultivated area within the limits of European Russia:

Government.	—Acreage Tilled in 1918.—	
Yekaterinoslav ..	38%	Acreage Tilled in 1916
Voronezh	40%	" "
Kharkov	53%	" "
Saratov	28%	" "
Samara	30%	" "
Kazan	34%	" "

According to a dispatch of July 12, hundreds of persons were dying daily

in Petrograd from cholera, the disease being due to starvation. M. Zinovyev, head of the Petrograd committee representing the Council of Commissaries, said in an appeal: "Every day many hundreds of persons are falling victims to disease. It is impossible to do anything to combat the epidemic, as we are unable to furnish even a quarter of a pound of bread a day, and are forced to give herring instead of bread."

REVOLT IN UKRAINE

During the month under record the peasant revolution in the Ukraine, directed against the Germans and the régime of the German-supported Skoropadsky, was growing in force. In the middle of June a revolt began at Kiev. Forty thousand peasants were reported to be participating in the uprising. The latter spread to the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov. On June 29, 75,000 Ukrainian peasants, well armed and well officered, were said to be advancing against the Germans in Kiev, the total number of the revolted peasants being 200,000. At the village of Krinichki, Government of Yekaterinoslav, a pitched battle took place between the peasant troops and the Germans, in which the Germans lost 1,000 men, twice as many as the Ukrainians. The Germans in the Ukraine were reported to be requesting reinforcements.

Dispatches received in Stockholm on July 11 conveyed the impression that the whole of the Ukraine was aflame with revolution. The peasants were reported to have a number of small armies numbering 15,000 to 20,000 men each and well armed with artillery and machine guns, and equipped for trench warfare. The German reinforcements rushed to the country were estimated at thirty-five divisions, (420,000 men.)

RUSSO-UKRAINIAN PEACE

On June 12 a truce was signed by Russian and Ukrainian delegates at Kiev. The following is a summary of its provisions:

Military activities along the entire front are stopped during the period of peace negotiations. Nationals of the contract-

ing parties are allowed to return to their respective States with their property, with the exception of merchandise, interest-bearing papers, and valuables. Cash to be taken is limited to 10,000 rubles for the head of the family and 2,000 rubles for each member, with a maximum of 20,000 for the family. An additional 80,000 rubles may be transferred if resulting from the sale of property. Both contracting parties have the right to limit and stop the import and export of foreign currency.

A commission of representatives of both States will be formed to transfer gradually from Russia to Ukraine railway rolling stock taken from the Ukraine. Postal, telegraphic, and passenger communication will be re-established simultaneously with the fulfillment of the other provisions of this paragraph.

Both States, on a basis of reciprocity, will establish their representative commissaries and Consuls for Russia and the Ukraine. The Red Cross societies shall facilitate the journey to their respective States of prisoners of war who are citizens of either State. A committee shall be formed within one week to regulate requests for and exchange of merchandise.

Both States shall immediately consider terms of peace.

On June 28 the Russo-Ukrainian Peace Commission reached an agreement regarding frontier boundaries. It was decided to base the delimitation on the ethnic principle, taking also into consideration the various interests of the two peoples.

FINLAND UNDER GERMANY

Early in July it was rumored that Finland was about to declare war on the Entente Allies. The Finnish Government, however, denied this intention. In a recent conference with Minister Morris at Stockholm, General Mannerheim, the former commander of the Finnish White Guard, admitted that German influence had come to stay in Finland. He added that he was biding the time when he could rally the Finnish patriots for the task of overthrowing the German rule.

In a recent speech in the Reichstag Hugo Haase, leader of the German Minority Socialists, asserted that since the Germans entered Finland 73,000 workmen had been arrested there and many of them executed. He said, in effect: "The list of those sentenced to

"death in Finland contains the names of a former Premier and fifty Socialists, members of Parliament, some of whom already have been shot. Owing to the numerous daily executions the town of Sveaborg has been renamed 'Golgotha.'" The Finnish Senate decided to expel the Jews from Finland on the ground that they financed the Red Guards.

The Finnish Constitutional Committee adopted by 16 votes against 15 the monarchical form of government for Finland, and the new Constitution is being shaped along monarchical lines. Finland will have a monarchy strongly limited by a Parliament.

On July 11 the Bolshevik Government agreed to enter into peace negotiations with Finland.

The American Minister to Sweden sent to President Wilson a copy of the protest, issued by the Estonian Diet and Government, denouncing Germany's occupational methods in Estonia. The document asserts that Germany is "plundering the country, seizing foodstuffs to such extent that the native population is left to starve, while German sol-

diers are permitted daily to send double rations to Germans." The protest points out the following facts:

Despite the assurances of Count von Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, and the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Germany has established a military dictatorship in Estonia. Before the entrance of German troops Estonian troops had re-established order in most districts, but the Germans disarmed these troops, suspended the Government, removed the administrative organs in the towns and country, took all the functions into their own hands, and created advisory committees composed of German residents who do not form more than 2 per cent. of the population.

German has been introduced as the official language, although it is not understood by 90 per cent. of the people. The German language also has been introduced into the schools, while the Dorpat University has been Germanized.

By means of unscrupulous penalties consisting of heavy fines, penal servitude, and shootings after trial by court-martial the Germans have suppressed free speech and political activity. Those newspapers which have been allowed to continue publication have been compelled to publish pro-German propaganda. Prominent Estonians who modestly protested against the oppression have been arrested.

Summary of the Russian Situation

By HAROLD WILLIAMS

[Mr. Williams, a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, after living many months in Russia, wrote this clear summary of the situation on July 15, 1918]

RUSSIA is helping herself in finding a way out of the labyrinth by very curious and wonderful ways of her own. Bolshevism is a mood. That mood, having wrought intolerable confusion and disaster, is now passing, and Russia, more recognizable, more intelligible to the Allies, is beginning to take shape. It is as if that amazing country were determined to demonstrate that the help which the Allies have been planning to give her will be given in vain.

Those who have pleaded for military aid to Russia have always argued that once a rallying point were given the active forces of the nation would begin to gather and assert themselves. By a strange fortuity that rallying point has

appeared from within in the shape of the Czechoslovak force. The Czechoslovaks are not Russians, but a kindred people. The Czechs are the Slav inhabitants of Bohemia and the Slovaks are men of the same stock, speaking practically the same language, who inhabit the mountainous northwestern part of Hungary, just on the fringe of Bohemia.

For a century this people, which in brighter days gave to the world John Huss, has been struggling to free itself from the grip of the Germans and Hungarians. The great opportunity came in the present war. Czech and Slovak soldiers of the Austrian Army surrendered in thousands to the Russians, not to save their lives but to spend them in fighting

on the side of the Allies against their German and Hungarian oppressors and for the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak State in the heart of Europe.

The Russian Government formed them into an army corps, and these sturdy fighters distinguished themselves nobly in the last offensive of the Russian Army. They remained at the front as long as there was a front, and when the Russian Army ceased fighting they were withdrawn to Kiev. After the Bolshevik revolution and the Brest-Litovsk peace they maintained strict neutrality in internal Russian disputes and shut their ears to calls from either side. Their one desire was to fight the Germans and demonstrate their right to independence.

Then in May they began to move eastward in the hope of somehow, some time, getting out of Russia and taking their places on the western front. They were weary of the Russian turmoil, and wanted to fight. The Bolsheviks did a very foolish thing. They tried to check their passage eastward and to disarm them.

The Czechoslovaks were compelled to fight the Bolsheviks. They struck hard, so that the ill-disciplined, ill-trained regiments of the Red Army, which had never calculated on serious fighting, fled before them. In a marvelously short time the Czechoslovaks, who were quickly reinforced by lurking and scattered Russian antagonists of the Bolsheviks, rescued control of several towns on the Volga and in the Urals and of nearly the whole of the Siberian Railway.

The Bolshevik Commander in Chief, a plucky adventurer called Muravieff, finding it impossible to suppress the Czechoslovak movement, thought that the moment was opportune to turn on his masters, but his Red Army would not follow him, and he shot himself.

Dutoff, the Ural Cossack leader, and apparently General Alexieff and his force have linked up with the Czechoslovaks, and the main body of the Social Revolutionaries, with the Committee of the Constituent Assembly, is in the movement. The Czechoslovaks have seized the old Tartar city of Kazan, the key to the Lower Volga. Success suc-

ceeds, and once the strong spell of the Bolshevik power is broken a general defection may be anticipated.

While this movement was growing in the east, while starvation, disease, and unemployment made rapid headway in the towns, and chaotic, quarrelsome landgrabbing was the rule of life in the villages, a remarkable thing happened in Moscow. Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was murdered in Moscow, and the murderers were not so-called counter-revolutionaries, but men who until recently were the closest allies of the Bolsheviks! The Jew Blumkin and the Russian Alexandrovich, who killed Count Mirbach, were Left Social Revolutionaries, members of that extreme faction which split off from the main Kerensky-Tchernoff section of the Social Revolutionaries and joined heart and soul in the Bolshevik campaign.

For several months after last November there was no essential difference between them and the Bolsheviks. Being primarily a peasant party, they brought peasant Soviets by strange manipulating into the Bolshevik movement. They induced Lenine, a Marxist, to accept their agrarian program. Several of their leaders held portfolios in the Bolshevik Government. Members of the party were active in all committees and Soviets, but they began to part company with the Bolsheviks over the Brest-Litovsk peace.

They were the authors of the famous formula proclaimed by Trotzky, "No peace and no war," and after the conclusion of that peace their Commissaries resigned from the Government and attempted to organize what they called a revolutionary war against all imperialism.

The break was not serious at first, but it has been steadily growing. The Left Social Revolutionaries mock at Lenine's theory of a peaceful interval for social reform. Their ideal is one perpetual and highly romantic revolution, and they like the Allies no better than they like the Germans. Amid all the strange and heterogeneous movements Russia is trying to find herself.

Russia's Constituent Assembly

An Eyewitness's Story of the Seventeen Fateful Hours That Started the Nation Toward Ruin

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

M. Naudeau, the author of this word picture of a historic episode, was sent to Petrograd as a special correspondent of the Paris Temps during the Kerensky régime, and remained through the Bolshevik upheaval, always a keen observer of men and events. In this article he describes the single session of the Constituent Assembly, which the Provisional Government had called, and which the Lenine Government disbanded by force, thus deliberately departing from the road that led toward constitutional liberty. Mr. Kerensky, speaking before the French Chamber of Deputies on July 5, denounced the Bolshevik policy and displayed a copy of a protest voted on May 18, 1918, at a secret meeting of the Russian Constituent Assembly, against the Brest-Litovsk treaty, declaring that Russia was still at war with Germany.

ANY one entering the hall of the Tauride Palace in Petrograd at 5:30 P. M. on Jan. 18, 1918, would have seen the 425 members of the Constituent Assembly standing while they sang the "Internationale" with imperturbable gravity, and would not have doubted that an ardent spirit of fraternity and lofty idealism, like a warm fluid, was uniting all hearts. This illusion, however, would not have survived an instant of close observation. Up to the very base of the tribune, in fact, compact groups of armed men were to be seen: sailors with fixed eyes and clenched jaws, who never ceased to cast looks of distrust and rancor at the majority of the delegates; Red Guards, who had been made to believe that the cunning resistance of the bourgeoisie and the traitorous opposition of the false Socialists, calling themselves the Social Revolutionary Party, would be the sole obstacle to the immediate realization of that universal happiness which the Bolsheviks were announcing to the people.

Is it necessary to believe that these men, bristling with arms, were all wicked? Not at all. Most of these sailors and Red Guards seemed to me rather to be weak dreamers. They evidently believed that it would truly be for the public good to annihilate the wretches, the monsters, the "hyenas of capital," who were hindering the birth of the blessed epoch in which all human

beings, reconciled, were to receive their equal share of happiness. I carefully studied a little sailor near me whose hair almost joined his eyebrows, and whose prominent, rosy cheeks inclosed the narrow wicket through which filtered, sharp, shining and fixed, a look full of both innocence and hatred. This fanatic, convinced that he was the depository of truth, the instrument of justice, certainly was thinking that he would be doing a most meritorious work if he were to destroy a few of these "minions of capital," these tools of the exploiters, who, having deceived most of their constituents, here formed the majority of the assembly. In like manner all these armed men appeared determined to use their weapons against the members of the traitorous majority if the minority members gave them the faintest sign.

WILD STREET SCENES

Besides, how could any one who found himself in the Tauride Palace during those memorable hours have failed to realize the danger when an intermittent fusillade was still crackling in the adjacent streets of the Shpalernaïa? Many of the Deputies, on their way to the hall, had heard, before the hisses of the Maximalists in the assembly, those of the bullets in the cold air. More than one had looked upon stark bodies and red pools in the snow, and had seen wild-eyed ruffians ready to make new victims.

Twice in the tramway car I had been compelled to crouch, pell-mell with the other passengers, on the floor of the vehicle, because death was screaming in the wind.

And yet what more peaceful, more inoffensive, more sanely democratic, more fraternal, than those great processions which, in the morning, from different parts of the capital, had marched forth to range themselves in front of the Tauride Palace in order to celebrate the opening of the Constituent Assembly? From the first hours of the day I had seen these processions passing, and had followed several of them; they contained, behind their brass bands and under their immense scarlet banners, thousands of workmen, employes, students, minor functionaries, soldiers without arms; countless women, young girls, even children. Not a rifle, not a sabre, not a revolver in any hand. But the Maximalist devotees had persuaded their followers that these demonstrations were counter-revolutionary in character. Behind these marchers they affected to see the sinister shadow of Korniloff, of Kerensky, of Kaledine, of the Cadet Party, of the bankers and all the ignoble "bourgeois."

From that time forth the guardians of the revolution decided that these processions should not reach the palace, but should be stopped by persuasion or by force. And this is how it came about that as these defenseless crowds advanced, singing revolutionary hymns, they were suddenly assailed with fusillades in different parts of the city. Desperadoes posted on certain roofs, like the police, the Pharaohs of the old régime, fired into the densest crowds. Elsewhere machine guns barked, hurling hailstorms of bullets. Infantrymen, coming out of their barracks, deployed across a main street and fired a volley into the disarmed citizens. A Sister of Charity, who, on her knees in the snow, was imploring these wretches not to murder their brothers, was killed at the muzzle of a rifle by a furious madman.

The "conquerors" of this lamentable day boasted afterward that the processions had been quickly dispersed. I bear witness, however, having seen it with my

own eyes, that several of these columns of unarmed and inoffensive marchers gave proof of astonishing stoicism, keeping their ranks and even continuing their march despite the volleys, and retiring at last only before the most immediate vision of death.

OPENING THE CONVENTION

At 4 o'clock, the hour when the session is supposed to begin, the great quadrangular hall still seems half empty. Half the delegates either have not been able to reach Petrograd from their distant homes or have not even been chosen as yet. Nevertheless, some things are noticeable: the Cadet Party, which should occupy about fifteen seats on the right of the hall, is totally absent; this is explained by the fact that most of its members have been arrested or are in flight. The whole centre and left belong to the Social Revolutionary Party, whose chiefs are being pointed out with the finger, and whose numerical superiority at once strikes the eye.

Among those elected, as elsewhere throughout the hall, there is a considerable proportion of soldiers, with some sailors and a few women, whose presence arouses no curiosity. Finally, on the extreme left, crowded one against another like troops for a battle, the Bolsheviks and the radical wing of the Social Revolutionaries form a veritable phalanx ready for the offensive and the resort to force; its members are in sarcastic attitudes, while, on the contrary, the Social Revolutionaries in the centre of the hall are grave, silent, a little pale, with a sad look upon their faces.

But suddenly a frightful outcry arises on the extreme left. It is a savage clamor in which catcalls are mingled. At the same time, while the Bolsheviks are still shaking their fists in the direction of the tribune, there come from the galleries, where the "public" is massed, yells that make one shudder. Finally on both sides of the tribune the sailors and Red Guards break into curses and scarcely restrain gestures of menace. What has happened?

An old man with a large gray beard, Schvetzov, has appeared with great dig-

RUSSIANS OF THE HOUR



Dr. G. V. Lomonossoff
*Head of Russian Railway Mission to
the United States*
(© Harris & Ewing)



Pavel Petrovitch Skoropadski
Dictator of the Ukraine



Vladimir Burtseff
*Publicist and opponent of the
Bolsheviki*



General Horvath
*Director of the anti-Bolshevist forces
in Siberia*

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK



Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities

nity in the Presidential chair. He is the dean by virtue of age, a Social Revolutionary, who, at the invitation of one of his colleagues, and without waiting longer for the good-will of the Commissaries, is trying to declare the first session open. This audacity has exasperated the Bolsheviks; they break into imprecations. They rage and hiss while Schvetzov, trying in vain to make his voice heard, persists in ringing the bell. But all at once, as if delivered from an insupportable nightmare, the same men utter a long sigh of relief, ending in joyous cries of acclamation. The bell no longer tinkles in profane hands; the sacrilege is ended; a little dry man, Sverdlov, has leaped to the Presidential chair, and has torn the little bronze bell from the hands of old Schvetzov, whose troubled eyes fill with tears.

THE RULE OF FORCE

What can the assembly do against such an outrage? It is in a circle of bayonets; some of the armed men posted by the Commissaries even carry bombs at their belts. The majority of the delegates elected by universal suffrage must, therefore, suffer the violence that is being perpetrated. The minority, made bold by its complicity with the most ignorant, credulous, brutal, and irresponsible elements of the nation, sets itself up as a sort of dictatorial Government which forbids the majority to oppose it.

The unspeakable Sverdlov reads a long screed, a sort of ultimatum, the purport of which is that the Constituent Assembly must recognize as a dogma the supremacy of the Soviets; it must also confirm at the outset all their decrees; approve without reserve all their acts and recognize implicitly as to itself that it was elected under imperfect conditions, so that the idea it is supposed to represent is now only a "distorted image of the people's will."

This lecture, which the majority hears in impassive silence, is welcomed with the joyous cries and demonstrations through which the Bolsheviks exhibit their satisfaction. The latter, moreover, undertake to force the Social Revolution-

aries to applaud certain passages of the screed. By signs they intimate to their adversaries that they ought to show approbation. Thus, when Sverdlov reads the passage relating to the nationalization of lands without remuneration to the owners, as the Socialist majority remains imperturbable, the Maximalist minority cries: "It's shameful! They don't applaud. Therefore they are for *indemnity!*"

This subterfuge represents the tactics of the Bolsheviks completely: pretending to forget that they have merely assimilated and applied the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionary Party, formulated several years ago, they are trying to persuade the credulous populace that they alone are sincere revolutionists. And it is with the same ulterior motive that they suddenly propose the singing of the "Internationale" at 5 o'clock. Everybody rises, a momentary truce is established; it is the scene that I described at the beginning of this article; voices unite, even if hearts remain separated by irreconcilable hatreds, and on one can tell the populace that the Social Revolutionaries, sold to the hyenas of capital, have refused to sing the hymn of the revolution.

COMMITTEE OF TYRANTS

So this Constituent Assembly, dreamed of for a whole century, as seen in the radiant perspective of the future; this assembly, for which the revolutionists of 1917 prepared the way with filial piety, and which was fully expected to put an end to the calamities from which Russia is suffering; this assembly, whose beloved name had shone upon the scarlet banners of all the Socialist Parties since the overthrow of Nicholas II., behold it here, gasping before our eyes like a martyr on the cross, given over helplessly to the abominable sabotage of a band of schemers who have spread the belief that they are the only democrats, the indispensable guardians of justice and truth.

What we see before us in this Constituent Assembly is a minority seizing control as a committee of tyrants. In the name of whom or what? In the

name of the dictatorship of a proletariat that is much too ignorant, in reality, to dictate anything at all. The Bolsheviks, by a revelation from heaven, no doubt, have assumed the monopoly of this dictatorship for themselves. Their postulate is simple: They alone think right. The people who elected them as Deputies are the only people in whose name it is proper to dictate. As for the other constituencies, much larger, who have given a strong majority to the Social Revolutionaries, these are false constituencies, fools, imbeciles, and the best service that can be done to them is to pay no attention to what they want.

If the Social Revolutionary Party, however, opposes to the invectives of the Maximalists and the pressure of bayonets a force of inertia devoid of pomp, it nevertheless has its tactics; it knows well how, in spite of all, to enjoy its prerogatives as a majority. Thus for the first time it gives itself up to a noisy demonstration and a long salvo of applause when its candidate, Tchernov, is proclaimed President by 244 votes against 151 for Mme. Spiridonova, who had been proposed by the extreme radical wing. During this time the Deputies of that faction keep scornful silence, but the galleries howl and the soldiers in the hall finger their guns nervously. To these simple souls it is clear that a monstrous attack has just been made against the majesty of the people, and that this defiance, hurled by the minions of capital, will justify an immediate prosecution of the crime.

TCHERNOV'S POWER

Meanwhile Tchernov appears in the Presidential chair. He is a little, stocky man, with a short, bulging chest, from which comes a voice of thunder, an extraordinary advantage, which permits the leader of the Social Revolutionaries to make himself heard in spite of all the tumult. Tchernov delivers an address of incontestable ability, first depicting in pathetic terms the devastating horrors of the war, then recalling his own part in the first Zimmerwald Conference, a topic thanks to which he succeeds in holding the attention of the

tyrannical minority. Tchernov excels in presenting the program of the majority, which he represents, and in exposing, by light allusions and indirect statements, the inanity of the Maximalist formulas. To the sarcasms and invectives of the Extreme Left he opposes only the ever-increasing volume of his formidable voice; he dares to recall the defeat of the attempt at separate negotiations, "in which German imperialism unmasked all its aggressive greed."

PRELIMINARY BATTLE

The atmosphere is that of battle. Summoned unexpectedly to declare whether or not he recognizes the supremacy of the Soviets, Tchernov parries and thrusts nimbly by declaring that until very recently the Soviets themselves have had for their principal article of faith the necessity of endowing a Constituent Assembly with national sovereignty as soon as possible, and that, when this has been done, the present assembly, regularly elected by the majority of the people, need fear no injury.

This mode of escape raises furious cries among the radicals and long applause among the Social Revolutionaries. But Tchernov has more than one trick in his bag. He takes the offensive, for he ends by proposing that the Deputies shall all rise and salute the memory of the many heroes who have recently given their lives for this Constituent Assembly. Disconcerted, the radicals cannot refuse to take part in this manifestation. Scarcely are the delegates seated again when Tchernov aims another blow at the dictatorial minority by proposing that everybody rise once more to render homage to the heroic soldiers, martyrs, who still remain at the front, and thanks to whose devotion this assembly is able to meet at Petrograd.

This motion rouses unheard-of fury on the Extreme Left; the galleries emit an avalanche of insult; the Maximalists rise to their feet; it is evident that the subtle oratorical fencing of Tchernov exasperates them, because it seems to them to be full of irony aimed at the dictatorship which they have usurped. One of

them thinks to do a masterstroke by proposing that the assembly shall in like manner salute the victims of the November revolution, that is, of the uprising that gave power to their class. Naturally the majority cannot obey such an injunction; they do not rise. The galleries raise an outcry. Some one shouts that the Social Revolutionaries are knaves and traitors; the Maximalist Deputies shake their fists at them, and at the base of the tribune the armed guards are moving about in a disquieting manner.

The situation of Tchernov in the Presidential chair during those tragic hours fairly symbolizes the power held by all those whose duty it was to rule Russia in 1917. Why did none of those men perform any act of energy? Ask Tchernov today, Tchernov, vilified, ill-treated, why he limited himself to opposing timid observations and persuasions to the cries and hisses from the galleries. Yet there was one moment, before the cynical meddling of outsiders, when he showed anger, forgot the enmities that encircled him, and declared that he might be obliged to compel the respect due the assembly by expelling all those who disturbed its deliberations. But then, on the extreme left, a pale little man in flashy clothes and a straggling, tow-colored beard, cried with a jeer: "Try it, then! Don't forget that the time is past when you and your class can take liberties!"

The man who thus jeers and threatens is the supreme commander of the Russian armies—"Generalissimo" Krylenko, the intrepid hero of the armistice! Frenzied applause greets the sally of the proletariat's cherished son, President Tchernov casts a look of distress and discouragement over the delirious humanity before him, and foreigners witnessing the scene shudder.

NO REAL ISSUE

The extraordinary thing is that only microscopic shades—questions of tactics rather than of political programs—separate the two Socialistic factions, the more numerous of which here finds itself oppressed by the less numerous

simply because the latter can count on the support of a few thousand sailors and armed workmen. Citizen Tchernov is a famous veteran in revolutionary fighting, a specialist of long standing upon matters of agrarian reform; he has advocated giving the lands to the peasants; he has just reminded the convention that he is an old Zimmerwaldian. But it no longer suffices to think with the People's Commissaries if one does not use the formulas of the commissaries.

In the same way, in the street, it is no longer the imperial police who machine-gun the crowd; it is the people who are assassinating the people. Armed Socialists are killing other Socialists who have no arms; factory workmen called Red Guards are shooting other factory workmen called reactionaries. All these Red Guards, all these sailors who are firing their rifles and machine guns into processions of common people and of soldiers who desire peacefully, with empty hands, to acclaim the Constituent Assembly; all these wretched murderers, all these half-crazed men running amuck, are twin brothers of their victims. This civil war, this persecution of the people by the people, is the result of the party propaganda of the Smolny Institute, and this propaganda recalls the sinister reprisals inflicted upon each other by devotees of one and the same creed when they are divided by subtle questions of casuistry.

CLIMAX OF EXCITEMENT

But we are still far from having seen the chief paroxysm of this stirring day. The frenzy is increased every moment by the speeches of several Maximalists, who are proclaiming the necessity of civil war as a divine remedy for all the ills from which the people are suffering. These men, whose teachings have wiped out the Russian Army, who have thrown Russia weaponless and writhing beneath the heel of the conqueror, are now making thunders of war, and their maledictions against their compatriots are accompanied by an incessant rattling of bayonets. These capitulants have only one desire: to create fear!

A tempest of howls, a sort of blind rage fills the hall; the "public" posted in the tribunes utters cries of hate, and some persons get the impression that the hired assassins of the dictators are going to use their arms. What, then, is happening? Some outrageous defiance must have been hurled at the assembly, and some minion of the old monarchy must have dared to show his face in the hall. This time the fury of the "true" Socialists seems to be of the first water, some unpardonable affront has been offered to the popular majesty. Here is the fact:

A man who was long in prison for having tried to defend the cause of the proletariat, a man whose life has been a model of self-abnegation, rectitude, and disinterestedness, a man who may fairly be regarded as the noblest figure of this revolution as well as one of its principal creators, this man, Tseretelli, has dared to appear on the platform. Never have I contemplated a spectacle of more atrocious irony than that of Tseretelli, pale, but impassive under that storm of objurgations. To have spent his whole life serving the proletariat, to have been the implacable adversary of Stolypin during the famous sessions of the Second Duma, to have been dragged from prison to prison, from exile to exile, to have contracted tuberculosis in that life of suffering to which the events of 1917 alone were to bring an end, and all this only to be howled off the platform of the Constituent Assembly as an *enemy of the people*, a traitor, a wretch who had sold himself! Men whose hands are still perhaps red with lynchings, with "executions" committed the night before on the public highway, are furiously reproaching Tseretelli with being a partisan of the death penalty, that same reproach which, in September, at the time of the national conference in the Alexandra Theatre, made Kerensky grow pale and hesitate before our eyes.

TSERETELLI AT BAY

Let us remember: In May the Socialist Ministers of that epoch, the Tseretellis, the Tchernovs, the Skobelevs, wished to show themselves liberal and

generous; in the name of liberty of thought they refused to have Lenine arrested. When this man was suspected by the majority of the population they spared him, protected him, covered him, defended him. What a terrible object lesson! In the name of liberty they wished to allow the circulation, without constraint, of the propaganda of men who had only one object—to overthrow liberty and install the tyranny of ignorance and brutality. Here in this convention we see the result—listen to those howls and invectives branding the *enemy of the people*!

For a long time, while Tchernov tries in vain to restore a little calm, Tseretelli remains motionless in the tribune, casting a look of sorrow and pity upon that sea of faces in delirium, whose rage is implacably bent on destroying the work created through so many sufferings. But from this depression, from this oppression, the thought of the orator suddenly frees itself in inspired phrases; his love for the people, his fear of seeing the first fragile fruits of the revolution compromised, is expressed in words so pure that the raging monsters calm themselves one after the other, and end by finding themselves under the domination of the tribune. Sincerity, in spite of everything, has in it a force that controls passion and blind hatred, and when Tseretelli, whose every phrase is a sob, a cry of the heart, begs the assembly to return to reason, not to abandon itself to foolish acts, and not to ruin by madness the common work for which so much blood and so many tears had already been shed, a great silence hovers in the air, and one seems to hear the beating of the pulse of remorse.

BOLSHEVIKI WORSTED

The arguments of Tseretelli become more and more logical, more and more persuasive; he throws into the light the inanity of the Maximalist policy; he shows that their opposition, their intolerance, their tyranny are inspired only by their fear of criticism and by their lack of confidence in their own rightness. At last he dares to make this grave

assertion amid such surroundings: "The greatest enemy of the Russian revolution is German imperialism." And they listen to him, they no longer attack him! This day, with all its terrorism, has allowed two leaders of the Social Revolutionists to deliver speeches of prime importance; each of them, despite all that he has had to endure, has won his battle. The speeches of the Bolsheviks, with their ranting, their brutalities, and their too facile threats, seem rather mean and poor, compared to these masterpieces of eloquence.

Alas! So much the worse for Tchernov and Tseretelli if they have excelled. The Bolshevik chiefs find it agreeable to "decree" the reform of humanity through a series of ukases. Was it going to be necessary henceforth for them to descend to oratorical tilts with these prattlers of the Constitutional Assembly, to put everything again in doubt, perhaps to risk adventures?

It was already 10 o'clock at night. The Bolsheviks, gloomy, scowling, demanded a suspension of the session and retired to consult in the hall reserved for their party. They were not seen again. When the assembly resumed its work their benches remained empty, and everybody felt the premonition of some sinister event.

THE BREACH WIDENS

In the assembly hall the majority, knowing they are condemned, have come to a pause. Nevertheless, Skobeleff delivers his courageous address on the day's massacres, and, in spite of the threats and howls from the galleries, puts through a vote for an investigation. But now there appears in the tribune an emissary from the Bolsheviks, Raskolnikov. He has come to explain the absence of his party. He judges that the promises of the majority "are nothing but deceptions." But that is nothing. What the Bolshevik party cannot tolerate, he explains, is that the assembly should persist in ignoring the power of the Soviets. It persists in not recognizing their supremacy; it stubbornly maintains its "counter-revolutionary attitude." Henceforth it shall be for the

Soviets themselves to decide what shall be done with the counter-revolutionary party in the assembly.

The break has come. It is the crisis. The delegates sit in funereal silence. The galleries rock with joyful stamping.

The left wing of the Social Revolutionaries, faithful allies of the Bolsheviks, repeat the ultimatum formulated by Raskolnikov. Their orator, Steinberg, reproaches the majority with having craftily tried to escape from the necessity of replying in regard to the Soviets. Steinberg utters a grave and revealing phrase. He demands of the majority "an approbation, without reserve, of the policy of peace followed by the Commissaries." In short, what is sought to be exacted from the Constituent Assembly is that it should at first sight indorse with its high authority the pourparlers for a separate armistice. But the men elected by the people maintain a solemn silence, and for an instant one might believe there is a slight flutter in the ranks of the Social Revolutionary radicals. As there are many peasants among them, the majority invite them earnestly not to retire before at least voting on the agrarian law. They hesitate, are perplexed; but their leader, Karelin, demands the retirement of all his troop in a body, and leads it away, saying: "Our party is leaving this hypocritical and cowardly assembly, which is sinning against the revolution!"

Henceforth the schism is complete. The majority is isolated and waits for the worst. The tribunes howl, demanding that all the charlatans who persist in occupying the hall should be put out. The Social Revolutionist majority expects a coup de force; it feels that it is to be strangled, kept from proving that it is not the enemy of the people. Thus it uses its remnant of energy in trying to attest by striking acts that it, too, as much as the Bolsheviks, even more than they, desires the swift conclusion of a democratic peace, the socialization of the land, and the control of industrial enterprises. Thus far it has succeeded in evading the reply which the dictators of the Soviet had from the first exacted. Now that everything in its attitude and

in the words of its orators has expressed this response, it realizes that its dissolution is imminent; so with a feverish precipitation, which the circumstances nevertheless justify, it hastens to give answers to the great fundamental problems raised by the renovation of Russia's life. The resolution regarding peace negotiations is voted instantly amid the bellows of the human beast.

Then, while President Tchernov in all haste is reading the draft of the law for the socialization of the land, a sailor suddenly mounts the tribune beside him, interrupts him, and signifies that the session must be adjourned, as "the guard is tired." In vain does Tchernov object that all the Deputies too are tired, but that they intend to continue the work which the nation has intrusted to them. His declaration that the assembly will give way only to force also is without effect, since it has been under the shadow of force from the beginning.

What is to be done when fanatics in the galleries are pointing their guns at the President, aiming at certain Deputies, and shouting that if they are made angry they are going to let loose a storm of bullets upon the assembly? What, indeed? The members vote with raised hands for the laws that Tchernov indicates. Hearts are full of anguish; some Deputies have tears in their eyes. They must leave, defeated, after a session of seventeen hours, with hanging head and heavy heart, to play the last act in this débâcle of democracy, while the sailors and Red Guards sneer and grumble, persuaded, apparently, that they have saved the revolution.

Lamentable is the scattering of the waifs of the Constituent Assembly in that black morning of Jan. 19, 1918! It is 6 o'clock; bayonets and looks of distrust and hatred glitter in the darkness. One hears terrible threats uttered. Sailors and Red Guards, ranged in hedges, insist on seeing file past them these suspects, men elected by universal suffrage, driven forth into the snow and tempest. Such is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Human folly can be more bitterly cold than the north wind.

CRIME OF THE MAJORITY

What, then, was the real crime of the Social Revolutionary majority? Precisely this—that it was a majority, forcing the Maximalists to see their own inferiority in numbers by ocular evidence. Then, the ability of its orators, Tsernov, Tseretelli, was so evident that the Commissaries refused to prolong an experience dangerous for their own power. They had instantly perceived that, with its eloquent speakers, this majority, if permitted to gain time, would by some skillful move shake down the audacious dogma of the supremacy of the Soviets. The latter refused to continue an intellectual joust which appeared decidedly unfavorable to themselves.

What is the good of discussing things with a parliamentary majority when one can disperse it with swashbucklers naïvely persuaded that by driving out the "false Socialists" they are helping to establish the golden age, in which the humblest mortals will taste on earth the joys, the happiness, the delights hitherto confined in all the paradises?

But especially—and this is the main point—the turn taken by the first debates had alarmed those who were directing the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Had any speaker in those seventeen hours dared to oppose the revolutionary majesty by so much as an accent that was clearly patriotic? Certainly not. In all the speeches delivered by Maximalist or Minimalist orators, and despite the ferocity of the vociferations, there was, nevertheless, harmony, unanimity on one point—the horror of war, the obsession, the fixed idea of peace, and the mad hope, even the conviction, that the revolution was going to propagate itself throughout Europe and regenerate the universe.

New Russia remains persuaded, or is trying to persuade itself, in order to conceal from itself the true nature of its defection, that it is achieving a work infinitely more significant than a definitive victory over Teutonism would have been. This megalomania of pacifism, this imperialism of defeat was, for a foreigner, the dominant impression of

the day. Yet the virile address of Tseretelli, where he dared say that German militarism was the most dreadful of all perils, sounded like a defiance, an accusation in the ears of the clan which at Brest-Litovsk was intoxicating itself with fantastic Tales of Hoffmann. Such was the disturbing significance of the coup de force of which the Constituent Assembly was the victim.

DEATH KNELL OF RUSSIA

Thus the Constituent Assembly passed away, the last, pale phantom of what had been the Russian nationality. Unstable as it was, this apparition still seemed menacing to those who since the Spring of 1917 had so insistently assured the simple Russian people that a peace without annexations or indemnities would be the easiest thing in the world to obtain from the Central Powers. This internationalist convention was still too nationalist for the mysterious men who, since the preceding May, had never ceased to engineer fraternizations with the enemy, and who had worked so desperately, through a cynical propaganda, to annihilate the Russian Army. This convention of dreamers and idealists still shed too much light to suit the dark agitators whose return to Rus-

sia exactly coincided with the appearance of clouds, ever more livid, in the sky, until then limpid and rosy, of the young revolution.

With the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly our last illusions have vanished. The weak pretense of declaring a holy war on Germany if she dared propose a peace other than "democratic"; the bluff at raising a revolutionary army—are these not merely deceptions added to preceding deceptions? The only war that is being prepared for in earnest is civil war. One can no longer see from what direction rescue could come. On every side, within the boundaries of what once was Russia, one sees only chaos, confusion, catastrophe, and the people seem to have neither the strength nor the courage to react. Thus, during the fourth year of a disastrous war and after one year of revolution, the pretended dictatorship of the proletariat, wielded in reality by a few thousand sailors and armed workmen—the least thoughtful and most covetous and brutal elements—pursues its course with many appearances of being subordinated to a conspiracy of which it seems to be the blind instrument.

Petrograd, Jan. 23, 1918.

Great Britain and the Yugoslav State

The New Adriatic Reconciliation

[BY THE EDITOR OF THE NEW EUROPE]

FOUR years of war changed many things, but none more markedly or more felicitously than the Adriatic question. When Italy entered the war in May, 1915, the enmity of Latin and Slav on the shores of the Adriatic Sea, artificially created and sedulously fostered by successive Hapsburg Governments, was in full flame, and bade fair to consume both races in a devastating conflagration from which alone the common enemy, Austria, could profit. The Southern Slav hated the Italian in Dalmatia as an imperialist usurper, the Italian denounced the Southern Slavs as the Cosacks of Austria brutally overwhelming

a superior culture by sheer force of numbers.

At successive periods before the war the Vienna Government fostered the pretensions, now of the one party, now of the other, and thus aroused an acute sense of grievance in both. It seemed as if nothing but a miracle could reveal to these fratricidal peoples where their real enemy and their true interests lay. The miracle has come to pass, and in our rejoicing we shall not attempt to apportion the credit to the various agencies which have brought it about. But, since British friends of both peoples have had some share in it, we take this occasion

to express our gratitude to the Government for enabling Lord Robert Cecil to greet the new Adriatic reconciliation with such a significant and eloquent welcome.

At the Mansion House celebration of Italy's third war anniversary, the Minister of Blockade not only spoke of our Latin ally in language whose warmth and sincerity is echoed in every British heart, but singled out for special emphasis of praise the generosity of Italian statesmanship, by which a new era of co-operation has been opened for the Adriatic peoples. To Lord Robert Cecil's words we will only add that the Adriatic agreement is a most remarkable proof of the efficacy of unofficial diplomacy in preparing the ground for a real diplomatic triumph. The Governments concerned will be the first to recognize that private initiative launched and skillful private diplomacy steered this fine enterprise to the haven of official approval. And when we speak of official approval we cannot resist a slight attack of self-satisfaction at the language which Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the British Government, addressed to Italy and to those subject races of the Hapsburg Monarchy whose representatives recently met in that historic Congress of Nationalities in the Campidoglio at Rome.

TEXT OF LORD CECIL'S ADDRESS

Above all, do not let us forget the principles we are fighting for. Let us hold high, and ever higher, the standard of freedom and justice under which we are battling. In these things, I venture to think, our Italian ally has given us a splendid example. I will not speak of their efforts; I have already said something of them; I know how warmly they have seconded all proposals for a closer union between the Allies, and, above all, I welcome especially their recent congress at Rome, which has done so much to strengthen the alliance of which they are a part. I believe that congress was valuable for its wisdom and its moderation.

I believe it was valuable for the spirit of brotherhood which it displayed. But, above all, I welcome it because it showed that the Italian Government, as expressed by the speech of the Italian Prime Minister, (Signor Orlando,) recognize to the full that the principles on which the Kingdom of Italy was founded were not only of local application, but extend to international relations. Italy has shown herself ready to extend to the Poles, to those gallant Czechoslovaks, to the Rumanians, and last, but not least, to the Jugoslavs, the principles on which her own "Risorgimento" was founded, and on which she may still go forward to a greater future than she has ever seen in the past. That is a great work, and those who have borne any part in it may well be proud of their accomplishment. Assuredly, it is welcome to the British Government, and, if I may venture to interpose a personal note, particularly to myself. I always felt, and I said so here eighteen months ago, that there was no inconsistency whatever between the aspirations of Italy and those of Jugoslavia. We welcome it, not only because it is just and true, not only because it increases the cordial co-operation of our allies, but also because it emphasizes and brings once more into clear relief the principles for which we are fighting this war.

People talk sometimes about the dismemberment of Austria. I have no weakness for Austria; but I venture to think that that is the wrong point of view. The true way to regard this problem is not the dismemberment of Austria, but the liberation of the populations subject to her rule. We are anxious to see all these peoples in the enjoyment of full liberty and independence; able by some great federation to hold up in Central Europe the principles upon which European policy must be founded, unless we are to face disasters too horrible to contemplate. The old days of arbitrary allotment of this population or that to this sovereignty or that are gone—and, I trust, gone forever. We must look for any future settlement to a settlement not of courts or Cabinets, but of nations and populations. On that alone depends the whole conception of the League of Nations, of which we have heard so much, and unless that can be secured as the foundation for that great idea, I myself despair of its successful establishment.



War Finances

Public Debts of Each of the Chief Belligerent Countries in the First 47 Months of the War

By D. G. ROGERS

DURING the first three years and eleven months of the war the public debts of the warring countries, as treated below, in Table 1, show an aggregate of \$129,500,000,000, of which about \$85,600,000,000 represents the increase in the public debts of the different allied groups and \$43,800,000,000 the increase in the public debt of the Central Powers.

Among the European nations, Great Britain shows the largest increase of indebtedness, viz., by \$26,542,000,000. This total includes \$7,027,000,000 advanced to allies and dominions up to Feb. 9, 1918. On the other hand, the total increase is inclusive of advances received from the United States since April, 1917, which totaled \$3,055,000,000 on June 30, 1918.

RUSSIA'S GREAT DEBT

Russia's public debt shows an increase of about \$20,200,000,000 between Jan. 1, 1914, and Sept. 1, 1917. This total includes the amounts advanced by the Allies, and, in addition, about \$7,800,000,000 received by the Treasury in the shape of notes from the State Bank, whose stock is owned exclusively by the Government. To the \$7,027,000,000 advanced by Great Britain, largely to Russia and Italy, should be added advances of the United States to the Allies totaling \$5,594,000,000 on June 26, 1918.

The war debts of Germany and Austria-Hungary likewise include advances—to Bulgaria and Turkey. These advances, so far as known, cover by far the larger portion of the war expenditures of these two.

Total debt figures shown pertain to the principal belligerent countries only, and do not include the public debts of neutral countries, which have risen considerably during the war.

COMPARATIVE TABLE 1

Showing the public debt of the principal belligerent countries (in millions of dollars):*

Country.	ALLIED POWERS		Increase.
	Before Enter- ing War.	At Most Re- cent Date.	
Great Britain..	\$3,458	\$30,000	\$26,542
Rest of Bt. Emp	1,454	3,000	1,546
France	6,598	25,227	18,629
Russia	5,092	25,383	20,291
Italy	2,792	7,676	4,884
United States...	1,208	15,008	13,800
Total	\$20,602	\$106,294	\$85,692
Country.	CENTRAL POWERS		Increase.
	Before Enter- ing War.	At Most Re- cent Date.	
Germany	\$1,165	†\$30,000	\$28,835
Austria	2,640	13,314	10,674
Hungary	1,345	5,704	4,359
Total	\$5,150	\$49,018	\$43,868
Grand total.	\$25,752	\$155,312	\$129,560

With the spread of the war and the continuous rise of prices, the cost of the war is constantly increasing, calling for larger and larger borrowings by the Governments. In floating the huge public loans the Governments have had the assistance of the banks, co-operation between the Governments and central banks of issue being particularly close. Loans of a permanent character are, as a rule, preceded by issues in large volume of Treasury bills or certificates, a large proportion of which is discounted by the central banks. The amounts of Treasury bills and other short-term obligations discounted by the European Governments with their central banks have

*The ante-war public debt figures are those of the Federal Reserve bulletin; figures by the same authority were used as a basis in bringing up the figures to June 30, 1918.

†Prince Fugger declared recently in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies, according to German papers, that Germany would have to provide for a war debt of about \$33,250,000,000 if the war terminated unfavorably to her this Summer.

been constantly rising, partly accounting for the inflation of currency and prices, which in turn cause increased borrowing.

In Great Britain temporary borrowings of the Government from the Bank of England, as a rule, do not cause any increase in note circulation, the Government receiving deposit credit for the amount borrowed. Whatever addition to

note circulation took place there is due to issues of currency notes by the Government to the banks, largely against the deposit of Government and other securities, as distinct from the practice on the European Continent, where, in most cases, notes are primarily issued by the central bank to the Governments.

Table 2, below, shows the effect of the war upon the status of the principal

COMPARATIVE TABLE 2

Showing total note circulation, deposits in gold and silver, and holdings of principal banks of issue at the outbreak of the war and at the end of 1917.

ALLIED POWERS

(In thousands of dollars)

AT OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

AT END OF 1917

	Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits...	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and De- posit Liabilities. P.C.	Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits...	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and De- posit Liabilities. P.C.
France	\$1,289,855	\$256,716	\$919,968	59.5	\$4,311,000	\$610,961	\$687,480	13.7
Great Britain	144,566	326,699	185,567	39.4	1,223,586	808,671	283,899	27.5
Japan ²	212,342	61,367	112,296	41.0	410,816	291,341	326,982	46.6
Italy	324,824	37,403	232,965	64.3	1,243,574	309,579	178,188	11.5
Russia	841,174	592,522	863,371	60.2	9,456,516	1,780,088	758,798	6.8
Total	\$2,812,761	\$1,274,707	\$2,314,167	56.6	\$15,645,492	\$3,800,640	\$2,235,377	11.4
United States ³ .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,246,488	\$1,457,994	\$1,668,268	61.7

CENTRAL POWERS

Austria-H'y .	\$432,341	\$59,419	\$311,963	63.4	\$3,594,156	\$424,004	\$64,657	1.1
Germany	692,442	299,515	363,670	36.7	2,729,324	1,915,993	615,929	13.3
Total	\$1,124,783	\$358,934	\$675,633	45.6	\$6,323,480	\$2,339,997	\$680,586	7.8

¹In addition, there were outstanding currency notes to the extent of \$1,035,505,039, secured by \$1,370,023,500 in gold.

²Figures for Dec. 31, 1913 and 1917.

³These figures refer to the Bank of Italy. On Nov. 10, 1917, there were also in circulation notes of the Bank of Sicily, 274,666,650 lire; notes of the Bank of Naples, 1,413,103,400 lire, and Treasury bills (Nov. 30) 1,684,000,000 lire, (metallic reserve 167,000,000 lire,) a total of 3,371,770,050 lire, or \$650,751,620, as against \$197,053,400 on July 20, 1914.

⁴Figures for Oct. 16-29, 1917.

⁵Figures for the Federal Reserve Banks, as of Dec. 28, 1917, exclusive of gold with foreign agencies.

⁶There were also outstanding on Dec. 31, 1917, the following issues:

	Million Marks.
Treasury notes	350.0
Loan Bank certificates	6,266.0
Notes of Bank of Bavaria.....	68.5
Notes of Bank of Saxony.....	44.1
Notes of Bank of Württemberg.....	24.6
Notes of Bank of Baden.....	26.0

6,799.2

or \$1,613,450,000. On July 31, 1914, the issues of the latter four banks amounted to \$40,590,900, as against \$38,844,500 on Dec. 31, 1917.

banks of issue in the warring countries, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin. It is seen that while the amounts of metallic cover at the banks in the warring countries of Europe have changed but little in the aggregate, the ratio of these amounts to their liabilities has gone down since July, 1914, from 54.3 to 9.4 per cent.

Amounts of gold held in the vaults of the central banks of issue do not represent in every instance the total monetary stocks of gold in any given country. Great Britain maintains a metallic cover of \$138,695,250 against currency notes, which amounted to \$211,785,306 on May 12, 1915, and \$1,035,505,039 on Dec. 31, 1917. The Irish banks held on an average for the four weeks ended Nov. 3, 1917, \$80,320,541 in gold against an average note circulation of \$107,872,975, and the Scotch banks reported as of the same date average gold holdings of \$82,678,720, against an average amount of notes in circulation of \$88,106,406. There should also be included small amounts of reserve and circulation of six private banks and three joint stock banks in England proper. The larger commercial banks in England also hold as part of their vault cash considerable amounts of

gold, the London City and Midland Bank alone showing in gold \$34,065,000 on Dec. 31, 1917.

In the case of Italy there are notes in circulation of the Banca di Napoli and the Banca di Sicilia in addition to the issues of the Banca d'Italia. On Nov. 30, 1917, the combined gold reserves of the first two banks were \$45,355,000 and silver reserves to the extent of \$7,720,000, against a combined note circulation of \$343,733,000. On the same date the Italian Treasury held \$32,231,000 of metallic reserve against its Treasury note issue of \$325,012,000.

Figures of gold reserves relating to the Bank of France, the Reichsbank, and the Austro-Hungarian Bank are more closely representative of the total monetary stock of gold in those countries. All gold in circulation that could possibly be gathered was concentrated in the vault of the central banks. Some increase in the gold reserve of the Reichsbank is probably due to the transfer to its vault of part of the gold reserve held by the Austro-Hungarian Bank at the outbreak of the war. On July 23, 1914, the latter held \$271,589,437 in gold coin and bars, and this sum had gone down to \$53,630,570 on Dec. 7, 1917.

Casualties of Belligerents

Approximately Eight Millions Dead and Thirteen Millions Wounded or Missing During Four Years of Fighting

IN attempting to arrive at an estimate of the loss of man power in the war, one confronts difficulties on the part of various Governments which refuse to publish casualty figures. One is eventually compelled to rely on statements of a more or less contradictory character.

Great Britain since the beginning of the war has consistently published her casualties. Her losses have been smaller than those of the other European powers, owing to the time required to bring her full strength to bear upon the enemy. The United States has also followed the practice of publishing daily losses;

therefore, the figures for Great Britain and the United States as shown in the table below are official.

The nearest approach to an official statement of losses suffered by France during the last four years was given by André Tardieu in an address at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, on April 28, 1918, when he stated that the French battle losses, including killed, wounded, and captured, totaled 2,600,000 men, of whom about 1,300,000 were killed outright.

France suffered tremendously in the early retreat to the Marne and later in the defense of Verdun. These and

other losses, together with those suffered as a result of the German drives during this year's campaign, undoubtedly increased her total casualties considerably.

Russia was one of the greatest mortality sufferers of all the warring powers, and the figures as given probably lean toward conservatism.

Italy until recently was saved from extreme casualties through the confining of open operations to her mountain frontiers. The great offensive of Austria along the Piave undoubtedly increased the losses of Italy to an appreciable extent.

Belgium and Serbia, overrun by the Teutonic powers early in the war, lost heavily, but of late their armies have been comparatively inactive. Rumania, although entering the war late, suffered disastrously through German invasion.

According to the German official casualty list published daily until May 10, 1916, the Germans had lost up to that date 2,822,079 men. The daily list was then succeeded by a monthly summary compiled by the British War Office from German bulletins, which gave the total loss up to Aug. 1, 1917, as 4,624,256, of which 1,056,975 were killed or dead of wounds, and 335,269 were registered as prisoners.

In October, 1917, George Ledebour, the German Socialist leader, is reported to have stated during a speech in the Reichstag that Germany, during three years of war, had lost 6,000,000 men, of which 1,500,000 were dead. Karl Bleibtreu, the German military statistician, writing in *Das Neue Europa* of April 22, 1918, gives the German losses up to Jan. 1, 1918, as 4,456,961 men. His figures deal exclusively with those killed in action or taken prisoner. Using the German figures with caution, together with the Entente estimates of Germany's heavy losses this year, the totals arrived at in the summary may be considered as a fair approximation.

In regard to Austria-Hungary, the great campaigns in the east during the last four years are to be considered, these having been carried on by large forces in the open over wide stretches of territory. Lack of means of communication and hospital facilities also has been a factor in increasing the total losses.

The Teutonic casualties in Italy have been large. Their latest offensive, June-July, 1918, resulted in disaster, with an estimated casualty list of 150,000 men.

Turkey has been a heavy loser, waging war on a wide sweep of front, from Gallipoli through Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Bulgaria's losses have been comparatively small.

The figures appended do not include the enormous loss of life among the civilian population of invaded countries, though such loss was directly attributable to the war. Nor do they include losses of life at sea.

LOSSES AMONG COMBATANTS IN FOUR YEARS OF WAR

[Figures estimated, except United States and Great Britain]

	Dead.	*Wounded, Captured, or Missing.	Total Casualties
United States..	†4,487	6,752	11,239
Great Britain..	†434,774	979,154	1,413,928
France	1,375,069	1,600,279	2,975,348
Russia	2,762,064	2,466,572	5,228,636
Italy	160,356	329,644	490,000
Belgium	63,250	182,898	246,148
Serbia	76,484	261,170	337,654
Rumania	100,000	250,000	350,000
Totals	4,976,484	6,076,469	11,052,953
Germany	1,812,500	4,569,820	6,382,320
Austria-H'ary ..	964,368	1,779,317	2,743,685
Turkey	182,644	370,452	553,096
Bulgaria	11,324	19,128	30,452
Totals	2,970,836	6,738,717	9,709,553
Grand totals.	7,946,320	12,816,186	20,762,506

*Eighty per cent. of the Entente allied wounded return to the armies; Germany claims that 85 per cent. of her wounded return as combatants.

†To July 9, 1918, inclusive.

‡To July 1, 1918, (forty-seven months.)

The Agony of the City of Lille

Experiences of One Citizen During the Horrors of German Occupation

Part I.

By MARGUERITE BUCHET

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by M. L. Cavanaugh]

During the twenty years since I left Lille I have not had the opportunity of seeing my old governess, Mlle. Marguerite Buchet. After she had regained her freedom, through a convoy sent to the south of France, and as she was no longer under the domination of the Germans, she wrote me this account of the invasion. The poor woman opened her heart and told me of the agonizing moments and the harrowing scenes she had passed through. On leaving Lille she was obliged to leave her safe-deposit box, which contained the earnings of the hard labor of her entire life, and which she knew she would never be able to recover. At her departure the Germans would not allow her to take even two francs from her box. In publishing this account, I wish to show once more what it is to be under the yoke of our enemy, and also to evince the sentiment of friendship and memory for one who was so kind to me in my childhood.—Foreword by Mme. Marie Reveilhac.

MY country is dear France. My native city is dear old Lille, which for three years has groaned under the domination of the Germans. During the first days which followed the invasion and the great fires in the city we only had the strength to suffer, but at the end of a few weeks I thought I would write what I would call "mes souvenirs," that is to say, the most striking things I noted, as they presented themselves, but "mes souvenirs" never saw the light. On our departure the Germans forbade us to take books, journals, paper, &c., consequently we burned quantities of letters and papers, as we preferred to destroy them sooner than let them fall into the hands of our enemies.

October, 1914, will never be forgotten by us; no one can ever understand the terrible sorrow of the invasion if they have not experienced it. Friday, Oct. 9, the first bomb fell on the city. Saturday they fought on the boulevard. All the inhabitants hurried into their houses. In the evening the bombardment commenced, continuing Sunday and Monday. Darkness reigned in the city. Thousands of shells whistled,

fire broke out, hearts were crushed with anguish and grief, while our brave soldiers valiantly held out. Our heroic defenders were only a few thousand, and they were attacked by a strong army. Our men knew it could only end in defeat, that word which chills the blood, but they had been commanded to hold bravely on, in order to save the region further north which led to the sea, so they fought courageously, heedless of the tremendous force and thinking neither of their wounded nor their dead. For some days the city had been declared closed, and as there were so few cannons they carried them from one gate to another, striving to make the Germans think that they had many. Fires broke out in many quarters of the city, flames shooting to twenty and thirty meters in height. There were some desperate flights for life amid the fall of whistling shells. I know of a woman with three children who was obliged to flee from her house five times during that terrible night. There were young mothers who had to flee with their newly born. A little child, trembling all over, said: "Bonne maman, je ne vais pas mourir." They had to

leave everything, their homes, their souvenirs, everything they loved, and go to the unknown in their distress and poverty. Finally, the hour approached when our Lille was proud to have paid her debt to her country by bravely holding on, notwithstanding her sorrows and trials. The white flag was hoisted, the city surrendered. The German General, full of admiration for the commander who had shown so much heroism, accepted his sword and saluted him the first. However, the enemy entered the city, singing their song of victory, and danced before the flaming houses, while the bombardment still continued in certain quarters of the city. Some of the defenders were able to conceal themselves in order not to be made prisoners, burning their clothes. Others less fortunate, left for captivity.

Tuesday morning, Oct. 13, the German Army made its entrance into our dear old Lille, where reigned the silence of death, a silence which accompanies the greatest grief, and what grief could be greater than this? It was the silence, the solitude, the calm, the majesty of a noble, of a heroic, defeat.

Not a citizen was in the street; every window, every door, was closed. The troops filed by an endlessly long time without provocation, I must admit it, without a cry of victory. My sister and I will never forget our suffering the morning of Oct. 13; it will be forever engraved on our hearts. I still tremble and suffer today, though more than three years have passed. The heavens were red, flames crackled, fire continued, certain streets seemed like a vast furnace, there seemed to be no help. The firemen were guarded by the Germans, the hydrants likewise. There were many houses which did not start to burn until Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning; if it had been their wish, they could have been saved. I myself saw a priest tear up the pavement of a street with a pickaxe in order to cut the pipes to aid the engine which he and other men had hastened to bring there in their great distress, and when they were so tired that they were obliged to stop a second the fire would burst forth anew in great

flames. As soon as the firemen were set free they rushed madly to the scene, but the fire had reached such a magnitude that all help seemed useless. They cried with anguish: "Water, water; pump more and faster!"

Was the bombardment the cause of all these fires? Most certainly not. A person whom I knew intimately, and whom I could believe, said to me: "Opposite our house I saw a German take a pickaxe and break open a house which was not on fire; five minutes later the house was in flames."

Tuesday the Dean of the great church at Lille, St. Maurice, whose parish had been particularly ravaged by the fire, rushed through the streets crying to his dear parishioners: "Save what you can, bring it to the church, and place it there." St. Maurice, much ruined by the shells, had been saved from the fire. It was indeed a spectacle that I will never forget which I saw the following Sunday. The great naves, the chapels were filled with all kinds of objects; commodes, chairs, trunks, sewing machines, old statues, old frames, artificial flowers, which retained only the value of a souvenir, which showed dire poverty, were mingled with the richest furniture. The charity of this priest touched me, and the old church filled in this manner brought tears in my eyes.

From the first days placards appeared, indicating to us the orders of our masters, and also making to us lying promises. In fact, they declared that the commercial life would not be interrupted, that the wealth and the property of the citizens would be respected. A little later we had other placards, which did not declare the same things. We had all kinds and all colors—yellow, red, blue, green, orange—one after the other, touching our fortunes. They requisitioned horses, saddles, oils, grease, arms, leather, bicyclettes, flax, oxen, carriages, wines, grain, all the equipment for photography, telephones, dogs, chickens, rabbits, linen, wool, thread. I have friends from whom they have taken 600,000 francs. They have taken

all, a little at a time, even the old iron, and wooden shoes.

Very soon a placard appeared which announced to us that in order to keep a dog we would be obliged to pay a big tax, and also to submit to certain rules and regulations. There followed a veritable sacrifice of dogs, notwithstanding their great love for the faithful animals; but give money to the enemy? Oh, no. So the dogs were killed by thousands.

This country of the north of France, which is so rich, so fertile, is ruined. I heard one lady say: "They have taken 4,000,000 francs. It was the fortune of my children which I saw carried away." The Germans themselves are stupefied at the great wealth. It was said that they were heard to exclaim: "Les murs de Roubaix, transparent de l'or." The finest materials have gone, the beautiful trees are destroyed, all is lost, but we still remain brave and French now and forever!

We were ordered to be in our houses by 5 o'clock in the evening. Every one said: "How kind they are, what good care of our health!" As these sarcastic exclamations were heard by the Germans, a new command was given, forbidding any one to criticise in any way the acts of the German Government. All these commands terminated with threats of fines and imprisonment. We suffered the punishment of entering the house at 5 o'clock three times during the thirty-two months.

I passed under the German domination. The first time was on the occasion of French prisoners passing. They had not only been saluted, the dear soldiers of France, but cigars and cakes had been thrown to them. The following day a placard appeared which informed us that we did not understand our position and we must be in our homes by 5 o'clock.

German policemen on bicycles appeared in the streets. No one was permitted to stand near a window; the children could not even play in a yard which opened on the street from 5 o'clock; the silence of death reigned, only broken by the heavy steps of the Germans, and they even confessed to each other at that time that

such a solitude was not gay. The blinds on all the stores and houses were closed.

This punishment was again inflicted during the Summer, on our refusal to make bags and cordage for the German Army; it was hard to endure; the children grew pale and the workmen suffered. It was extremely hard on families who lived in the mansards. Did the air of the good God also belong to the conquerors? It was finally through the effort of our Bishop that the punishment was lessened. The affair of the making of the sacks was terrible: some women were imprisoned, they were told they could have their liberty as soon as they accepted the work. They were given only bread and water, and were forced to remain standing, not even a bed was given for the night. There was one of them who suffered cruelly, and no care was given to her. The courageous women continued to resist, refusing to work. After a week had passed some prominent persons went to them and advised them to work, for if they continued to refuse they would still be treated in the same way, and perhaps even worse. One woman who was imprisoned for refusing to work awakened in the night with a cry of horror, as rats were running all around! Others, who were rich, were obliged to pay heavy fines.

A brave peasant who had been exempted by France on account of an infirmity was ordered to work in the trenches. All the preceding night he and his wife wept bitterly. He wanted to run away, but where and for what good? He would only be captured, so he worked under the eyes of a German, who watched him with a revolver in his hand. All that he suffered on such days is indescribable; they paid him, saying: "We can afford to be generous, as the City of Lille gives the money." It was in the month of December, 1914, that we experienced for the first time a sorrow of which we had not dreamed. It was to hear our bells, mute since the 12th of October, by order of the conquerors—to hear them ring at their command to announce their victories. This, indeed, was suffering! It was endured three times during the following year. No one can

imagine how we suffered, what sorrow it was. We experienced at the same time shame and humiliation, a crushing of all the sentiments, both patriotic and religious, but we were too proud to show that we suffered.

In the Winter of 1916 I again heard the bells of Lille; it was to announce the taking of Bucharest; it was at 9 o'clock in the evening. For an hour the great city had been silent, though the obligatory entrance was at 8 o'clock. Suddenly the joyous tones burst forth in every quarter, all churches, save one, joining in this glorious outburst. *Sacré Coeur* was excepted, as the Germans injured the bells when announcing one of their victories.

Another torture which we had to endure was their music; every day there were "parades" on the "grand place," consequently music. As our population is a dignified one, each person continued on his way as if he heard nothing, but they heard only too well. A "monsieur" having put his hands to his ears when the "fanfare" commenced was put in prison for forty days. As for myself, I have stood more than once gazing into an empty window in order to avoid looking at the "parade." Many others did the same thing. Some one will ask, why an empty window; simply because our stores had been stripped for a long time of everything. Our material life was excessively painful. During some months the bread had been a grayish black or brown, the color of spices. At times it was miserable; at times the animals even refused to eat it. It stuck to the hands, to the teeth.

Fortunately, the American committee came to our relief and sent us some flour. What enthusiasm when once more we saw white bread! Many, many thanks to those who had pity on the poor invaded region! There was distribution of rations at fixed hours. Unfortunately, indeed, was the one who was detained by some occupation at the appointed time; then he was obliged to do without the precious food for two days until a new distribution.

During many months the rations were

a demi livre—that is to say, 250 grams per person; it was not sufficient for the young people, nor for the workmen, as they were deprived of meat and vegetables. All food was obtained at an exorbitant price—meat \$6, butter \$5.20, sugar \$2.40, chocolate \$3, potatoes 38 cents, all sold at 1 kilo, (2 1-5 pounds.) The prices before the war for the same amount were as follows: Sugar 17 cents, potatoes 3 cents, chocolate 40 cents, butter 74 cents, meat 30 cents. A chicken costs \$5.20 now instead of \$1, a rabbit \$5 in place of 60 cents. An egg reached the enormous price of 24 cents, a cabbage 25 cents. The Germans forced us to buy their flour; it made the bread grayish color. Not a milkman was to be seen. Some vegetables and fruits I did not even see during the second year of the occupation, and even the food, dear as it was, could not be found. It was only obtained by fraud. One woman paid a fine of \$18.75 for having brought a rabbit to Lille. Another passed nine days in the citadel for taking some potatoes into his village. This the régime of the citadel: the bed is the hard earth, the food consists of bread, water, coffee, and soup. Rats are the companions of the prisoners. The food was so dear that we naturally had to do without it. Children could not live on such a miserable diet. The mortality among them increased frightfully. In March, 1916, it was more than double that in 1915; it became known abroad. Other nations were touched by it and sent commissions to inquire into the cause of the great mortality and to take steps to remedy it.

Oh, the Germans! How well they understand how to bring ruin, devastation, and death! The lightest of maladies became serious under such conditions, and the terrible tuberculosis found the ground all prepared for it.

We ate rice, and rice again; the leaves of rhubarb were used in place of spinach, the leaves of carrots and radishes in guise of salads, even in the wealthiest families.

[The second installment will be printed next month.]



Dogs trained for the British Army as dispatch bearers
(© Western Newspaper Union)



Kennels of French war dogs employed for dispatch carrying and
Red Cross work
(French Pictorial Service)



Guns of the largest calibre, which can be transported only on special railroad tracks, in the positions where they helped to check the German drive on Paris
(*Press Illustr. Service*)

Nieuport, City of Desolation

Described by an Eyewitness

A correspondent on the Belgian front, who visited the ruins of Nieuport in February, 1918, sent to the official journal, Informations Belges, this description of the city after three years of German bombardment:

OUR automobile has passed Furnes and Wulpen. It has crossed the canal between Furnes and Nieuport on a temporary bridge. It is jolted about on a road almost destroyed, with paving stones torn up, leaving great holes full of liquid mud. The Germans are firing heavy shells. One hears the jerky whistling of the projectiles, which seem to have difficulty in piercing the air, and in rotating on their own axes seem to advance by fits and starts. Then comes the explosion in a cloud of black smoke amid a rain of clods and brickbats from a farm already in ruins. As it is broad daylight, and as it is wiser to be modest and not attract attention, we continue our way on foot, splashing through puddles and miring our feet in the clay. One more bridge to cross and we are in Nieuport.

As you know, the city is very ancient. Baudoin-Bras-de-Fer, he of the iron arm, was born here in 820. Another Count of Flanders famous in history, Guy de Dampierre, built a lighthouse here which could still be seen before the war, and which was the only surviving example of the Belgian maritime architecture of the Middle Ages. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries Nieuport was rich and prosperous. Then came decay and obscurity. In history its name survived in connection with the battle between Archduke Albert and Maurice of Nassau. The city led a quiet life, and its streets, fallen silent, showed animation only in Summer, when groups of seaside tourists came to visit its markets and its fourteenth century belfry, its church, remarkable for the lightness and beauty of its structure, and the famous Tower of the Templars.

The Germans came in 1914. The modern Vandals destroyed the monuments and art treasures that fell into their hands. After their departure they were

furious. In the shadow of the ruins of the church could still be seen in 1915 the graves of the heroic soldiers who had died during the battles of the Yser. Today even this cemetery is devastated by German shells. Of the monuments of a glorious past there remain only formless fragments. The old houses have collapsed under the blows of the barbarians, and their shattered remains lie heaped in streets that are riddled with shell holes. The City Hall and High School are ruins. A place of desolation and sadness!

"My parents lived in Nieuport," says the commandant who is with me. "I attended the High School."

He looks for the house where his father and mother had lived in happiness. It no longer exists. He retraces the way over which he had so often trudged as a schoolboy with his books under his arm. He has to turn out for enormous shell holes, and climb over mountains of bricks and beams. It is a sad journey.

At a street corner is a disembowelled store. The front has fallen into the highway. The roof is gone. A piece of ceiling remains by a miracle of equilibrium. A sign nailed to a piece of wall informs us: "Morgue." In a corner on a bier lies the body of a soldier who has just been killed, and who has been brought here to await burial.

Another sign further on: "Chapel." An arrow indicates a low entrance way. A staircase leads down through darkness, which must be lighted with one's pocket lamp. A mattress door gives security against bursting shells. Another door leads into a cellar. The furniture consists of three pine benches, a velvet sofa of faded garnet color, and a few scattered chairs. At the back are a table and four candlesticks, no two alike, before a chromolithograph representing the Mother and Child. Here is where the chaplain will

Appalling Cruelty to Prisoners

Forty Men in One Group Done to Death by Torture and Freezing

A member of the Royal Naval Division of Great Britain who was captured at Antwerp in 1914 arrived in England June 6, 1918, after escaping to a neutral country; he narrates an appalling story of German cruelty to British prisoners, as follows:

ON Feb. 25, 1917, British prisoners at Libau were told to march to Kelsen, thirty-six kilometers away. Uhlands urged us forward through the snow. Often we came to drifts which were waist deep, and any one who halted was prodded on by the Uhlands with their lances. In the ordinary way the thirty-six kilometers were two days' march in Winter for the German troops, but we were told we had got to reach our destination by that night.

On we went without food and without a halt. One man—A. Sawyer, R. N. D.—stumbled in the snow, and was at once charged by a Uhlan, whose lance entered his head just behind the ear. The Germans took no notice of the incident, with the result that the frost got into Sawyer's wound. Ninety men out of 200 collapsed on that march, and many others were bleeding from lance pricks. If a man fell out he was left, and he had to take his chance of a humane transport driver coming by and giving him a lift.

At the end of our journey we discovered that we were to be employed in the lines. For an hour and a half we were kept standing in the snow while Russian shells were bursting in the district. We were then told to go into a large cavalry tent, and found no sleeping accommodation except pieces of wood across which was stretched wire meshing. Those who had managed to keep their blankets during the march had covering, but many threw these away in order to keep up with their comrades.

Early the next morning we were aroused by the guards prodding us with bayonets and crying, "Get up." We were kept on parade, while orders were read out to us, according to which any man found smoking would be shot, and disobedience of orders would meet with death. We were told that the reason we had been brought there was that

the English had German prisoners working in their trenches and in the firing line, and it was intended that we should carry out the same work against the Russians until England had given a satisfactory reply about German prisoners. News had been brought to Germany by escaped prisoners that British sentries had foully murdered thirty-six German prisoners, and it had been decided that thirty-six out of the 500 men now there should die. Every man was given a prison number, and groups of three were formed, so that for the misdeeds of one of them all three were taken from the working parties at the end of the day, made to mount on a brick, were then tied to a pole, and the brick kicked away, leaving their feet a little way from the ground. In this position they were kept for two and a half hours each night for fourteen nights in intense cold.

Forty men died under this treatment, for when they were released they were like blocks of ice, and circulation had to be restored by their comrades. A man named Skit, Grenadier Guards, was shot in cold blood. He had collapsed in the snow, and the guard, making the remark, "You are no good any longer," shot him through the head. The body was left in the snow for three or four days. It was not until these forty men had died that we got any better treatment. During that time some men were found frozen in their beds. When men took their socks off their toes came away owing to frostbite. Our work necessitated our being in the most exposed portions of the German lines, and many were wounded by Russian snipers.

We were later transferred to a town in East Prussia, where I saw Rumanian prisoners who were eating grass and drinking water out of ditches. There were as many as forty deaths a day among them.

Switzerland an Oasis in Wartime

Cosmopolitan Life in Geneva

An English writer who was in Geneva and other Swiss cities in June, 1918, recorded his impressions in these words:

THIS pleasant oasis of peace and pastoral industry, surrounded on all sides by the tide of war, this uninhabited place of refuge for all its flotsam and jetsam, seems at first too good to be true. One's first few days at Geneva, in particular, are obsessed by a haunting sense of unreality. One almost resents the tranquillity of the splendid *mis-en-scène*, the even tenor of the neutral's day, the cheerful social amenities of his evenings, when the festooned lights twinkle gayly over the Kursaal and along the Pont du Mont Blanc, and all the world and his wife, overflowing the wide pavement, take their beer and ices at the Café du Nord. These brilliantly lighted streets, crowded with placid and apparently prosperous citizens, who can watch the moon's silvery path upon the wine-dark waters of the lake without ever a thought of air raids, long-distance guns, or curfew regulations; all the ordered Old World regularity of civilization's business and pleasure; the strange lack of men in khaki and hospital blue, the absence of all the sights and sounds of war, which we belligerents have come to regard as normal; these groups of young, able-bodied men, exempted in the very midst of Europe's conflagration from the universal business of slaughter, all combine to induce a curious sense of transient illusion. You surrender yourself to enjoyment of the oasis and its mirage of unwonted sensations as if you were watching some midsummer's eve play with the critical spectator's sense of detachment. Indeed, there are moments when it seems incredible that one should thus be translated, by the simple expedient of a night's journey in a railway carriage, to a land where people have slept quietly in their beds o' night all through these four years of world-wide strife.

On Sunday, June 9, there was a gayly flagged regatta on the waterfront off

the Quai du Léman. Against the purple background of the Savoy shore little fleets of white sails were glancing and gleaming in the sun. Excursion steamers, crowded with good bourgeoisie en fête, came gliding past trim gardens and terraced hotels of the Quai du Mont Blanc, just as of old, with sounds of music and laughter. The most cosmopolitan and polyglot collection of humanity that Switzerland has ever entertained was taking its evening stroll and discussing its everlasting politics under the plane trees of the promenade. At the Café du Nord a remarkably good orchestra was playing light classical music, selected on strict principles of neutrality, to a crowd collected from all the four corners of the world at war—refugees, "macaques," deserters, *réfractaires*, men and women spies and political agents of various shades of respectability, Greeks, Turks, Russians, Rumanians, Armenians, and Poles, German Republicans and French pacifists, interned soldiers and civilians—and, over all, the *Pax Helvetica*, the strange peace of this neutral sanctuary.

An expert in local affairs counted thirty-two different races gathered around the little tables of the Café du Nord that evening: a very *Cave of Adullam*, a Parliament of *rois en exil*.

But these first impressions, this sense of blissful immunity from the chaos and devastation of war, wear off as one comes to look beneath the surface of things, to observe some of the many undercurrents that flow beneath its apparent placidity, to understand something of the dangers and difficulties with which Switzerland is confronted as the result of the conflict on her borders, and what it has cost her to preserve until now her neutrality, her means of subsistence, and her territory inviolate. The sense of immunity from the worst of war's horrors remains, and gradually one comes to accept it as a

grateful interlude of rational existence; but at the same time one realizes that the Swiss are bearing their share, and that no small one, of the world's heavy burden of trouble. This beautiful land that was Europe's playground of old, and is now her asylum and convalescent home, has fortunately escaped being drawn into the fray, but she has not escaped the worldwide menace of hunger, and she must face, like the belligerents, the necessity for reorganizing her national life and her principal industries to meet the new conditions that must arise when the world's armies cease from fighting and return to civil life. Indeed, being cut off from direct access to the sea, Switzerland's position has been, and still is, in some respects, one of peculiar difficulty and grave danger.

The lights and laughter of cosmopolitan Geneva and Lausanne are apt to obscure the newcomer's perception of the price which the Swiss people have paid, and are paying, for the maintenance of their pledges and principles and for the preservation of their humane and impartial neutrality. The part which the Swiss Government has had to play has frequently been misunderstood, because of failure to appreciate the risks and penalties involved in the maintenance of that neutrality, as well as its vital importance to Europe and to the future of civilization in its work of reconstruction. Similarly, the sacrifices which the Swiss people have made, not only at the call of

patriotism, but from motives of humanity, have not been fully appreciated. The more closely one studies the actual situation in Switzerland and the forces which there determine public opinion (which has a far more potent influence on national policy than in most modern democracies) the more devoutly must one hope that the Swiss people will be able to remain neutral to the end, and eventually, in a reconstructed Europe, to achieve their complete independence from all political interference and influence from beyond their borders.

There is one outward and visible sign of Switzerland's beneficent neutrality, however, which the Anglo-Saxon finds it difficult to accept with equanimity, no matter how long he may have been in the country—namely, the presence of Germans, and their reception on a footing of equality, in decent society. Say what you will, this goes against the grain. After all that has happened, after all that the world has learned of the real nature of the German, from his own thoughts, words, and deeds; remembering the things that they have done in Northern France, in Serbia, in Rumania, and, above all, in would-be neutral Belgium—one feels that there must be something wrong with a political code or creed that asks one to treat Germans as if they were still within the pale of civilization, to jog elbows with them in public places and show no sign of aversion or disgust.

Gas Masks for American Army Horses

The United States War Department announced at the beginning of June, 1918, that approximately 5,000 gas masks for horses were being turned out daily by the Gas Defense Service and were being shipped to France. Every horse attached to the American Expeditionary Force was to be equipped with these masks as soon as possible. The new masks contain chemicals to neutralize all known gases that would affect horses, and can be placed securely on the heads of animals not wearing harness. This additional feature was made necessary by the fact that many horses had been lost because they were not wearing harness to which the masks could be attached when the gas came.

Poison Gas in Warfare

The Deadly Mustard Gas Now Employed—The Methods of Gas Training

By SHERWOOD EDDY

A cablegram was received July 12, 1918, by THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY, announcing that the American Army in France was receiving and using mustard gas shells in large quantities. The Germans had begun using this deadly type of poison gas in November, 1917, and it was employed with serious results before the Allies discovered the secret of producing it in large quantities. The method was at length found, and gas shells of this type were used by the Americans west of Château-Thierry on June 9, 1918, with great success. The following description of the action of this gas and of the methods employed to resist it appears in Mr. Eddy's book, "With Our Soldiers in France":

IN the training of the American soldiers in France, after the ceremonial parade, the men must pass through the deadly gas chambers, to be ready to meet the attack of the enemy fully prepared. More fatal than the prussic acid which the Prussian has occasionally employed is the deadly mixture of chlorine and phosgene which has been most commonly used. In a gentle favoring wind it is put over, invisible in the darkness, and if it catches the foe unprepared it can kill from ten to fifteen miles behind the lines. The mixture is squirted as a liquid from metal generators. It quickly forms a dense greenish-yellow cloud of poison vapor, which floats away in the darkness. Its success must depend on the element of surprise, taking the enemy unprepared and choking him, awake or asleep, in the first few moments before the horns, gongs, and whistles send the alarm for miles behind the trenches.

MUSTARD GAS

Recently a new so-called "mustard gas" has been used by the enemy with deadly effect, owing to the fact that it is both invisible and odorless. It is sent over in exploding shells, and sinks in a heavy invisible vapor about the sleeping men, creeping into their dugouts and trenches or enveloping them around the guns or in the shell holes. The effects do not manifest themselves for several hours. With stinging pain the man's eyes begin to close, and for a time he may

go almost blind. He is then taken violently sick. The surface of the lungs and the entire body, especially where it is moist with perspiration, is burned. The skin may blister and come off. Many cases have proved fatal and many more suffer cruelly for weeks in hospital.

With the men we attended a lecture on the nature of the various gases used by the enemy and the proper methods of meeting them. The lecture throughout was unconsciously couched almost in theological language. The instructor first disposed of what he called superstitious "heresies" concerning the gas, in order to prevent the men from having panic and "getting the wind up." There is a foolish rumor which says, "One breath and you are ruptured for life, or you fall dead the next morning," &c., but he warns the men of its deadly nature and tells them they are to be saved from its fatal effects by knowing the truth.

The instructor explains that if they take four deep breaths it will prove fatal: "One breath and you catch the first spasm, two and you are mad, three and you are unconscious, four and you are dead. If you keep your presence of mind and hold your breath, you will have six seconds to get on your gas helmet or respirator." The attack, remember, is a surprise in the dark; brain-splitting gas shells are dropping on all sides, and it is hard to keep cool and hold one's breath in the moment of sudden surprise and panic. We are told that there are fifteen

mistakes which are easily possible in getting on this complicated helmet, or if there is one big blunder in the sudden surprise the man is done for.

HOW THE MASK WORKS

Before going through the death chamber helmets are inspected to see that they are sound and unpunctured, and the men are drilled in the open to practice putting them on quickly. Suddenly the warning whistle of an imaginary gas attack sounds. One backward fling of the head and the steel helmet falls off, for there is no time to lift it off. A dive into the bag carried on the chest, and the respirator is grasped, and with one skillful swoop it is drawn over the face. Your nose is pinched shut by a clamp, your teeth grip the rubber mouthpiece, and, like a diver, you must now get your one safe stream of pure air through the respirator. You draw in the air from a tube which rises from a tin of chemical on your chest. Then you can breathe in the dense, deadly, greenish chlorine vapor, for as it passes through the respirator filled with chemicals it is absorbed, neutralized, oxidized, and purified into a stream of pure air. All about you may be choking fumes of death which would kill you in four seconds, yet you will be completely immune, breathing a purified atmosphere.

The soldiers are now marched up to this chamber of horrors to walk through the poison gas. Many have "the wind up," (i. e., they are afraid inside, but are ashamed to show it.) Reliance on the guide, the expert who has been through it all, and the sense of companionship, the stronger ones unconsciously strengthening the weak, have a steady-ing effect upon all the men. The soldiers have had four hours' drill to prepare them, but the "padre" and I, who are now permitted to go through, have had but four minutes. I am trying to remember a number of things all at once. Above all, I must keep cool and assure myself that there is no danger if only I trust and obey what the expert has said.

IN THE GAS CHAMBER

I fling on the helmet and we start into the death chamber, but suddenly a string

is loose—will the respirator work? There seems to be something the matter with my nosepiece, which should be clamped shut. I would like to ask the instructor just one question to make sure, but I can no more talk than a diver beneath the sea. It is too late; we are moving; I can only hope and trust the helmet will hold.

We have left the sunlight and are in a long, dark, covered chamber, like a trench, groping forward and looking at a distant point of light through the dim goggles. We are alone in these deadly fumes; the instructor is not here; there is a tense silence, and all about us is the poison of death. Oh, what was that fourth point that I was to remember? Why has the guide turned back? I thought we were to go out at the further end, where last week the poor fellow fell who lifted his helmet a moment too soon after he got out and caught one whiff which sent him to the hospital, but instead we seem to be turning around and going back.

But there is no time for explanations or questions now; we just plod on through the darkness, and soon we are out in the sunlight again—safe!—in God's pure air. Oh, why did man ever want to pollute it and poison his brother with these deadly fumes of hell!

As a special favor the instructor allows us, without a mask, to take one swift look into the fumes as we hold our breath. That yellow-green chlorine will corrode the lungs and fill them with pus and blood. The phosgene is much more deadly and will strike the man down with sudden failure of the heart.

We were also sent through a chamber of the invisible "tear gas" without a mask. The object of this is to take away the fear of the gas from the men. This particular gas has no effect upon the lungs, but sends a stinging pain through the eyes, so that one weeps blindly for some minutes, and could not possibly see to shoot or to defend himself.

TRUTH ABOUT THE GAS

We are now ready to return to another lecture with more understanding. No wonder these tired boys under the heavy, hot steel helmets, which absorb the heat

of the scorching sun, are listening with all their ears, yet one or two fall asleep for very weariness and may again be caught napping by the enemy's poison gas up the line. The instructor is in dead earnest, for the life of every man during the coming conflict may depend upon his message. His words are still in my ears, for they were strangely like a sermon:

Men, I am going to tell you the truth about this deadly gas, and you must believe it, for your life will depend upon it. It can kill, and no doubt about it. But for every poison of the enemy there's an antidote, and we have found it. Your helmet is perfect, and you simply must believe in it, you must trust to it. We have made full provision for your safety. If you go under, it will be your own fault from one of four causes—unbelief, disobedience, carelessness, or fear. If you carelessly go without your helmet it means death. During an attack, after putting on the respirator, just stand and wait. There is nothing you can do for yourself except to keep your helmet on. Your skill, your strength are nothing. Now, if you are caught in an attack unawares, remember, if you're still alive at all, there's hope. Don't lose courage. If your confidence goes, you lose 90 per cent. of your defense, for the sole hope of the enemy in gas is surprise and panic. If you are gassed, don't move. Keep still, keep warm, don't worry, and wait. To move or try to save yourself will be fatal.

The enemy will put over three or four waves with a break between. The gas may come for some hours. To remove your helmet before the attack is over will be fatal. Within a quarter of an hour after the gas has ceased the charge of the enemy will come, and you must never let him get past your barbed-wire entanglements. After exposure to gas, all food, water, and wells are poisonous. The heavy gas must be expelled from the trenches by fans before the charge comes. Only remember, you must believe what I say—keep your helmet on in time of danger, and you are perfectly safe.

There is a vast difference between the warning and the preparatory exposure to the gas by your guide and the deadly sur-

prise of the enemy. The former is a trial to prepare you, the latter is an effort to destroy you. The whole experience was so obviously parallel to the deadly moral dangers which surround the soldier in wartime that it needs no comment. The one and only safety in the time of temptation is to put on the whole armor of God, especially the "helmet of salvation."

The writer has just come from a ward in the hospital filled with patients suffering from the new gas which the enemy has lately put over. It is, as we have said, invisible and odorless, so the men receive no warning and consequently do not put on their masks. They do not know that they are being gassed until hours afterward, when they find they are burned from head to foot.

Here are twenty men lying in this tent suffering from this new torture. This first boy, with a wan smile that goes right to your heart, can only whisper from his burned-out lungs and cannot tell us his story. The next man was taken with vomiting five hours after the gas shells exploded. Seven of his fourteen companions sleeping in the dugout were killed outright; the others were gassed. He lay unconscious for several days, and now his eyes and skin are burned as though he had passed through a fire.

The next boy is badly burned in his eyes and chest. Half the men of his battery were killed by gas while asleep at night. On the next cot is a boy who has been suffering for seventeen days; the burns on his body have been improving, his lungs also are better, but he is still blind and fears he may lose his sight. He asks me to write a letter for him to his mother. "Only," he says, "don't tell her about my eyes." Together we make up a cheerful letter, and the boy rests back on his cot to pray for his returning eyesight.

Methods of Using Mustard Gas

Major Gen. William L. Sibert was placed in charge of the Gas Division of the United States Army in May, 1918. Dr. Benjamin T. Brooks, Chief Chemist of a plant that is producing mustard gas under his supervision, describes its use and effects as follows:

The Germans are using two types of gas shells, those which explode by percussion and those which carry time fuses. Occasionally they drench a territory with shells, some of which have long-time

fuses and some short-time fuses, so as to effect the greatest possible concentration of gas in a given sector.

A question arises as to how the Germans can advance through territory they have subjected to this gas. If the territory is untenable for the Allies it is untenable for the Germans, too. That is why some persons wonder that they can make such great gains with it. We are likely to think of the battlefront as being a solid line, like the maps we see daily, with another line of trenches back of that. If the western front were a level plain, like an Illinois prairie, that would be fairly true of it, and gas would not be so useful for the Germans; but the situation actually is that there are certain strongly held posts, such as Kemmel Hill or Messines Ridge, around which the fighting centres. It is against such positions that the Germans have been using gas. They do not use it indiscriminately. And, once the Allies are forced by gas out of a strong position, they must fall back to others prepared in the rear. Maps are supplied to the German troops showing gassed areas, and in the advance they may avoid them until they are safe for occupancy.

One reason the mustard gas is so dangerous is that it seems so innocent. The smell is faint, and it is not especially disagreeable. The vapors from the liquid can be inhaled without any immediate discomfort. The effect has been called "chemical pneumonia." The symptoms

are similar—high fever, stertorous breathing, and sometimes stupor. Autopsies have shown that the effect of the gas on the lung tissues has been such that they break down like wet paper.

The chief danger of mustard gas is from contact. A soldier walking along a trench which has had a sprinkling of it rubs his shoulder, for instance, against the side of the trench, and a tiny drop gets on his coat. It looks like a drop of oil. It does not hurt the cloth. He is likely to pay no attention to it. It penetrates to the flesh, but only causes a slight smarting. It is not until hours later that the effects are apparent. Then the flesh becomes puffy and red; the tissue swells enormously. The effect is similar to a very deep burn—a burn of the third or fourth degree.

When a mustard gas shell explodes it throws a fine mist over a wide area. If it gets into a soldier's eyes, it blinds him. But our experiments have shown that it is not necessary to touch the eyes directly to cause blindness. The poison can be communicated through the tissue.

How little of the stuff is effective is illustrated by an experience of my own. [Dr. Brooks lifted a scarred and reddened right hand.] Several months ago, when I was making an experiment, some mustard gas got between two of my fingers. It was so little that it escaped notice. It was not until 9 o'clock that night that my hand began to look puffy. The next morning it was badly blistered.

Chemists and Chemistry in the War

By DR. P. CARRE

Professor of Industrial Chemistry in the Paris College of Commerce

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THE industrial struggle has become one of the principal factors of the war, exacting an ever-increasing production of war materials, and especially of munitions. Munitions are no longer limited, as in former times, to powder and other explosives; they include numerous chemical products with poisonous, asphyxiating, corrosive, tear-producing, and even sneeze-provoking

qualities. Thus industrial chemistry has assumed a preponderating place in the conflict. Each belligerent is making continuous efforts to increase its chemical means of offensive warfare; each is constantly searching for some new substance more aggressive than those already in use, and the discovery of such a substance necessitates an immediate and rapid study on the opposing side for an

effective means of protection. Here is a vast field of action calling for the inventive faculties of the greatest chemists in both groups of warring nations.

GERMANY'S 30,000 CHEMISTS

The number of German chemists is estimated at about 30,000. This large number, along with the advanced status of chemical industry in Germany, has enabled the Central Empires to grapple with the gravest problems. Some of these problems, indeed, were of unquestioned importance for them. Such, for example, was the synthetic manufacture of nitric acid and of ammonia, which are important both for military and for agricultural purposes. Nitrates, which came, until a few years ago, solely from natural deposits in Chile, are indispensable in making explosives and very useful in agriculture; ammonia, largely used in farming, serves also in the manufacture of synthetic nitric acid.

In order to obtain a quick solution of such questions our enemies immediately placed all the necessary chemists at the disposition of their experts and factories. One German expert, the inventor of one of the processes for the synthetic manufacture of ammonia, has 200 chemists in his laboratory.

Results were not long in coming. In the midst of the war the Germans succeeded in manufacturing synthetic ammonia and nitric acid in enormous quantities, thus supplying the place of natural nitrates, which the blockade prevented their importing from Chile, and enabling them to continue the manufacture of high explosives. They expect to become masters of the world's nitrogen markets after the war.

POISON GAS AS A WEAPON

It was doubtless their confidence in their chemical superiority that led them to institute a new means of offensive, that of gas attacks, and of bombardment with toxic, lachrymal, and corrosive shells.

Without the development achieved by their chemical and metallurgical industries the Central Empires would have been unable to resist so long on the west-

ern front, nor could they have won so easy a success on the eastern front against an enemy much more numerous but less well armed; neither could Turkey and Bulgaria have played so effective a rôle in the war. It is no exaggeration to say that these results are due in large part to the German chemists.

The importance of chemistry is so great that Germany is trying to attract her ablest men to this field. In December, 1916, she created the Liebig prizes with a view to enabling young chemists, after their graduation from the high schools, to extend their knowledge in this field without pecuniary cares. These Liebig prizes, for which a first subscription among industrial concerns netted 1,020,000 marks, (\$255,000,) are awarded to young chemists who, in the opinion of their professors, are above the average of ability.

Thanks to this careful selection and utilization of her chemists, Germany has been able to solve a great number of problems created by the blockade, and she hopes to preserve after the war the same chemical preponderance that she held before it began.

CHEMICAL RESOURCES OF ALLIES

Chemical industry in England seems to have been one of the first to command attention. Under the leadership of their learned societies, such as the Institute of Chemistry, the chemists were enrolled in the laboratories and factories of the State, especially in the arms and munitions factories. The chemists in this service have received the rank of officers. A special course of instruction for the preparation of specialists was also established.

The English example seems to have been followed by Italy. The principle adopted by the Italian Government since 1916 is very simple. All persons possessing certain university diplomas are compelled, under pain of imprisonment, to declare the fact. They then receive a rapid course of military instruction, after which they are commissioned as Sub-Lieutenants. Among the officers a class of technical specialists is being organized. The personal records of all the

chemical officers are sent to the Ministry of Armament, which assigns the officers to suitable service.

A central committee of industrial mobilization has been established at Rome; it is subdivided into regional committees, to which the technological and military inspectors are attached. There is established in each factory a technical hierarchy which adjusts the differences arising between the professional and military authorities; thus one does not find any head of a factory giving orders to an engineer of higher military rank.

WHAT AMERICA HAS DONE

In the United States the importance of chemistry in the war was so fully realized that in March, 1917, a month before the declaration of war, the enrolling and organizing of the nation's chemists was begun. This work was done by the great chemical societies—the American Chemical Society, the American Electro-Chemical Society, and the American Institute of Mining Engineers—under the direction of an eminent scientist, Charles Lathrop Parsons, Secretary of the American Chemical Society and Director of Chemical Service in the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior. Among the 16,000 chemists in the United States it thus became a simple matter to distinguish those who could be mobilized, and these were joined voluntarily by the nonmobilizable class.

Measures for assigning and utilizing these chemists were studied by a technical committee organized for that purpose. It was decided to create a civilian office of invention—the National Researches Council—divided into sections to correspond with the different branches of chemistry. Each section is headed by a specialist, who has at his disposal as many scientists as he needs; these are recruited from both the mobilizable and volunteer lists. A special gas service, with a military staff, was created in the Bureau of Mines; the chemists for this were recruited as above, and were given rank as officers in accordance with their titles and records. In like manner the chemical materials for the war were placed in the hands of a group headed

by a staff of officers selected from the chemists.

War industries were allowed to keep all their chemists, except a few of the youngest; these were sent into the military chemical service and replaced by volunteers from Mr. Parsons's list. Shortly after the arrival of the first American contingents in France a new unit was attached to General Pershing's staff under the name of the Chemical Section of the National Army; this chemical unit is to serve the General in Chief in an advisory capacity regarding all chemical points relating to the war; it will transmit to the chemical section in America all information relating to chemical war problems.

In order that the section in France may most effectively aid the studies of experts in the United States, Dr. W. N. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been placed, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, at the head of a service charged with the unification and co-ordination of questions to be examined. This service, with headquarters in France, has at its command vast laboratories and a large number of scientists. The wise division of labor just described, along with the rational utilization of the nation's technical personnel, has already enabled the United States to do effective work in the chemical war.*

Statistics from the period preceding the war show that there were in France only about 2,500 chemists. Many of these are still young men; not more than 1,000 have passed the age of 35 years. Of the total about 1,400 have been mobilized, 800 being employed in powder and munitions factories, or other war industries; 400 are in the army, and 200 have fallen on the field of honor.

*The most valuable result of the mobilization of chemical experts in the United States was the emancipation of the textile, paper, and cognate industries from the domination of German dyemakers. Such extraordinary progress was made in the dye industry that within the current year all demands, largely augmented by the war, for dyes have been met by domestic manufacturers, with a surplus for exportations, which has become a considerable factor in American foreign commerce.—EDITOR.

British Statesmen on War Problems

An Economic League of Twenty-four Nations to Govern Trade After the War

By LORD ROBERT CECIL

British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Blockade

I HAVE been much interested in the series of addresses and discussions at the recent meetings of commercial associations in the United States, such as the Chambers of Commerce and the Foreign Trade Council, regarding trade after the war. The tone of these discussions seems to show clearly a desire for settled arrangements for mutual help between all the nations now associated in the war against Germany. These are also our feelings in Britain, and I should like to make some acknowledgment of these recent utterances of prominent American commercial men by trying to describe roughly the state of British policy at this moment in regard to such matters.

The resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference have been much discussed during the last two years. When they were written we had an alliance of eight nations, six of whom had suffered the immediate ravages of war. The world outside, including the United States with its vast resources, was neutral, and nominally, at any rate, the neutral world at the conclusion of peace would have sold its products where they would have fetched most money. To borrow the plain words of the recent Interallied Labor Conference, all these vast resources would have gone to those who could pay most, not to those who would need most, so the Paris conference was a defensive agreement of those then engaged in the war to secure their own peoples against starvation and unemployment during the period of reconstruction, and to provide for the restoration to economic life of the ravaged territories of Belgium, Poland, Serbia, France, and Italy.

These objects retain all their old importance. They are simple measures

of self-preservation. It is, for example, still essential that we should forestall the aggressive efforts of the Central Powers to use their money power to snatch on the morning after the war the raw materials needed for the reconstruction of the peoples in the western and eastern theatres of war whom they have themselves despoiled.

LEAGUE ALREADY FORMED

But, while the essential needs of ourselves and of the nations which are fighting with us the battle of liberty and justice remain unaltered, the alliance of eight has expanded into the association of twenty-four nations, of which President Wilson spoke in his recent address to the Red Cross. It is no longer a question of forming some narrow defensive alliance, but of laying down the economic principles of the association of nations which is already in existence, and to membership of which we are committed.

What are these principles to be? The President has stated them in memorable words. On Jan. 8 he advocated "the removal so far as possible of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade among all the nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

On Dec. 4 he had already defined the qualifications for membership in this association of nations in words the wisdom and importance of which have been rendered doubly evident by all we know of the policy of domination, exploitation, and exclusiveness introduced by Germany into all her peace treaties and forced by her upon her allies. In that speech he considered what would be the situation if the German people "should still,

after the war was over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world," and pointed out that it might then be impossible to admit them either "to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace," or "to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace."

To these declarations we give our warmest assent. But do these declarations necessarily mean that we—the associated nations—are to have no protective tariffs and no international competition in trade after the war? No. Every one is agreed as to that. In the words of the program of the Interallied Labor Conference, "the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation of a sufficiency of foodstuffs and materials, cannot be denied."

OBJECTS STATED

Each member of the association of nations may have to protect its citizens in one way or another after the war, but our aim must be a comprehensive arrangement of liberal intercourse with all members of the association by which each one of us, while preserving his own national security, may contribute to meet the needs and aid in the development of his fellow-members. Nor, of course, can our arrangement for mutual assistance exclude all competition, though we are most anxious that co-operation should be the keynote of our commercial relations. Our feelings in this matter cannot be better described than in the words of James A. Farrell to the Foreign Trade Council, namely:

The sacrifices that are being cheerfully endured today by men engaged in foreign commerce in the necessary curtailment of their business through the conservation of shipping are an earnest of the elevation of method and of purpose which will control the conduct of our external trade in the future.

There is but one obstacle to this economic association of nations. That obstacle is Germany—the Germany de-

scribed by President Wilson in the words which I have already quoted—a Germany living "under ambitious and intriguing masters." You have seen the provisions of her commercial treaties in the East, and with all the groups of peoples from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Her economic policy toward these groups is absolutely contrary to our principles. That policy began by systematic and lawless plundering in Poland, in the Ukraine, and elsewhere. Now everywhere she has legalized this plunder by placing the weaker nations under onerous commercial tribute to herself.

On Lithuania she has imposed her coinage. From Rumania and the Ukraine she has exacted a guarantee of supplies irrespective of their own needs, and at flagrantly unjust rates of compensation. She has appropriated the natural resources of Rumania in the form of a lease to German corporations. On Russia, Finland, and the Ukraine she has imposed unfair and one-sided tariff arrangements. The people of Finland, in fact, find now that their liberties have been bartered away in an agreement signed secretly in Berlin, and it is actually being proposed that thousands of Finns should be deported to work for German masters.

GERMANY EXCLUDED

Having established control over the Dardanelles and the Baltic, Germany has now brought under her own control the third great highway of European trade—the Danube—by destroying the International Commission which had long become an established organ of European polity, and now, in order that there may not be any mistake as to the significance of these acts, her Foreign Minister has declared that this Rumanian treaty in particular will be made the precedent and foundation for the economic terms to be demanded by the Central Powers at the general peace. The significance of this declaration is evident from Kühlmann's own words, that "the damages Rumania will have to pay will amount to very considerable sums in the long run, sums which perhaps do not very substantially differ

from that which might presumably have been obtained by officially demanding a war indemnity."

Economic independence and free choice are the last things which Germany will ever allow to the peoples within her reach. So long as this is the policy of Germany, how can we admit her to membership in the free association of nations to which we already belong? Before she can claim rights for herself she must convince us that she acknowledges and will respect the rights of others. Before we can offer her any participation in our resources she must release her victims from the economic slavery that she has imposed upon them. While the war continues we must take as measures of war all the steps required to destroy the economic basis of her military effort.

When peace is restored the place of Germany in the commonwealth of nations will be determined by the test established by President Wilson. If she abandons her old ways and her restless and aggressive policy, if she ceases to

use economic policies as a preparation for further war, we shall not be slow to recognize the change. The sacrifices for which this war has called are too great and too bitter to permit of our neglecting the President's warning that a complete change of mind and purpose in her Government are the necessary preliminaries to her admission to participation in our economic partnerships.

Neither the United States nor the British Empire has pursued or will pursue any selfish policy. The preoccupations of our internal reconstruction will never blind us to the obligations which we owe to our associates or limit the fullness and frankness of our discussions with them. There must be no jealousy between us, and no suspicions. I hope the time is not far off when we shall meet round the council board to discuss in detail the economic association which will combine the resources of the civilized world in the joint work of reconstruction and the restoration of prosperity.

London, July 14, 1918.

Britain's Imperial Hopes Realized

One Result of the War

On the occasion of the Parliamentary reception to the Overseas Premiers in attendance on the Imperial Cabinet at London, June 21, 1918, the British Premier, Lloyd George, referred to the rally of the British Dominions to the Motherland as follows:

THERE are legends in history, striking legends, of children that turned on their parents in the hour of tribulation. One of the greatest stories of the ages henceforth will be the story of a motherland, "beset by cruel foes," whose children rushed from the ends of the earth to shield her with their sturdy strength. We are always glad to see our kinsmen from beyond the seas, but they must notice a special warmth in our greeting and reception since the war. For the old country is grateful to them, and the old country is proud of them. They have come here to take part in a great Council of Empire, of an empire which is the most wonderful federation

of human beings that the world has ever seen.

I had the privilege of presiding over the first Imperial War Cabinet. Sitting around the table you found the representatives of over 400,000,000 human beings. Most of the great races and the great faiths of the world were represented. It was an aggregation of many great nations through their representatives to concert the best methods of establishing right and justice on the earth. A fine start for an imperial conference. In this war the British Empire has disappointed its foes, steadily, bitterly, angrily. Let us be quite candid. It has also surprised its friends. Think of what it has achieved.

Think of what would have happened had it not been there. It has held the seas for ourselves and for our allies. I am not in the least depreciating the value of the assistance we have had from the fleets of France, Italy, Japan, and America. But they will all admit that the main burden of the task has fallen on Britain. In the early days of the war the British fleet cleansed the seas of the craft of the foe, and when a new and more terrible danger assailed us, the deadlier and darker peril that glides under the surface of the water, the British fleet in the main dealt with that.

There is nothing in the history of sea warfare to compare with the resource, the skill, the daring, the way the British Navy, the British mariner, has fought and conquered these naval sharks who have infested the high seas. But we knew that we had a great navy. That is an old romance. It is true. Its last chapters have not yet been written. And not merely is the interest sustained, but the fascination of the tale grows from chapter to chapter. It is an old story, the story of the British fleet.

But what we have done on land as an empire is something new, not merely in the history of our own empire, but in the history of any empire that has ever existed. There has been nothing quite like the British Empire, and nothing in the least like what it has accomplished during the last four years. Britain had a small army. I think it was about the size of the Bulgarian Army. The dominions had hardly an army at all. The United Kingdom, including those in arms when war was declared, has raised nearly six millions of men for sea and land. The dominions, with nothing like the same population, the nearest of them thousands of miles away from the scene of the conflict, could not hear the guns throbbing as you can hear them from our shores—they have raised a million men. Germany expected to meet raw levies, brave enough, but easily swept and scattered away by her highly trained, highly disciplined legions. Instead of that they have encountered and defeated Germany's proudest warriors

in a hundred fights, and have—for three months yesterday—baffled the carefully prepared plans of Prussia's greatest Generals, and held back the gigantic hordes of her most seasoned warriors. It is a great achievement.

Germany thought India was seething with discontent, and that when the hour of trouble came to the British Empire India would absorb and not add to our strength. India has raised, voluntarily, every man a volunteer, including the small force she had before the war, nearly 1,000,000 men, and she is about to raise another half million. They have been guarding the approaches to the British Empire. They are guarding them today, and they will continue to guard them to the end.

This war has taught us many lessons, and no lesson more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire. What would have happened to the world had the might of the British Empire not been a fact, and had it not been thrown into this conflict? Russia out of the conflict, America not in last year, and Germany commanding the seas, international right would have been trampled upon, and military despotism would have triumphed throughout the world. The Kaiser has proclaimed to the world that God gave Hindenburg and Ludendorff to him and to Germany. I wonder who gave the British Empire to his enemies. You can easily find it out if you will only ask some learned divine to tell you who planted in the heart of men wrath against injustice and love of freedom. It is these divine passions that have raised the British Empire from north to south, from the Far East to the Far West, in one brotherhood of arms against the deeds and the designs of Prussian despotism.

The reality and the strength of the bonds that unite the British Empire have been underestimated by every one. The Germans thought they were paper ties that would shrink and scorch into black dust at the first flash of the fires of war. They were mistaken. In life the most real, the most intimate ties are the invisible ones. Here you have the

ties of language, of race, of blood, of common origin. But the most potent ties of all were the ties of common aims, common sympathies, and common ideals. They have stood the strain, they have drawn us closer together, and it

ought to be the purpose of all statesmanship to strengthen those bonds and defend and protect them against severance. All that is best in the world is safer today for the existence of the British Empire.

The Final Phases of the War

By HERBERT H. ASQUITH

Former Premier of Great Britain

[IN AN ADDRESS AT A LUNCHEON GIVEN IN HIS HONOR AT LONDON, JUNE 14, 1918]

SINCE the last week in March the enemy has been making serious progress along the greater part of the whole of the western battlefield. Against superior numbers, and fighting for the most part under unfavorable conditions, both strategic and tactical, the allied troops have stubbornly contested every mile of the advance, and where they have been forced back their retirement has not been marked by a single trace of panic or demoralization. It has been conducted with a coolness and gallantry and with an unfailing readiness to take advantage of every opportunity of counterattack which have never been surpassed, if they have ever been equaled, in the annals of warfare. French, American, and British have shown the same tireless tenacity, the same spirit of loyal and helpful comradeship, rivals only in their devotion to the common cause and in their appreciation of one another's efforts and sacrifices. But the tide of invasion is not yet stemmed, and if we try, as we ought, to picture in imagination what our case would be if the enemy were as near to London as he is today to Paris we shall be better able to measure the perils and anxieties of our gallant allies, though nothing can measure our admiration for their steadfast tranquility and their unshaken faith.

I do not attempt—it would be folly to do so—to make any forecast of the impending strategic developments. I will only remind you that we have seen once before, near the beginning of the war, a situation of equal gravity in which a threat, a most formidable threat, which seemed on the point of being realized,

was turned aside and brought to nothing by a counterstroke of genius and audacity. But whatever may be the immediate issue of this phase of the campaign, I wish to say here and now, while it is still in doubt, I wish to say emphatically and decisively that it is not going in the faintest degree to weaken our allegiance to the great purposes for which we have been fighting or our determination, through foul as much as through fair weather, to press on to the final accomplishment. But I am not resorting when I say that to the rhetoric of bravado, as I will endeavor, if you will follow me for a few moments, to prove.

As the war has developed it has been realized by all thinking men that it has a far wider range of significance than could have been foreseen or even imagined when it first began. It arose, so far as we here are concerned, in the violation of treaty obligations and the contemptuous setting aside of the rights of the smaller nationalities in the European order. But it soon became apparent that higher and deeper issues than these were at stake, which, according as they were decided in one sense or the other, would affect the whole future of civilization. It took time, as the contest swayed this way and that, to discern through the smoke and the poisoned fumes of the battlefield the true character and the ultimate aims of the forces that are arrayed against one another.

The Germans have made it more and more clear, not only through their spokesmen in the press and elsewhere, but through the object lessons which they have given to the world in the

Ukraine and Rumania, that the triumph of their cause would be the deathknell of all democratic ideals. And at the same time their new methods of warfare, at first incredible and, indeed, inconceivable, have demonstrated that for the attainment of that end they hold themselves absolutely free to dispense with the old restraints, whether of honesty or of humanity. It was the realization of these things and of the consequences which followed from them—that not merely local but worldwide interests, moral as well as material, were in jeopardy—that led our American kinsmen to decide that they could not hold aloof from the struggle.

But that is still not a complete account of the case. The allied cause is now plainly seen by all men to have what by implication it had from the first—a positive as well as negative purpose. Its aim is not merely to repel aggression, to vindicate public faith, to clip the wings of militarism, to defeat the ambitions and frustrate the designs of what the Germans call their world polity. It recognizes that old diplomatic machinery, however honestly and skillfully worked, like chain armor and wooden battleships, has had its day, and that it must very soon take its place among the things which have an interest for collectors and dealers in antiquities. It is determined to provide against a recurrence of the horrors which are scourging mankind and devastating the world, not merely by repression and punishment, but by bringing into life and into effective action the corporate judgment, the sense of common interests and common duties, the reconciling, and, if need be, the restraining and constraining forces of the whole family of nations.

These, stripped of what is transient and superficial, are the features that, measured by the true scale of significance, show the real stature of the two causes now engaged in mortal strife. Was I not right when I said a few moments ago that their fortunes cannot hang on the result of a single battle or even of a single campaign? There is none of us in this room, in this country, in this empire, who does not pray for

peace as the world's paramount need. But the only peace worth the making or the taking is one which will open a new road, free of toll, to all peoples, whether great or small, safeguarded by the common will, and, if need be, by the common power, for the further progress of humanity.

This is not the moment to enlarge on the contribution we here have made and are making for the common cause. I suppose that, from first to last, the British Empire has raised an army, including the labor units, of not less than 7,000,000 of men, and before many weeks are over the Parliament of the United Kingdom will have voted war credits which approach to £7,000,000,000. Figures like these, impressive and even astounding as they are, afford, as you know well, no real measure either of our efforts or of our sacrifices. What we have done and suffered has not been for selfish objects, or even, except very partially and indirectly, in self-defense. There is no one among us—and I suppose there are hardly any who have not contributed their share—who grudges what he has given. We owe it to those who were the real resources of the present and the hope and promise of the future that, so far as in us lies, we shall insure that when history comes to sum up the account its judgment will be that we have neither wasted without result what has been lost, nor diverted what still remains to less worthy and fruitful and honorable purposes.

What, then, is our duty at the present moment? What are the faculties that we most need? Courage, of course, and patience—the courage that can face facts and cannot only dare but endure; patience that cannot be driven from its equipoise by any alternations either of hope or of fear. These are, to quote Burke's epithet, "the inbred qualities of our race."

But let me suggest, before I conclude, one or two ways in which they may be helped and fortified. In the first place, let us be able to feel, whatever comes or goes, that we know the truth and the whole truth. No one realizes more clearly than I—who was answerable for the

country entering into the war, and for nearly two and a half years for its conduct—the delicacy of the task of determining what at any given moment ought to be disclosed and what ought to be kept back. The considerations which often make for economy and reserve of statement are obvious and manifold—the danger of giving useful knowledge to the enemy—perhaps we are rather apt to exaggerate it—the legitimate susceptibility of allies, the risks of alienating sympathy, or perhaps of arousing suspicion, in this or that neutral country. But in my judgment we have reached a stage of the war when far more is to be gained than is to be lost by laying before our own people all the actualities, be they favorable or adverse, of an unexampled situation. The British people, not only here at home but throughout the length and breadth of the empire, are ready to face, not only with a clean conscience but with clear eyes and with cool nerves, any and every conjuncture of circumstances.

There are, I know, those who think that the long strain of the war, despite its glorious and inspiring examples of heroism and devotion, has, in some quarters, impaired people's steadiness of judgment.

I do not believe this to be the least true of the nation as a whole or

of any considerable section of it. The atmosphere of war always provides opportunities for the cruder and cheaper forms of sensation mongering, which find a ready market among people of low intelligence and high credulity. [Doubtless an allusion to the scandalous statement, at the trial of an actress, that the Germans had a list of 47,000 Englishmen addicted to private vices.] The danger, if there be danger, does not, believe me, lie in that direction. But there is a real risk which, in my opinion, we ought to guard against, in the stress of the daily and hourly bulletins regarding doubtful battles, and here and there, and now and again, the yielding of ground, that we may be tempted to lose our sense of proportion. We must take large views, backward and forward, and seek to measure events as they occur, not by the dust and noise which for the moment they create, but by their real and lasting significance. There is no reason, there never was less reason, why the voice of honest and patriotic criticism should be hushed into silence, but let us keep our eyes fixed and our hearts set on the great dominating purposes to which we have deliberately consecrated the resources and the energies of the empire, with an unwavering faith, both in the worthiness of our aims and in the certainty that they will be achieved.

The Basis of Peace

Address by ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

THE speech of Foreign Secretary Balfour referred to by the German Chancellor in the preceding pages was delivered in Parliament June 20, 1918, in reply to the demand of a Labor member that the Allies restate their war aims and explain the secret treaties among the Allies. In his speech the Foreign Secretary expressed the following views:

From beginning to end the animating motive of this country and of the Governments in which, from time to time, this country has placed its trust, has been to carry out those general principles the application of which moved us in the first

days and hours of the war. If the honorable member goes further and says that had the nation at large realized in 1914 what the German passion for domination meant, had they studied German utterances, then I go some distance with him. There were, indeed, people in this country who warned the country of what the German desire for expansion really meant, but we, as a nation, are slow to believe that other nations can be animated by motives which are so widely separated from those which move our own people. Those writers were known, no doubt, to a few, but they were not even by those few regarded as always representative, and it was not until the matter had been studied in the light of events and with a

care which it was never thought worth while to give them before that it was brought home to the conviction of every student, except the honorable member and those who sit beside him, that this war is no accidental and unhappy episode, that it was the inevitable, or the almost inevitable, result of German ambitions, and that it was absolutely inevitable unless the development, economic and military, of Germany, in the course of years, did not enable her to get all the fruits of victory without bloodshed and war.

It is perfectly clear to any one who looks back on the history of the last thirty or forty years that the ambitions of the whole of the intelligent, military and governing, classes in Germany were of a kind which were directed to world domination, and that if world domination could not be got by peaceful means, it must be got by war, utterly indifferent to all the horrors which war produces.

Of course, they made a great miscalculation. They thought that the objects of the war—this European domination which was to carry with it other dominations—could be attained after a struggle which at the most would last a year. It might easily have been so, but happily for mankind it has not been so. How anybody can make the speech that the honorable member has made this afternoon and suggest that it is we who sit on this bench and those gentlemen who sit on the opposite bench who have by our stupidity, our blindness, our indifference to human suffering, and our imperialistic ambitions been the people who, if we did not start the contest, have at all events continued it, and are now responsible for its continuance—how any one can hold that view utterly passes my comprehension.

NO SERIOUS OFFERS

The honorable member has made his usual survey of the suggestions of peace which have from time to time been made by the Central Powers. Is there one of those cases in which the sober historian would ever see the basis of a possible peace? Is there any likelihood that these suggestions, such as the Emperor of Austria's letter and the other transactions to which the honorable member referred, were made with a view to obtaining that sort of peace which even the honorable gentleman himself could regard as a reasonable peace, carrying with it some prospect of security for the future liberties of the world? We have never rejected any proposals which we thought had the slightest probability of producing the sort of peace which most of us, and I hope all of us, desire. There is no evidence whatever that the German Government

have ever been serious in making such offers of peace.

I have more than once referred to Belgium, though I always do so with some hesitation lest honorable gentlemen should run away with the idea that, in my judgment, the restoration of Belgium would by itself give all that we ought properly to ask for as a result of the war. The case for Belgium is merely an example. It is a good example of German methods. The treatment of Belgium is and remains the greatest blot upon German honor and German humanity. German honor and German humanity, I think, have been violated in many parts of the world, but Belgium stands out as the great and unanswerable proof of what it is that the German Government will do if they think that any military advantage is to be got by it. Have the German Government ever openly and plainly said in any document or in any speech that Belgium is to be given up, that Belgium is to be restored, that Belgium is to be placed in a position of absolute economic as well as political independence? I know of no such statement. It has been suggested that Belgian territory should be restored, and there have been other suggestions of one kind or another, but you will never find any frank avowal that Belgium, having been taken by one of the most iniquitous acts of which history has record, is to be put back so far as the perpetrators of the crime are concerned as far as possible in the position in which she was before the crime was committed. * * *

"SECRET TREATIES"

The Allies are prepared to listen collectively to all reasonable arrangements. Certainly his Majesty's Government are not going to shut their ears to anything that can be called a reasonable suggestion. If such a suggestion was made which met with the approval of the Allies collectively, does the honorable gentleman really suppose that the fact that three years ago, or whenever it may have been, they took a different view would stand in the way of accepting this reasonable suggestion? Of course it would not. Any proposal to the Allies will be considered by the Allies on its merits. The so-called secret treaties were entered into by this country with other members of the alliance, and to these treaties we stand. The national honor is bound up with them. * * *

So far as we are concerned, we are bound by the Italian treaty, and we mean to hold by it. But it is a profound error to suppose that the time will come when the British Government, surveying the whole situation, and the Italian Govern-

ment, surveying the whole situation, will find themselves in this position: The British Government saying, "I think you ought to make peace in spite of this treaty," and the Italian Government saying, "There is the treaty, and we mean to hold to every word of it." When the time comes the treaty may be a proper instrument to carry out in every detail. What I say is that, whatever judgment may be come to, when the time comes, by the British Government is probably the judgment which the Italian Government would share to the full, and the judgment made by the Italian Government is the judgment which the English Government would share to the full. I have no reason to think that in the future, any more than in the past, there will be any divergence between the Allies for carrying on this war. If it should turn out that, in the common interest of the Allies as a whole, treaties made some years ago should require modification, I do not know whether a modification will be made by the Italians themselves. It rests with them; they are our ally, and we are bound to them, and we mean to keep to the full to the bargain we have made. * * *

PEACE TRAPS

So far as I am able to judge, what the Central Powers mean to do in the way of peace is not to propose reasonable terms to the alliance as a whole, but to select some member of the alliance to offer terms which may prove extremely tempting to that member of the alliance, if it considers only its own obvious and immediate interests, and not to the alliance as a whole, and in that way to disintegrate the members of the alliance, some of whom would, of course, be perfectly helpless taken in isolation, but would be quite strong as long as they are united. I do not blame the Central Powers for making such attempts; the people I blame are those who fall into the trap, and the people I blame most of all are those who, like the honorable gentleman opposite, appear to think it almost criminal not to fall into the trap. As far as I can make it out, his criticism is that we went to war for Belgium and France, and that if Belgium and France are satisfied why should we think of Italy? That spirit is a fatal spirit, because you might change it round, and you might say to Italy, "You are bound by the alliance, very good terms are offered to you, why do you bother about anything else?" You cannot work

an alliance on those terms. The only terms on which you can work an alliance are those of mutual confidence and mutual trust, and the only way you can have mutual confidence and mutual trust is by being open and above board with those with whom you are working. * * *

All of us (the Government) think that no conclusion can be honorable or satisfactory which makes it perfectly plain that the peace is only a truce. All of us are desirous of seeing, as far as may be, that the wishes of the populations of the world shall meet with their due satisfaction. All of us are anxious to see that whatever arrangements may be come to at the peace conference, whenever the peace conference takes place, shall be of such a kind as to leave as few of those eternal causes of friction and jealousy which divide small nations even more than they divide big nations, and shall by removing those causes of jealousy give greater security for the future peace of the world than any mere treaties can ever give. To that rearrangement of territory or of constitution, supplemented, as I hope it will be, by a league of nations for the enforcement of peace, to those two changes in the international constitution of the world I look forward as the real security of peace.

We shall never get that peace, and we shall never deserve to get that peace, if we listen to the counsels given to us by the honorable gentleman who has just sat down, if we fail to look facts in the face, if we fail to see what German ambitions really mean, what German statesmen are really driving at, and what it is they are determined to have. Unless we face that fact we are only deceiving ourselves and heaping up, if not for ourselves at least for our immediate successors, a repetition of horrors unequalled in the history of the world, and who feels the horrors of war more than those who are responsible for its conduct? On whom does the burden of this dreadful expenditure of blood and treasure weigh most heavily? How can it weigh more heavily on any man or set of men than those on this bench? We passionately desire an honorable peace, and as time goes on we are more and more convinced that that peace can only be attained by struggling to the end, to see that we do not leave it in the power of any nation such as Germany to cause a repetition of the evils under which the whole civilized community of nations, whether in the Old World or the New, is helplessly groaning.

Canada's War Achievements

By SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Prime Minister of Canada

[FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE PARLIAMENTARY SUPPER TO THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET, JUNE 21, 1918]

A YEAR ago we had enlisted in Canada for this war something more than 400,000 men. Today we have enlisted considerably more than 500,000 men. During the past 12 or 14 months more than 100,000 men have joined the colors in Canada. Our forces in France—I may not tell you their number, but I may at least tell you this—that we have 35,000 more men in France today than we had when I left these shores last year. Today there are more than 385,000 men of the Canadian expeditionary force who have crossed the ocean, and they are still coming. In addition to that, we have sent into the air service during the past 3½ years of war 14,000 men, and to the naval services and the reserves of various nations we have contributed from the manhood of Canada at least 35,000 men. I am able to tell you tonight that the man power of Canada has furnished to the military and naval forces of the empire and the Allies not less than 425,000 men.

I am proud of what the Canadian forces have done in this war. I am proud of what all the forces of the empire have done. We in Canada are as proud of what Australia and New Zealand have done as we are of what the men of these islands and Canadians have done. I should tell you that of the 385,000 men who have sailed from Canada not less than 175,000 were born within these islands and had come to Canada. The effort has been great, but the sacrifice has been great as well. There had been 78,000 casualties when I left these shores last year.

The casualties are 152,000 today in the Canadian expeditionary force. I saw more than 2,000 of these men last Sunday at Epsom who had come back from the front wounded, and I do not believe that there was one man among them, fit in a military sense to go back

and do his duty again, who was not keen and eager and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside his comrades in France. That is the spirit, first and last in this war, I have found among our men, and I know the same spirit has prevailed throughout the empire.

A great many important things have happened recently in Canada, and among other things the enactment of compulsory military service. Here, as elsewhere, the relatively trivial disturbances occasioned by the enforcement of that act have been very greatly exaggerated; from one end of Canada to the other that act was accepted, and the men are flocking to the colors. As a matter of fact, after the act was first proclaimed, some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the colors at once without waiting for the call. There have been trifling disturbances here or there, not entirely confined to any one section of the country, and we have been obliged to enact certain amendments to the Military Service act with a view of preventing any attempt at forcible resistance.

One measure which the Canadian Parliament enacted, and which had a very happy effect, was a provision that any man forcibly resisting the Military Service act, or encouraging forcible resistance to it, should ipso facto become a member of the Canadian expeditionary force and be authorized to employ his warlike spirit against the enemies of England.

What has Canada done besides? Besides men we required food—the empire required food, the Allies required it. We required ships; we required munitions. Canada has tried to do its part in all those matters. There has been an active campaign for increased food production in Canada going on during the past year, and I desire to make acknowledgment to

the Prime Ministers of the Canadian Provinces for their splendid co-operation in the attempt to increase food supply. The acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season is at least 10 per cent. greater than it was last year, and, taking wheat, oats, rye, and barley, Canada expects, unless weather condi-

tions should prove unfavorable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels.

We have also helped in shipping. Recently fourteen shipyards have been completed and already 45,000 tons of shipping have been laid down. We expect to turn out 84,000 more tons this year, and 250,000 tons in 1919.

Premier Clemenceau's Speech of Defiance

IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June appeared an abridged version of Premier Clemenceau's speech in the Chamber of Deputies June 5, 1918, when he defied the Socialist pacifists and was sustained by a vote of 377 to 110. The full text of this important speech is herewith given:

When I accepted the Premiership I knew that I was called upon to bear the burden of the most critical period of the war. I have told you from the outset that we should pass together through difficult and exacting times and cruel hours. These times are coming, and the only question is whether we can stand them. When the defection of Russia came about, when men who believed that it was only necessary to will peace in order to impose it upon the German Emperor had given up their country (unwittingly, I prefer to think) to the invasion of the enemy, who could believe then that a million German soldiers who had become available would not be turned against us? This and more is what happened.

For four years our effectives have been wearing themselves out; our front was held by a line of soldiers which was becoming thinner and thinner, with our allies, who had suffered enormous losses, and now arrives a fresh mass of German divisions in good condition. Is there any one who does not realize that under the weight of this tremendous wave our lines had to give way at some points? The extent of their recoil became great and dangerous. I say nothing more, and there is nothing in that to shake the confidence which we should have in our soldiers. Today these men are engaged in the battle. Our men fought, one against five, without sleep for three or four days together.

These great soldiers have good leaders, great leaders, who are worthy of them in every way. I have seen these leaders at work, and some of them struck me with admiration. Is that saying that there are nowhere mistakes? I cannot maintain that. My business is precisely to discover these mistakes and to punish them, and in this I

am supported by two great soldiers named Foch and Pétain. General Foch enjoys to such a degree the confidence of the Allies that yesterday they wished that their unanimous confidence in him should be expressed in the communiqué. These men are at this moment fighting the hardest battle of the war with a heroism which I can find no words to express. I have come here in the desire to find simple, brief, and measured terms to express the sentiment of the French people both at the front and in the rear, and to show the world a state of mind which I cannot analyze but which is the admiration of all. It is my duty as leader of these men to punish them if they have not done their duty, but also to protect them if they are unjustly attacked.

The army is better than anything we could have expected from it, and when I speak of the army I speak of those who compose it, of whatever rank and whatever grade they may be. But that is not enough. The men must have faith and must die for their ideal if they wish to give us victory. Their leaders, also, have come from their ranks. Like them, they come back covered with wounds, when they do not remain, like them, on the field of battle.

We have yielded ground, much more ground than we should have wished. There are men who have paid for this retreat with their blood. I know some who have accomplished acts of heroism, like those Bretons who were surrounded in a wood all night and who, next day, found means of sending by carrier pigeon a message to say: "You may come and find us. We shall hold out for half a day yet." These men make the fatherland, they continue it and prolong it, that fatherland without which no reform is possible. They die for an ideal, for a history which is the foremost among all the histories of civilized peoples.

Our own duty is very simple and very tame. We are in no danger, and yet we are at our posts, where the capital interests of the country are defended. Be calm, confident, and determined to hold on to the end in this hard battle. The victory is to you, because the Germans, who are not so intelligent as they are told, have only one method—namely, to throw their whole weight into the

venture and to push it to the end. We saw them on the Yser, at Verdun, near Amlens, near Dunkirk and Calais, and then in Champagne. They broke our lines, but did you think you were going to make a war in which you would never retreat? The only thing that matters is final success.

You have before you a Government which, as it told you, did not enter into power ever to accept surrender. So long as we are here, the fatherland will be defended to the death, and no force will be spared to obtain success. We will never yield. That is the word of command of our Government. We will never yield at any moment. The Germans once more are staking everything on a coup which is meant to frighten us, so that we may abandon the struggle. For what was their great effort made on the Yser in 1914? In order to reach Calais, to separate us from the British, and to compel the latter to re-

nounce the struggle. Why did they begin again, and why have they once more begun again? In order to obtain this effect of terror.

The effectives of the belligerents are being exhausted, those of the Germans as well as our own, but meanwhile the Americans are coming to play a hand in the deciding game. Once more, the events in Russia gave our enemies a million additional men on the Franco-British front, but we have allies who represent the foremost nations of the world, and who have pledged themselves to continue the war until the attainment of the success which we hold within our grasp if we put forth the necessary energy.

The people of France have accomplished its task, and those who have fallen have not fallen in vain, since they have made French history great. It remains for the living to complete the magnificent work of the dead.

Alsace-Lorraine: Its Relation to France

THE following protest was published in reply to a suggestion by The Manchester Guardian that in the peace settlements the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine become autonomous, buffer States:

There is no doubt that the French Nation, which is primarily interested, is the nation which must estimate what it considers just, and in this context the decision of the Government is to support French democracy in its efforts. There is nothing more just. The moment peace is concluded each of the Allies will have some particular and perfectly legitimate desires to put forward, and in order to realize them must be able to rely upon the full support of the other contracting parties.

From all appearances, however, the Alsace-Lorraine question has a much greater scope. It is not a question of simply giving to France the just return for the prodigious sacrifices to which she has agreed in order to save civilization from Germanic domination, but it is a question of repairing the grave wrong which has been done to international law, or, as Lloyd George said, of "removing an ulcer which has infected European peace for half a century." These are the brutal facts. The population of two provinces which had attached itself to France has been forcibly detached from France after a war of conquest. This population has never ceased to protest against its forcible incorporation in the German Empire. The occupiers of the country have for nearly half a century treated it with the violence which is customary with them. Neither France, who could not forget this attack upon her honor and national integrity, nor the people of Alsace-Lorraine have resigned themselves to sanction the act of force of which they were the

victims. There is, therefore, in this case the flagrant violation by Prussia, who is used to such crimes as these, of the right of nationalities to dispose of themselves. The Allies are fighting for the freedom of Belgium, Poland, Bohemia, Serbia, Rumania, and the Irredentist provinces of Italy. On these lines they could not be disinterested in the fate of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who not only do not wish to remain German, but who have on all possible occasions expressed their desire to become French again.

You seem to suggest an intermediate solution. Why should not Alsace-Lorraine become autonomous, a buffer State, as you say?

First, because the Alsace-Lorrainers do not constitute one nationality, as do the Poles, the Czechs, and the Yugoslavs, and it would be truly dangerous to create artificially a new nationality at a moment when the Allies will experience some difficulty in fixing the boundaries of the ancient States which will have to be revived.

Secondly, because the Alsace-Lorrainers who are principally interested in the question do not demand political autonomy and would for several reasons consider it extremely dangerous. It is a fact that Alsace-Lorraine is, as you remark, a country whose subsoil is very rich, (coal and iron mines, potassium deposits, and petroleum wells,) and whose industries, especially the textile industry, are very much developed. Consequently she would always provoke the covetousness of her powerful neighbors or would, at least, have to submit to their demands without being able to defend herself.

You tell us, it is true, that the League of Nations will be there to guarantee this autonomy against any future aggression. But supposing that this international institution can be created and has the power to impose

its decrees by force, it will be impossible for it to intervene effectively in economic problems. Alsace-Lorraine, which is a big producer of raw material and of manufactured goods, needs a very wide market into which to pour her superabundant wealth. On the hypothesis which we are putting forward she would have to make, under pain of death, close commercial agreements with one of the great neighboring powers, such as Luxemburg did before 1914. She would have, as a matter of necessity, to enter the German Zollverein or the Union Douanière Française, and that would bring her fatally into a political dependence which would be equivalent to annexation without guaranteeing her its advantages, for the other contracting State could always modify its tariffs and impose upon her worse servitude. Further, Alsace-Lorraine has been subjected to Germany for forty-seven years, and had become a field of colonization for her masters. Four hundred thousand German immigrants have established themselves there. They occupy all the administrative posts, and have secured to themselves economic preponderance in the country. Moreover, since the outbreak of war, the German authorities have arbitrarily "denationalized" several thousand Alsace-Lorrainians in order to seize their property and, by sales contrary to the law of nations, to pass it into the hands of subjects of the empire, just as they had already done to the property of hostile foreigners.

Thus, the day after the proclamation of complete autonomy of Alsace-Lorraine, this country would be entirely dependent on the German "colons," who have been exploiting and terrorizing it for so many long years. Could we speak of an independent country under such conditions? This is why those interested in this question deliberately repudiate this bastard solution. During recent months a little group of Alsace-Lorrainians who have taken refuge in Switzerland had

begun a campaign in favor of autonomy. After having studied the problem attentively they themselves abandoned this propaganda, and declared that they were rallying to what almost all their compatriots ardently desire—that is to say, a return, pure and simple, of the two provinces to France.

You will not be surprised if, in conclusion, we mention yet another aspect of the question. France has suffered from the atrocious present war more than all the other allies. It is on her territory that the battle has been fought, and it is her richest towns and her most prosperous villages which are being devastated. Not to mention the innumerable young men that she has sacrificed to save the world, she has seen the civilian population of the invaded territories decimated, driven out, and ruined by the Germans, and it is with this sorely tried country, bleeding at every pore and attacked at the very sources of her wealth, that the Allies, who have all benefited by her prodigious sacrifice, would barter not only the price of victory, but the restoration of right!

(Signed) ABBE WETTERLE,

Former Reichstag Deputy.

ALFRED WEIL,

Formerly Judge at Metz.

PAUL WILMUTH,

President of Association Générale des Alsaciens-Lorrains, 1 Rue de Staël, Paris.

CHARLES GEROLD,

Editor of the *Matin*, son of the Vicar of Strassburg.

F. H. HELLMER,

Advocate in the Courts of Colmar.

F. ECCARD,

Advocate in Strassburg.

ANSELM LANGEL,

Formerly Deputy in the Alsace-Lorraine Diet.

Paris, May 14.

Fashions of the Firing Line

By LIEUTENANT R. S. H. STURGES

Author of "On the Remainder of Our Front"

ONE of the best things that have appeared in the pages of *Punch* since the beginning of the war was a drawing of two Tommies, just returned to London on leave from the front. The traces of trench life are still evident on their clothing, and they are slung about with pots and pans and all the impedimenta of active service. Across the street are two bandsmen in the uniforms often to be seen in London in the far-off days of peace. They are resplendent in

scarlet tunics, pipe-clayed belts, and tall black bear skins. One of the men from France is watching them with an expression on his face of mingled interest, awe, and admiration. "Look, Bill," he says, nudging his companion; "soldiers!"

There is something very striking in this contrast between the soldier's appearance in peace and in war. The one seems to be the very antithesis of the other. Yet it is not so very many years since the soldier went to war in all his

finery. In those days a battle was a magnificent spectacle, with flying banners and flashing steel. But I cannot think that the brilliance of the soldier's apparel was particularly conducive to his personal comfort.

Necessity has changed all that in modern war. War is now hideous, there is no color in it, and if there were it would seem mere grim sarcasm. Comfort is not a noticeable characteristic of modern war, but at any rate the fashions of the firing line are all attempts to alleviate some of its discomfort.

Walk along a front-line trench in Winter, look at the first man you come across, and see what he is wearing. On his head is the now familiar steel helmet or "tin hat," like a shallow inverted bowl; it is covered with brown canvas, for flashing steel is out of date. Beneath his chin you will notice a square khaki bag which hangs upon his chest, suspended around his neck. In this bag is his gas mask, ready at a moment's notice to be slipped over his face. He is also wearing the belt, bayonet, brace straps, and ammunition pouches of his equipment; for he never moves about the trenches without his ammunition, or without the rifle which is slung upon his shoulder.

Even the rifle is dressed for its part. An old sock covers the muzzle and a strip of sandbag is wound around the breech—both necessary precautions against the all-pervading mud.

Under his equipment the soldier is wearing what looks like a large leather waistcoat with sleeves; but it is longer than a waistcoat, for it completely covers the tunic beneath. These leather jerkins have, to a large extent, supplanted the old goatskin coats. They are quite as warm, being lined with cloth; they protect the wearer more efficiently from the rain; they are easier to clean, and last, but not least, they are free from the somewhat strong and clinging scent of the goat.

The existence of the soldier's trousers you must assume, for they are invisible to the naked eye. His legs are completely encased in long rubber boots, the

tops of which disappear under his leather jerkin. These boots are bound to his feet by straps passing around the ankle and under the sole. In them he can pass dryshod through water that rises above his knees; you will notice, perhaps, that they are coated from top to bottom with watery slime.

The gum boot is an inestimable boon to the dwellers in the mud and water of trench-land, but it has a few disadvantages. It is cold. Unless perfectly fitting its heel is inclined to rub, to the destruction of the sock or socks within. There is little or no ventilation for the foot. Most of these disadvantages can be overcome by the frequent removal of the boot, by a vigorous rubbing of the foot, and a change of socks before it is replaced.

On a cold, frosty night the soldier will wear his greatcoat in addition to the leather jerkin. It seems impossible to wear too much when standing motionless on sentry for two long hours. In such a case the equipment will be worn over the overcoat, and the gas mask over all, as before.

The greatcoat is not a suitable garment for the trenches, and, except in the coldest weather, it is to be avoided. It absorbs the rain and has a fatal attraction for every variety of mud, which clings to the cloth with loving embrace and defies removal.

The greatcoat's proper sphere is the billet, where, as a blanket or a mattress, it more than justifies its existence. Nevertheless, at times when the snow is on the ground, and when the water is freezing solid in his water bottle, the soldier is thankful that he has brought his greatcoat with him to the trenches. For, with its help, a cap comforter beneath his helmet and a pair of woolen gloves upon his hands, he can at least make a stand against the cold.

For finery you will look in vain among the fashions of the trenches. The nearest approach to it will be found, perhaps, in an aluminium ring upon the soldier's finger, rudely fashioned from the fuse of a German shell.

Germany's Attitude On Peace

Address by the Imperial Chancellor Outlining
the Official View of the Berlin Government

COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING, the Imperial German Chancellor, expressed the German official attitude with regard to peace overtures in an address to the Reichstag on July 10, 1918. His references to peace were as follows:

I maintain the standpoint of the imperial reply to the peace note of Pope Benedict. The pacific spirit which inspired this reply has also inspired me. At the time, however, I added that this spirit must not give our enemies free conduct for an interminable continuation of the war.

What have we lived to see, however? While for years there can have been no doubt whatever of our willingness to hold out our hand toward an honorable peace, we have heard until these last few days inciting speeches delivered by enemy statesmen. President Wilson wants war until we are destroyed, and what Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has said must really drive the flush of anger to the cheeks of every German.

We feel for the honor of our Fatherland, and we cannot allow ourselves to be constantly and openly insulted in this manner, and behind these insults is the desire for our destruction. As long as this desire for our destruction exists we must endure together with our faithful nation.

I am also convinced—I know it—that in the widest circles of our nation the same serious feeling exists everywhere. As long as the desire for our destruction exists we must hold out, and we will hold out, with confidence in our troops, in our army administration and in our magnificent nation, which bears so wonderfully these difficult times, with their great privations and continuous sacrifices.

AN OFFER INVITED

In the direction of our policy nothing will be changed. If, in spite of these hostile statements by these statesmen, any serious efforts for a paving of the way to peace were to show themselves anywhere, then, quite certainly, we would not adopt a negative attitude from the very beginning, but we would examine these seriously meant—I say expressly seriously—efforts immediately with scrupulous care.

Naturally, it is not sufficient when some agent or other approaches us and says to us: "I can bring about peace negotiations, then and there." But it is necessary for the appointed representatives of the enemy powers, duly authorized by their Governments, to give us to understand that discussions are possible, discussions which for the time being naturally will be within a limited circle.

But the statesmen who have spoken up to the present time have not said a word about such possibilities. When such possibilities manifest themselves, and when serious inclinations toward peace show themselves on the other side, then we will immediately go into them. That is to say, we will not reject them—and we will speak, to begin, within a small circle.

I also can tell you that this standpoint is not merely my own standpoint, but that it is shared emphatically by the Chief of the Army Administration. The Chief of the Army Administration also does not conduct war for the sake of war, but has said to me that as soon as serious desire for peace manifests itself on the other side we must follow it up.

CONFERENCE WITH KAISER

You will be interested to know how we are working on this standpoint, and certain problems will appear which the present time forces upon us. Exhaustive discussions took place regarding these questions July 1 and 2 at General Headquarters, under the Presidency of the Kaiser.

Naturally, I can only announce here quite generally the lines which were laid down at that time. Regarding the east, we stand on the basis of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and we wish to see this peace carried out in a loyal manner. That is the wish of the German Imperial Administration, and it is supported in this by the Chief of the Army Administration.

However, the difficulty of the execution of the peace of Brest-Litovsk does not lie on our side, but in the fact that conditions in Russia are still exceedingly uncertain. We are inclined to believe in the loyalty of the present Russian Government, and especially in the loyalty of the representative of the Russian Government in Berlin.

But we may not, and can not, assume unconditionally that the present Russian

Government has the power to carry through everywhere the loyal promises made to us. We do not at all wish to create difficulties for the present Russian Government, but as conditions now are there are incessant developments and endless frictions in the frontier region. However, our principle is that we stand on the basis of the peace made at Brest-Litovsk, and we will carry out this peace loyally and will deal loyally with the present Government.

They are still under the depressing influence of a terrible crime in Moscow. The murder of our Ambassador there was an act in violation of international law than which a worse could never cry to heaven.

All indications point to the fact that the accursed deed was instigated by the Entente Allies in order to involve us in fresh war with the present Russian Government—a state of things which we are most anxious to avoid. We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim.

On the other hand, it is true that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire, movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

The portions of the Chancellor's speech relating to Belgium were not given to the press, but on the following day Count Hertling made this statement before the Reichstag Main Committee:

The present possession of Belgium only means that we have a pawn for future negotiations. We have no intention to keep Belgium in any form whatever.

By the expression pawn is meant that one does not intend to keep what one has in one's hand as a pawn if negotiations bring a favorable result.

What we precisely want, as expressed by us on Feb. 24, is that after the war restored Belgium shall, as a self-dependent State, not be subject to anybody as a vassal and shall live with us in good friendly relations.

I have held this point of view from the beginning in regard to Belgium, and I still hold it today. This side of my policy is fully in conformity with the general lines, the direction of which I yesterday clearly laid before you.

We are waging the war as a war of defense, as we have done from the very beginning, and every imperialistic tendency and every tendency to world domination has been remote from our minds.

What we want is the inviolability of our territory, open air for the expansion of our people in the economic domain, and, naturally, also security in regard to the future. This is completely in conformity with my point of view in regard to Belgium, but how this point of view can be established in detail depends upon future negotiations, and on this point I am unable to give binding declarations.

A few days later the concluding portion of this supplementary speech concerning Belgium appeared in the North German Gazette with the explanation that members of the Reichstag had demanded its publication:

It was never our intention to keep Belgium except as a pledge by which to secure Germany against future perils, and until the danger is removed we cannot surrender our pledge.

In peace we must be guaranteed against Belgium being used for ground on which to deploy military forces, but also from the economic standpoint we must have guarantees against being isolated.

It must be made to the interest of Belgium to secure close economic relations with Germany. Should Germany succeed in attaining such an intimate commercial connection, this would bring about a political agreement with Germany in which we should secure the best guarantees against future perils from England and France by way of Belgium.

KUEHLMANN'S RESIGNATION

The Chancellor announced the resignation of Dr. von Kühlmann as Foreign Secretary and stated that Admiral von Hintze was appointed his successor. He then added:

Admiral von Hintze possesses a thorough knowledge of Russian affairs, which is a matter of great importance in the present situation. But it goes without saying that I will give my countersignature to the appointment of Admiral von Hintze only on condition that he follows my line of policy and not his own.

However, as far as I am concerned, I already have a sure guarantee, for this is Admiral von Hintze's promise. I will direct the line of foreign policy, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has merely to carry out my policy. The proposed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is absolutely clear on this point.

The course with which the great majority of the Reichstag declared itself to be in agreement in November of last year will still be followed.

[The text of the Reichstag address of Dr. von Kühlmann, which led to his resignation, is printed on Page 315.]

German Aims and Servile States

A Controversy Between the British War Secretary and the Austro-Hungarian War Secretary

VISCOUNT MILNER, British Secretary for War, in a speech delivered June 14, 1918, at the anniversary gathering of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, made the following reference to Germany's domination over her allies:

The military party has Germany under its heel and all her allies in its grip. Germany has safeguarded herself in the East by a ring of dependent States, and she is now turning with all her might to the West in order, by a supreme and desperate effort, to crush the remaining free nations, so as to dominate the world and form a Central European bloc of irresistible military strength, supported by giant industries, drawing their raw material from all the rest of the world on Germany's own terms, and leaving the supplying nations to enjoy just as much prosperity, freedom, and self-determination as Germany chooses to permit—a world of peaceful, servile States working for the profit of a great paramount empire.

That is the German peace as we see it illustrated today in the case of Russia and Rumania. That is the vision of the future of mankind which possesses the soul of the rulers of Germany today, for the attainment of which they are prepared to wade through further seas of blood. It is as certain as anything can be certain that that is an unattainable object, and that it will fail as every attempt to subjugate the world to a single will has failed from the time of the Roman Empire to the time of Napoleon. The liberty-loving nations of the world will fight on indefinitely for their ideal of a world commonwealth of free nations as opposed to the ideal of a new Roman Empire. So every fresh German success means not the fulfillment of German ambition, which is absolutely intolerable and unthinkable, but a further prolongation of the war.

This is the day and the hour of the climax of Germany's power; therefore we have to fight as we never fought before in all our history, as our great, noble French allies are fighting, with every

ounce of their strength, until the great reserves which the cause of freedom still possesses have been fully mobilized. The German War Minister has been sneering at the reserves of the Allies. But he laughs best who laughs last. If I could tell you the number of men that we have put into the field since this great battle began, the number that we are putting in now, and that we are going to put in, I should astonish you. But not even those numbers are enough. No effort can be too great when everything in the world is at stake. Those numbers would show that if we feel absolute confidence in our gallant allies, they are justified in the confidence they place in us.

COUNT BURIAN REPLIES

Count Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied to Lord Milner as follows:

Lord Milner's speech once again affords a deep insight into the psychology of our enemies. In it expression is again given to our opponents' desire to represent the war aim of the Central Powers as an emanation of the intention ascribed to the Germans to obtain domination not only over their opponents, but also over their own allies. Our peace treaties with Russia and Rumania have in this latest case been represented as an illustration of this lust of domination. Have, then, Russians come under foreign domination by the conclusion of peace with the Soviet Republic? Or would, perhaps, a victorious Britain have treated any colony of our allies more mildly than we have acted toward Rumania? But our opponent does not dispute that, and by the portrayal of the awful consequences of this plan ascribed to us of enslaving the world, the peoples of the Entente are to be convinced of the necessity of battling desperately until they are completely exhausted.

The fact that reference is almost always made only to Germany and hardly at all to Austria-Hungary is sufficiently explained by the foregoing thesis. The complete unity of our group in the struggle and in our war aims is our strength, and, despite all their vain attempts, our

opponents will not cease their endeavors to undermine it. When Lord Milner refers to Germany and incidentally mentions us as her "victim" he is himself doing what he in his own words complains of when he says that "attempts are being made on the part of the Central Powers to lacerate one allied nation against another." Now with us he will not succeed.

The German "yoke" is for Austria-Hungary a "yoke" of mutual rocklike friendship and complete consideration for the interests of both parties. Otherwise the relationship between Austria-Hungary and Germany would not be possible for one moment. One might quote once more the oft-heard expression, "Only the stupidest calves themselves choose their own slaughterers." We have happily long had what Lord Milner praises in the Entente, "the valuable possession of the moral unity of allies devoted to one common cause." We will bear our burdens

in common, and be considerate toward one another until a victorious end is achieved.

As regards the alleged efforts of the Central Powers to secure world dominion and their desire to wade through ever wider seas of blood, let Lord Milner then for once make a sincere attempt to obtain further enlightenment on this point. He will be astonished how tremendously far our aims are removed from those which our opponents again and again seek to misrepresent to the world as ours, and which they hold up as bogys.

I agree with Lord Milner straightaway that these aims ascribed to us are unattainable, but I can assure him there are no persons of sound common sense in the Central countries—and here, despite Lord Milner, Austria-Hungary may assuredly also speak in the name of Germany—who would have set before themselves such an aim even in the wildest of dreams.

The Acme of German Cruelty

Michel Jodin, writing in the *Ame Belge*, (Soul of Belgium,) one of the little Belgian papers that appear in spite of all attempts at suppression, tells the incident given below:

Executions by the enemy continue. On May 11 last the people of Charleroi were awakened with a start at 5 in the morning by a salvo of forty-eight shots, and soon after those living near the cavalry barracks saw six bodies carried out one after another. This horrible tragedy is the epilogue to a trial which lasted four days, April 10 to 13 inclusive, and where all kinds of people were tried in a body—two merchants, a priest of Tournai, Mme. de Cock, (wife of a policeman,) two Antwerp boatmen, a French soldier, two railway officials, a Brussels police officer, and many others. The prisoners were accused of having spied on the movements of German troops. The military representative demanded a certain number of heads. Judgment was passed only after a month of intolerable suspense, * * * and then began more diabolical cruelty. The sentence was not made known to the unfortunate nineteen. Their families were summoned by telegram to Charleroi, each was informed that six victims would be shot next morning, and that perhaps their relative would be one. In vain they begged and implored to know the certainty; they were allowed to visit the prisoners, and they wept and lamented. The bitter truth would be easier than this agonizing uncertainty. But it was refused; the butchers preferred that the cells should all echo to the sound of sobs and prayers. The blood to be shed in the morning was not enough; all could be made to suffer in anticipation. Those chosen for death could only prepare for it in doubt and anxiety, and those who were safe believed themselves in extremis. Wives and children stood all night at the gates of the prison alternating between infinite despair and senseless hope. Certainty came with the dawn, the fusillade did its work, and Delfosse, Vergeylen, Cool, Hofman, Van Hecke, and Merjay breathed their last sigh.

Von Kühlmann's Reichstag Address

German Foreign Secretary's Summary of War Situation and the Storm It Raised

DR. RICHARD VON KÜHLMANN, the German Foreign Secretary, addressed the Reichstag June 24, 1918. In his speech he asserted that "the end of the war can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone, and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations." This phrase, which flatly contradicted speeches by the German Emperor, who but a short time before had referred to peace being won by "the strong German sword," was received with consternation in the Reichstag and with sharp criticism by the press. It was reported later that Dr. von Kühlmann's words had been approved by General Ludendorff. This brought to notice rumors of friction between Ludendorff and the German Crown Prince and his coterie, who comprise the radical Pan-German elements in official circles. In the end the anger of the Junkers and Pan-Germans, due to this speech, forced Dr. von Kühlmann to resign his position as Foreign Secretary. His resignation was accepted by the Kaiser on July 9. The chief passages in the address are as follows:

I believe that one can say, without fear of contradiction, as the result of revelations, that the deeper we go into the causes of this war the clearer it becomes that the power which planned and desired the war was Russia; that France played the next worst rôle as instigator, and that England's policy has very dark pages to show.

England's attitude in the days before the outbreak of the war was bound to strengthen Russia's desire for war. Of this there are proofs enough in the documents already published.

On the other hand, Germany did not for an instant believe that this war could lead to the domination of Europe, much less to the domination of the world. On the contrary, the German policy before the war showed good prospects of being able satisfactorily to realize its essential aims, namely, the settlement of affairs in the East and Colonial problems by peaceful negotiation.

Referring to Germany's war aims, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I consider it necessary to say quite simply, and in a way easy for all to understand, what our positive desires are. We wish for the German people and our allies a free, strong, independent existence within the boundaries drawn for us by history. We desire overseas possessions corresponding to our greatness and wealth; the freedom of the sea, carrying our trade to all parts of the world. These, in brief, are our roughly sketched aims, the realization of which is absolutely vital and necessary for Germany.

In view of the magnitude of this war and the number of powers, including those from overseas, that are engaged, its end can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations.

Dr. von Kühlmann paid tribute to the neutral States which had done everything to mitigate the suffering of wounded prisoners, and which had "offered, if need be, the hospitality of their countries for a discussion between the belligerents." He added:

Any fears that some change might occur in the strict observance of Spanish neutrality appear to be at present in no way justified. In America some small States, under the ever-increasing pressure of the United States, have joined the enemy ranks, but no substantial changes in the position have taken place. The Imperial Government's policy is to do everything that can be done to render impossible the entry of further neutral States into the ranks of our enemies.

CLAIMS AUSTRIAN SUCCESS

Speaking of the military situation, the Secretary said that victories had given the Germans the initiative in France. He continued:

We can hope that the Summer and Autumn will bring to our arms a new and great success. The Austro-Hungarian Army also has in a dashing onslaught attacked the Italian positions and achieved noteworthy successes and pinned down large and important enemy forces on that front.

When one makes a wide survey of events, one must ask whether the war,

according to human calculations, will last beyond the Autumn or the Winter, or beyond next year. There is a common idea among the people that the length of the war is something absolutely new, as if the authoritative quarters had in our time never reckoned on a very long war. This idea is incorrect.

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted von Moltke, who in 1890 in the Reichstag said that if war broke out, its duration and end could not be calculated.

Despite the brilliant successes of our arms there has been nowhere clearly recognizable among our enemies readiness for peace. The German Government has repeatedly laid down its standpoint in declarations intended for the widest publicity. Our enemies have nothing to show that can in any degree compare with the German peace offer, with the resolution of this House, or with the reply to the Papal note.

The declarations of our enemies, especially of English statesmen, allow as yet no peaceful ray of light to fall on the darkness of this war.

REPLIES TO BALFOUR

Referring to Mr. Balfour's speech, in which the British Foreign Secretary said that Germany had unchained the war to achieve world domination, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I do not believe that any responsible man in Germany, not even the Kaiser or the members of the Imperial Government, ever for a moment believed they could win the domination in Europe by starting this war. The idea of world domination in Europe is a utopia, as proved by Napoleon. The nation which tried it would, as happened to France, bleed to death in useless battle and would be most grievously injured and lowered in her development. One may here apply von Moltke's phrase, "Woe to him who sets Europe afire."

At no moment of our later history was there less occasion for us to start or contribute to the starting of a conflagration than the moment in which it occurred.

In a former debate I pointed out that the absolute integrity of the German Empire and its allies formed the necessary prerequisite condition for entering into a peace discussion or negotiations. That is our position today.

From England the reproach is constantly made that we are not prepared on a hint from England to state our attitude publicly on the Belgian question. On this point the fundamental views of the Imperial Government differ from those

ascribed to us by English statesmen. We regard Belgium as one question in the entire complex. We must, however, decline to make, as it were, a prior concession by giving a statement on the Belgian question which would bind us, without in the least binding the enemy.

Mr. Balfour, moreover, by way of precaution, has added that we must in no way imagine that any agreement on the Belgian question exhausts the stock of English or Entente wishes. He prudently abstained from describing those points in which he intends to announce more far-reaching claims or desires.

The supposition is not unjustified by previous experiences that while these words, on the one hand, were addressed to Paris, on the other hand covetous desires floated across the Mediterranean to the parts of Palestine and Mesopotamia at present occupied by the British troops.

I hear already the justification which will be duly given for such desires, namely, that England could not possibly make such sacrifices of blood and treasure without reserving for herself most of the gains.

As regards the probable course of events, the Imperial Chancellor and I have previously declared that in the present stage of development far-going advances on the road to peace can hardly any longer be expected from public statements which we shout to each other from the speaker's tribune. We, too, can adopt the words spoken by Mr. Asquith.

HOPES FOR PEACE OFFERS

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted from Mr. Asquith's speech of May 16, in which it was said that the British Government would not turn a deaf ear to a peace proposal if it was not couched in ambiguous terms.

We, likewise, [he added,] can make the same declaration, knowing that it is also our policy. Once the moment arrives—when, I cannot prophesy—that the nations which are at present locked in battle will exchange peace views, one of the preliminary conditions must be a certain degree of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry.

For so long as every overture is regarded by others as a peace offensive, as a trap, or as something false for the purpose of sowing disunion between allies, so long as every attempt at a rapprochement is at once violently denounced by the enemies of a rapprochement in the various countries, so long will it be impossible to see how any exchange of ideas leading to peace can be begun.

Our position on the battlefields, our enormous military resources, and the



Part of an actual battlefield photographed during the recent fighting in France
(*Western Newspaper Union*)



Different types of gas masks (from left to right): American, British, French, and German



A German gas attack photographed from an airplane. The gas is sweeping across the ground under a bank of clouds

situation and determination at home permit us to use such language. We hope that our enemies will perceive that in view of our resources the idea of victory for the Entente is a dream, an illusion, and that they will in due course find a way to approach us with peace offers which will correspond with the situation and satisfy Germany's vital needs.

"CAUTION" IN RUSSIA

With reference to Russia, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

It is impossible to believe that the great process of fermentation and the wild, irregular movement of conflicting forces, which the disappearance of the Czaristic power released, has reached permanent equilibrium. All conditions in the former empire of the Czar must to a certain extent be described as uncertain. Our policy, in view of this situation, is close observation and the utmost caution and, so far as purely internal affairs are concerned, correspondingly wise reserve.

The leaven of national fermentation within the Russian body politic led to the detachment and severance of a whole series of entities, which have partly attained full national status and are partly developing toward that end.

In Finland the battle has been decided in favor of the party which was striving for Finland's independence. The soil of Finland has been cleared of Red Guards and everything points to Finland being about to develop that high culture which is hers in the form of an independent State.

The Secretary said that the number of German troops which participated in the battles in Finland at the latter's request was small, but that they undoubtedly contributed their share in shaping events.

By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [continued Dr. von Kühlmann,] Courland and Lithuania were severed from the Russian Empire. It was from the outset clear to the negotiators that the partition of the Baltic region by the line fixed in the peace treaty was bound to create an extraordinarily difficult situation. It was hard for the Lettish population to endure the prospect of being cut up.

The historical internal cohesion of the entire Baltic region suggested at that time objections against the possibility of a lasting separation between Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. But conditions arising from the difficult situation created, on the one part, by the complete dissolution of the Russian State, and, on the other, for us by the desire and necessity of arriving at a certain settlement in the east, involved for us the necessity of concluding peace as it was done.

In agreement with the entire German public we resolved to give ear to Livonia's appeal for help and replace the reign of terror carried on by the Red Guards by a reign of peace and order. The inhabitants of these provinces, mindful of the misgovernment and terrible sufferings which they must endure, turned to the German authorities.

The Imperial Government from the outset took the standpoint that it was highly desirable, before finally giving diplomatic recognition to the States which detached themselves from the former Russian Empire, to come to an understanding with Russia as to the form which the recognition of such States should take. This line of conduct will not be departed from.

After referring to the discussion which had taken place with the Soviet Government, Dr. von Kühlmann said that a conference was about to be held in Berlin, under his Presidency, at which an attempt would be made to bring about friendly agreement on all points still pending. He added:

I can express the hope that the discussions will completely correspond with the requirements and wishes of the populations there and the interests of the German people. I will not go more closely into the future of Courland and Lithuania, which lie mainly within the domain of the home department.

POLISH SETTLEMENT

Dealing with the question of Poland, Dr. von Kühlmann said that not only was the Polish question inherently a difficult one, but the almost inseparable connection between it and the solution of the economic questions existent between Austria-Hungary and Germany had so far prevented the attainment of a definite result. He continued:

I believe, however, that before there are general peace negotiations in Europe the zealous efforts of the statesmen concerned will result in their succeeding in finding a solution acceptable to all parties.

In South Russia our occupation of the Crimea gave rise to certain incidents respecting the Russian fleet, but these have been satisfactorily settled.

The Foreign Secretary said that an agreement had been reached by which the fortifications on the Åland Islands, in the Baltic, were to be removed, but that a final decision had not yet been reached regarding the future of the islands.

We hope and desire, however, [he said,] that this question will be so settled that the maximum guarantee can be given that to the advantage of all dwellers on the Baltic coast the nonemployment of the islands for military purposes may be assured for all time.

In Austria-Hungary that brilliant representative of her foreign policy, Count Czernin, retired because of internal political reasons. His successor, Baron Burian, is a well-trying diplomat, whose loyalty, friendship, and devotion to the alliance were assured from the outset. The personal and cordial collaboration which existed in the case of Count Czernin, and which contributed to the final settlement and solution of all questions, also exists in the case of Baron Burian.

THE EMPERORS' PACT

It is also to be reckoned among Baron Burian's services that an interview between the two Emperors occurred at main headquarters which history will record as momentous in shaping the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both the Emperors, in the presence of leading statesmen, assured each other solemnly that they would not only loyally abide by the existing alliance but that they also intended to strengthen, widen, and deepen it in political, military, and economic directions.

Pursuant to the expression of the will of these two august personages, responsible statesmen forthwith entered into corresponding negotiations. During his visit to Berlin Baron Burian discussed the fundamental questions thoroughly in conferences with the Chancellor, the exchange of views being carried on further in writing. They probably will be continued on the occasion of the Chancellor's return visit to Vienna.

With Bulgaria, too, recent events, especially the peace negotiations, have facilitated the drawing closer of many personal and political ties. It is a matter of regret, which the German public shares, that Premier Radoslavoff, who has been a pillar of our alliance, recently resigned

for internal political reasons. The explicit assurances of his successor and the exalted personality of the great statesman who wears the Bulgarian crown are a guarantee to us that there will be no change in the policy hitherto followed.

Dr. von Kühlmann again went over the question of the Dobrudja, which is the subject of negotiations between Turkey and Bulgaria, and added: "But there does not exist any conflict in interest between us and Turkey."

He announced that within the next few days a conference would be held at Constantinople, where the questions that had arisen between the Quadruple Alliance and "the Caucasian people" would "find a settlement."

In her advance from territories falling to her under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [said Dr. von Kühlmann,] Turkey, for reasons of safety, pushed the left wing of her advancing troops into regions which indubitably could not be permanently occupied or annexed. The Chiefs of Staff have discussed this matter and the Turkish advance in the Caucasus has stopped.

Turkey found herself obliged quite recently by the strategic developments in Upper Mesopotamia to utilize the Batum-Tabriz-Julfa line of communication across the Aderbajan region of Persia to the Tigris Valley.

Following Dr. von Kühlmann's speech the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Hertling, addressed the Reichstag. "I said that the four points of President Wilson," the Chancellor asserted, "might possibly form the basis of a general world peace. 'No utterance of President Wilson what-ever followed this, so that there is no object in spinning any further the threads there started. There is less object after statements made since that time have reached us, especially from America.'"

Foreign Secretary Severely Criticised

Count Westarp, the leader of the Conservatives, in his reply to the Foreign Secretary spoke as follows:

What Herr von Kühlmann said concerning the causes of the war and the blame for the war appears to me open to criticism. Russia, he said, is to blame for the war; England only in the last days did not precisely stop it. He has thereby

again dug up the already-buried hatchet. I consider it desirable in the highest degree to say this.

It is England who claims exclusive dominion over the world and the seas. She, therefore, years ago resolved to annihilate Germany at a given opportunity. Mr. Balfour has just declared this clearly enough. England willed that we should not receive the fruits of our up-

ward progress. She, therefore, incited the world against us. England was Loki, and Russia the blind Hoder. [Two demigods of Norse mythology; the former the personification of crafty evil; the latter the victim of his guile.] The struggle with England must be waged for the very end of existence or nonexistence, and in England's case it is certainly a matter of conflict of two world views, of a conflict against the idolatry of money. It is for us a struggle against the domination of Anglo-Saxon capital.

A simple agreement in the nature of a treaty with England is not sufficient to render possible existence for Germany in the future, but increase in German power is necessary to place us in a position to assert our standpoint, even against England.

For this, too, Belgium and the Flemish coast must come under German influence. I therefore am unable to agree in thinking that besides Germany's integrity there is no subject which can prevent negotiations. No, Herr Staatssekretär, we demand that. Together with that there are axioms which must be in no way departed from.

A declaration such as that of the Foreign Secretary is not calculated to strengthen the will for peace. I regard that as an illusion. I fear it will be regarded abroad as a new peace offer. If the aim is not rightly shown, neither is the way. An appeal to England's good-will is of no use whatever. It is a commonplace, moreover, that negotiations belong to a conclusion of peace and that arms alone do not bring peace; but the presupposition is that the parties also come to negotiations. If they do not wish to come, they must be compelled to come, and there comes in the victory of our arms.

Dr. von Kühlmann, in replying to his critics, said:

Once legends have arisen they are difficult to destroy, but I must declare, with a view to counterattacking the growth of a legend, that there can be no question of my having bound myself to the idea of a long war.

The foregoing was evoked by a Deputy who referred to "Dr. von Kühlmann's expectation of a war of very long duration."

One of the most criticised points in the main speech of von Kühlmann was his reference to negotiations, not military decisions, ending the war. Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the National Liberal leader, Count von Westarp, and others protested warmly against this statement.

Dr. Stresemann said that the speech had a most depressing effect. It offered the German people, he added, stones for bread. The Deputy declared that not negotiations, but hammer blows, brought peace in the east, and that the reason the world refused to believe in German victories was because German statesmen were almost afraid to mention them.

In reply, the Foreign Secretary explained that what he meant was that military success must be followed by diplomatic negotiations. Chancellor von Hertling also emphasized the same point, saying that von Kühlmann's statement must not be regarded as weakening the German determination for victory.

Attacks by Socialist Leaders

Deputy Haase's answer to Foreign Secretary Kühlmann was extremely caustic. A full extract is given herewith as showing the attitude of the minority party of the German Socialists:

This House has today witnessed a scene such as never before has been enacted within its walls. Herr von Kühlmann has obediently agreed to his execution and obediently allowed the halter to be placed round his neck. He has in no degree known how to die beautifully.

The Chancellor has repudiated no word of Count Westarp's concrete expression of the conditions of power of our Imperial Government. We see now with amazing clearness that a military autocracy, for which Count Hertling and Herr von Kühl-

mann are but fig leaves, rules over it solely and alone.

The man who really governs, namely, General Ludendorff, should be placed in the Chancellor's chair. The annexations must be completed, the conflict with England fought out to annihilation. That is Count Westarp's gospel. The conflict must be fought out, even though the German people go down in the process.

Herr von Kühlmann should have looked through all the Pan-German literature if he thinks that no intelligent man in Germany thinks of world dominion. As he will now have leisure to occupy himself with it outside of office, I am ready to place the material at his disposal. * * *

Herr Stresemann also has spoken of our victory. How often have we heard this

prophecy? Herr Helfferich and Admiral Capelle told us in committee in 1917 that America could not enter the war and that her military significance was equal to nil. Today 700,000 Americans stand on French soil, and one hears no more of the U-boat booty resulting from the hunt after American transport ships.

We can only, therefore, regard with the deepest distrust Westarp's and Stresemann's announcements that Kühlmann's speech of yesterday has been completely smashed down by the Chancellor's of today. Have the plans concerning Longwy and frontier adjustments in the Vosges been given up? We have no ground to assume that the Imperial Government has unconditionally rejected them.

REGARDING BELGIUM

No word has been uttered concerning Belgium. That attack was not to be justified, not even by Bethmann Hollweg's proclaimed "right of necessity." The declaration of the Council of Flanders is an imposture, [Machwerk.] Every intelligent Fleming turns away from it with contempt. [Great disturbance and cries of "Shame!"] This fact cannot be abolished by any cry of "Shame!"

The peace resolution was stillborn on July 19, 1918. [Laughter.] It has not lived. The Centre and the Progressives have openly declared their abandonment of it.

Has the Government done everything to win confidence in its respectability and chivalry from its adversaries? Russian prisoners of war are still treated as hostile foreigners, despite the Brest treaty. What has happened to atone for the unheard-of act of violence committed against the Ukraine Rada, and thereby against the conventions of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty?

Soul-stirring appeals for help for the Armenians against the brutal violence of the Turks, who are striving for their complete extinction, have passed unheeded. The victims are counted by hundreds of thousands. And no one has had the courage to redeliver the districts of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to the Turks. The Turks have not only to discontinue their onward march into the Caucasus, they have to leave the Caucasus altogether.

ABUSES IN RUSSIA

In Livonia and Esthonia the German police power which wished to create order there dwells as in a conquered country and treats the people with the worst arbitrariness. Conditions which absolutely cry to heaven prevail in Riga. Boys 10 years old are condemned to severe punishment by imprisonment because they distributed proclamations to prisoners; and prisoners are tortured in a manner recalling the

worst period of the Czar's rule. German military power has everywhere acted as the cutthroat of the Russian revolution, as the suppressor of freedom.

In Finland, the White Terror has raged furiously against the working population, and nothing pains us more than the fact that German workers have contributed thereto. Herr Svinhufvud has received his earned wage—he is decorated with the Iron Cross. Perhaps he has sought out in Berlin also an aspirant to the Finnish throne, if the resolution to introduce a monarchy in Finland, which has been forced through by him, is, indeed, to be realized.

The Germans have oppressed the Ukrainian people with a Government of frightful reaction personified in Skoropadski. What is desired respecting Baku? The Georgians declare that Baku does not belong to Georgia. Is it desired to shut off the Soviet Republic from its sources of help? Is it desired to shut it off from the White as from the Black Sea? Is it desired to throttle it economically?

We do not believe in miracles. If things go on according to the will of our military autocracy, Germany will be ruined, if the masses of the people do not comprehend at length that they themselves must take the business in hand. The capitalistic world order is collapsing. An end will only be made of it by the Socialist world order.

SCHEIDEMANN'S SPEECH

The position of the German Government was attacked again on July 3 by the Socialists, in a debate regarding the Rumanian treaty, during which the German Vice Chancellor, von Payer, asserted that Germany desired a "peace by understanding." Philipp Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, asserted that the Socialists objected to many stipulations of the treaty and reserved their attitude toward it. He asked that the Government take the initiative in stopping air raids on open towns.

Reverting to Secretary von Kühlmann's speech of June 24, Herr Scheidemann said that it had created a sensation because "it expressed in the form of a program what has long been known to be the Government's opinion." He added: "Unfortunately, Dr. von Kühlmann was obliged the next day to obliterate the impression caused. His retreat before main headquarters opens 'unpleasant vistas.' Attacking the

Government for not representing its views as a whole, Herr Scheidemann said:

We want a Government which knows, like the army leaders, how to beat its adversary. To the present Government we are unable to vote even a budget.

Georg Ledebour, a Social Democratic leader, was called to order by the President of the Chamber for declaring that "it is the duty of the German proletariat everywhere to issue a summons for a revolution."

Friedrich von Payer, the Imperial Vice Chancellor, replied to Herr Scheidemann.

It is well [he said] that the Socialists' rejection of the budget is merely a demonstration, for if the other parties acted likewise the cause of the Fatherland and freedom would not be served.

Herr Scheidemann's reference to peace, he added, did not call for a fresh Governmental declaration.

What would result after our previous experiences? [he asked.] The usual result is to excite the people and cause a conflict of view in this country and abroad. One sees, indeed, something that looks like a tiny spark and that evokes hope of better insight on the part of our enemies, but it is in general so weak that the

disadvantages abroad arising from such declarations cannot be outweighed by it.

These disadvantages are that the enemy Governments, in order to maintain cohesion and incite their peoples, give a false meaning to our sincerely meant words, suggesting that they mean we are unable to bring the war to a victorious end.

Herr von Payer assented to Herr Scheidemann's declaration of the German peace terms, "The conclusion of peace with honor and without prejudicing Germany in the peace terms," declaring that the German Government had gone beyond this formula. "We must wait until the enemy's will to war and will to destruction are broken," he added. He defended the army command, and said:

In a war of such duration and importance the civil leaders cannot proceed quite independently of the army leaders, nor vice versa. We cannot dispute the right of the army leaders if they lead us to victory and peace.

The Government, he asserted, would go its way, for that way did not lead to military despotism nor to a peace of conquest, but to a peace of understanding, for which the majority in the House and the entire Government were striving.

Rumanian Peace Treaty Ratified

King Ferdinand Accepts the Terms

THE Rumanian Peace Treaty was ratified by the German Reichstag on July 3, 1918, and by the Rumanian Senate on July 6. Ratification by Austria was postponed until the meeting of the Reichsrat in August. There was a bitter discussion in the German House before the treaty was agreed to. The Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Kühlmann, spoke as follows:

As the question is by far the most thorny of the matters dealt with in the Rumanian Peace Treaty, and still offers considerable difficulties, I feel obliged once more formally to declare before this high House that it was never the intention of the negotiators, and never the intention of the Governments of the allied Central Powers, that the condominium in the Northern Dobrudja should be anything but a temporary measure, that there

has never for a moment been any doubt on the subject among the allied Central Powers, and that, above all, we never desired to doubt the wishes and aspirations of our loyal and brave Bulgarian ally respecting this land, to which historical and national ties bind Bulgaria.

We all take the standpoint that this provisional arrangement, which we desire shall be as short as possible, must find its natural solution in the union of the Northern Dobrudja with Bulgaria in accordance with the desires of the Bulgarian people. As in the present case it is a matter of differences of opinion between two of our allies, differences of opinion which we are all convinced can be bridged, and, with good-will on both sides, will be bridged, we must, as being bound by exactly equal ties to our two allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, carefully avoid everything which could evoke the impression abroad that German policy, that the substantial factors of German public life, favored the wishes and claims

of one at the expense of the other. Any such idea could only lead to delaying and rendering more difficult the speedy solution of the question which we all hope for.

DOBRUDJA PROBLEM

The question of the Dobrudja or that of the compensation which is due to our loyal Turkish ally, if this question be solved in the Bulgarian sense, has in a high degree excited the public opinion of both countries, and the public opinion of the two countries is still looking with keen attention for every expression of opinion from the great friendly States of the Central Powers, and from this point of view I would prefer not to oppose an opinion which has been expressed today in the House, but to interpret it.

The Deputy, Dr. Stresemann, used a phrase which might cause the impression that there was an inclination on our part in favor of Bulgarian wishes and to lay less weight on the just claims of our Turkish ally. I am convinced that this interpretation was very far from Dr. Stresemann's mind. There is nothing further from the minds both of the Imperial Government and the entire public, especially the big leading parties of this House, than to desire to favor the wishes and aspirations of one ally at the expense of the other.

One note sounded today in many speeches was a certain mistrust of Rumania, which persists even after the conclusion of peace. Certainly after the experiences of this war complete and undivided trust cannot return immediately. Policy and public opinion will necessarily continue to adopt a waiting attitude toward the development of things in that country, formerly a friend of ours, but this judgment must not be marked by open mistrust. In my opinion, the history of the events preceding the war, which I will not here go into, absolutely proves that the great majority of the Rumanian people were driven into this war against their will by a small number of partly selfish, partly light-minded, partly criminal politicians and business men.

Herr Ledebour here interjected, "just as in other countries, too," and a voice from the Right said, "Where then? In America, perhaps?" Herr von Kühlmann continuing, said:

The attitude hitherto adopted by the Rumanian Cabinet with which we concluded peace gives a guarantee, so far as I can see, that those persons whose guilt can be shown will be brought to account, and the fact that this comes from the Rumanian people of their own free will, without any attempt at pressure from outside, gives this action of national atone-

ment its true worth for us also, and it will depend on the carrying out of this action of national atonement how the further course of Rumanian policy is judged by our public opinion at large.

Herr von Kühlmann combated Herr Ledebour's closing remarks in the most emphatic and decided manner, saying that not only the house of Hohenzollern but also all the German princely houses had always worked, striven, and conquered in exemplary intimate union with the people. "I believe," he concluded, "that in these hard times no German looks up to his Kaiser otherwise than with a feeling of respect and gratitude. The German Princes, especially the Hohenzollerns, stand too high for utterances such as that to which we have just listened with great regret to be able even to soil their boots."

DYNASTIES DENOUNCED

Herr Grober (Centre Party) praised the Rumanian Treaty, and expressed the hope of a speedy settlement of the question of the Northern Dobrudja and of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier dispute about the territory near Adrianople, and said that the Southern Dobrudja must fall to Bulgaria.

Count Westarp (Conservative) said the peace treaty safeguarded the Hungarian frontier by acquisitions of territory, and the same course must be taken to safeguard the frontiers of Germany. States which disregarded their obligations toward Germany must not go unpunished; they should remember this when the British rule of violence demanded that they should participate in the destruction of Germany.

According to the Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung, Herr Stresemann (National Liberal) said: "We might have wished that the Rumanian dynasty had disappeared. There is ever the danger that Bucharest remains an Entente nest where threads can be spun against Germany."

According to the Vorwärts Herr Ledebour, Independent Socialist, said:

The demand is made for the punishment of the tormentors of German prisoners in Rumania. We approve of that, but we demand the same also respecting similar

occurrences in Germany. Count Westarp regrets that his treaty was concluded with the Hohenzollern dynasty in Rumania. We are of opinion that dynasties are everywhere doing mischief. Accounts will be settled in the Reichstag with the dynasties which have driven their people to destruction by a wrong policy. A beginning is made with the Hohenzollerns in Rumania, and the turn of the others will come later. We desire no punishment of foreign peoples, no introduction of a spirit of revenge into peace treaties, but the establishment of peace and friendship with all peoples. The peace treaties so far concluded are only armistice treaties containing the germs of later wars.

KING FERDINAND'S SPEECH

The following was the speech from the throne delivered by King Ferdinand at the opening of the Rumanian Parliament in Jassy, June 18, 1918:

Senators and Deputies: Now, as ever, it gives me lively satisfaction to be in the midst of the nation's representatives. Coming from the recent general election, you bring me the real feelings of the country concerning the hard decisions which are under our careful examination.

Thrown on its own resources, our country with noble and high-minded patriotism has sacrificed the flower of its brave sons, but the prolongation of armed resistance would have exhausted its strength to the point of destruction, and Rumania has concluded a peace which was forced upon her as a necessary condition of her existence. In accordance with the prescription of the Constitution, the terms of the peace treaty will forthwith be submitted to the Legislature for approval. This treaty manifestly imposes painful sacrifices upon the nation, but the Rumanian people will examine it with that manliness which exact comprehension of the State's interests in face of the real position lends.

Meanwhile, let us thank Heaven that precisely in the hour of these trials the feeling of belonging to a common race has brought back to the mother country the beautiful Moldavian land which was torn from the soil of our fathers, and has thrown the Bessarabian people into her arms in order to enhance her strength for labor and her faith in the future. The good reception which this great event met with on the part of the powers with whom we have been negotiating concerning peace has paved the way for the restoration of our friendship as it existed in the past. While maintaining good relations with other countries, we will endeavor to resume normal relations with the new States which are in the course of formation.

Senators and Deputies, the Finance Minister is unable as yet to submit to you

the normal Budget, for which the country will assuredly consent to make the requisite sacrifices. He will, however, lay before you a series of measures to enable the National Treasury to reduce the burden upon it and to satisfy the extraordinary requirements with which we are faced.

The crowning point of your work will be the fixing of the points of our Constitution, which we must revise so that in the shortest period and before any other constitutional change we may carry out agrarian reform and awaken the lower classes of the nation to real political life.

FORMER PREMIER'S VIEWS

Take Ionescu, the Rumanian ex-Premier, in a statement made July 4, asserted that Marghiloman, the present Premier, was simply a tool of the Germans, and that 99 per cent. of the Rumanian people were sympathetic with the Entente Allies. He said:

Germany is despoiling us of everything. Our grain, petroleum, wool, timber, and horses are being ruthlessly carried off to the Central Empires. According to the treaty the Germans should pay us for the grain, whereas, as a matter of fact, we have to turn it over to them at a price of \$395 the truckload, which is four times less than the cost price, while their Ukrainian grain costs them \$2.750. The German Government knows that in these conditions the farmers will have no laborers available for agriculture, and so has to reintroduce slavery, obliging the Marghiloman Cabinet to pass a law forcing work upon all up to 60 years of age.

The German General Bank of Bucharest is issuing paper money to the value of milliards and will continue to do so till the conclusion of a European peace. Meantime the treaty constrains us to pass these enormous quantities of notes.

Our liabilities in compensation for damages to the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish interests from the outset of the war are estimated at over three billions. We are further forced to pay all requisitions without anybody having the slightest approximate idea of what they amount to. We have also to maintain six divisions of Austro-German troops. The 3,650 square miles of territory of which we have been robbed, with its 170 towns and villages, has left Rumania without mountains and without natural frontiers.

The Germans have the great petroleum wells in working order again, have seized all the lands in their neighborhood, and have confiscated all the property belonging to foreign companies. Through-

out the oil region and along the Danube hundreds of motor lorries and wherries painted with the inscription "Kaiser-

liche Deutsche Marine" are busy landing and bearing off petrol for the enemy's submarines.

Germany's Control of the Danube

THE full text of the treaty known as the Peace of Bucharest, which was signed by Rumania and the Central Powers May 7, 1918, places the navigation of the Danube practically in the control of the Central Powers. The Entente Powers have informed the Rumanian Government that they do not recognize the treaty. The text of the chapter relating to the Danube follows:

CHAPTER VI.—REGULATION OF THE DANUBE NAVIGATION

Article XXIV.—Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard to the provisions subsequently set forth under A to D, and on condition that the provisions under B shall apply equally for all parties to the Danube act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation act shall begin in Munich as soon as possible after the ratification of the peace treaty.

A. Under the name of the Danube Mouth Commission, the European Danube Commission shall be maintained as a permanent institution with the powers, privileges, and obligations hitherto appertaining to it, for the river from Braila downward, inclusive of this port.

(1) The commission shall henceforth consist only of representatives of the States situated on the Danube or the European coasts of the Black Sea.

(2) The commission's authority extends from Braila downward to the whole of the arms and mouths of the Danube and the adjoining parts of the Black Sea. The orders issued by the Commissioner for the Sulina arm of the river shall be correspondingly applied to those arms, or parts of an arm, with which the commission has hitherto not been competent or exclusively competent to deal.

B. Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including its harbors. Rumania shall levy no tolls on the ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes, merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania in future levy on the river any dues or imposts save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation act.

C. The Rumanian *ad valorem* duty of one-

half of 1 per cent. on goods imported into and exported from that country's ports shall be abolished when the new Danube Navigation act comes into force and as soon as Rumania shall have introduced duties, in conformity with the new Danube Navigation act, for the use of public institutions which serve to develop shipping and the transport of goods, at the latest, five years after the ratification of the present peace treaty. The goods and rafts arriving on the Danube for expedition will not be subject to a traffic tax in Rumania on account of this expedition.

D. The cataract and Iron Gates sections to which the provisions of Article VI. of the Treaty of London of March 13, 1871, and Article LVII. of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, relate, comprise the sections of the river from O, in Moldavia, [referring to the map used by the contracting parties, which is not yet available,] to Turno-Severin, in their whole breadth from one bank to the other, including all the arms of the river and islands lying between them.

Consequently the obligations with regard to maintenance of the navigability of the cataract and Iron Gates sections, which were taken over by Austria-Hungary on the ground of the provisions of Paragraph 1 referred to, and were transferred to Hungary to carry out, as also the special privileges which accrued to Hungary from this, pass henceforth to the sections of the Danube more closely described in Paragraph 1. The States bordering this part of the river shall grant Hungary all the facilities which should be required of this State in the interest of the works to be carried out there by it.

Article XXV.—Until the Danube Mouth Commission meets, Rumania shall regularly administer the whole of the property of the European Danube Commission in its possession, and protect it from damage. Immediately after the signature of the peace treaty, a commission, consisting of at least two representatives of each of the contracting parties, shall satisfy itself as to the condition of the material held in custody by Rumania. A special agreement shall be concluded with regard to Rumania's obligation to immediate temporary surrender of this material.

Article XXVI.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania have the right to maintain warships on the Danube. These may navigate downstream as far as the sea, and upstream as far as the upper frontier of the territory of their respective States. They must not, however, enter into communication with the shore of another State, or put in there except in case of force

majeure, or unless the consent of the State in question be obtained through diplomatic channels. The powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission have the right to maintain two light warships each, as guardships, at the mouth of the Danube. These

may put in as far up as Bralla without special authority.

All rights and privileges appertaining to warships are preserved to the warships mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2, in the harbors and waters of the Danube.

Protest of Rumanians in Exile Against the Treaty of Bucharest

THE Rumanian people has been struck out of the ranks of free nations.

The peace which the Central Powers have imposed upon Rumania is the very negation of the political and economic independence of our native country. The treaty which embodies it is an instrument of hatred and vengeance wielded by a violent hand in contempt of the most elementary principles of justice. The Rumanian people cannot accept it. Rumania entered the war and took her place beside the powers of the Entente for the sake of liberty and democracy. Inspired by the hope of the unity and independence of the whole Rumanian people, she sprang to arms and for this ideal hundreds and thousands of Rumanians have poured out their blood. The Rumanian people can never consent to renounce their own national *raison d'être*.

Rumania's destruction has been brought about by a threefold treason, in which the Czar, the Bolsheviki, and, finally, the Ukraine Rada, have played their part. Surrounded, completely cut off from her allies, forced to renounce all hope of receiving even the least military assistance, and deprived of every means of supply and exhausted by her own strenuous efforts, and stricken by wounds and diseases, Rumania capitulated. But her valiant spirit has not lost confidence in the justice of the Rumanian cause or in the certainty of the final victory of right. Her enemies have imposed upon her what they call a peace of German friendship. It is in reality a most cruel and insulting enslavement; military enslavement through the loss of the Carpathian chain; political enslavement by the introduction of German

overseers in all the great departments of State; commercial enslavement through the rape of the Dobrudja, the only maritime province in Rumania, and by enemy control of the navigation of the Danube; industrial enslavement by the seizure of the oil wells, which constitute the principal mineral wealth of the country; financial enslavement by control of our whole export trade and especially of our principal product, grain. Such is the condition of political and economic serfdom to which the Germano-Turians desire to reduce Rumania. Might has vanquished right. Germany has trodden under foot the sacred principles of liberty and justice in defense of which the friendly nations of the west are now fighting in alliance. We Rumanians living in freedom, though in exile, in the noble and hospitable land of France, raise our voices in protest against this monstrous crime, and the sound of our protest is but an echo of the sentiments of the entire Rumanian Nation. The Act of Bucharest is no treaty of peace, it is a flagrant contradiction of the notions of peace, for it is not based upon the consent of those upon whom it is imposed. Indeed, the clauses of the treaty exclude the free consent of Rumania—in a word, the treaty is an act of violence committed by a pitiless enemy.

The Rumanian people disarmed and at the mercy of German bayonets, having neither freedom of action nor of opinion, is thus deprived of all liberty to record its protest against this despoiling peace, but it turns in mute appeal toward its great allies, full of confidence and hope. The interests of the Rumanian Nation are one with the interests of the great western democracies. Rumania

standing at the gates of the Balkan Peninsula forms a bulwark against the German advance southward toward Asia.

In the name of the Rumanian people we openly declare ourselves the allies of the Entente Powers and we proclaim the Treaty of Bucharest in every respect null and void. And in the very act of recording our protest we appeal to the allied Governments in the name of the Rumanian people, praying them not to abandon Rumania but to recognize her just claims. In the twentieth century the liberty of nations, like the liberty of the individual citizen, should be sacred. Neither force nor the written word of the treaty can destroy the inalienable right of every people to national unity and independence. History will not recognize any convention which is based upon a denial of these elementary rights.

As interpreters of the sentiments of our race, we address this protest to the Governments and to the peoples who are now fighting and enduring sacrifices for a generous ideal. We ask from you all justice and liberty.

Signed on behalf of the Committee of the Rumanian Colony in Paris, the Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina, and the Rumanian Delegates to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities:

C. Olanescu, former Minister, President of the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies; E. A. Pangrati, former Minister, Rector of Bucharest University; C. Angelesco, former Minister, Professor of Bucharest University; Paul Bratashano, Vice President of the Chamber and the Senate, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*; V. Atanasovici, Senator; George Cavadia, Senator; D. Draghicesco, Senator; J. Gavanescu, Senator, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Jassy; Dr.

Thoma Jonnesco, Senator, Rector of Bucharest University; Emile Miclesco, Senator, Director General of Railways; G. G. Mironesco, Senator, Professor of Bucharest University; St. Popp, Senator; St. S. Russenesco, Senator; R. Zmeureanu, Senator; A. Alexandresco, Deputy; E. Antonesco, Deputy, Professor of Bucharest University; D. Apostolu, Deputy; E. Canano, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Léon Cantacuzène, Deputy; Jean Th. Floresco, Vice President of the Rumanian Chamber; N. P. Guran, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Spiru D. Lalu, Deputy; Dr. N. Lupu, Deputy; D. G. Many, Deputy, Professor of L'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, Secretary General of the Ministry of Finance; Const. Mille, Deputy, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*, Director of the journals *Adeverul* and *Dimineatza*; C. L. Patzouri, Deputy; Pascal Tonesco, Deputy; P. Vasilescu, Deputy; St. Hérites, member of the Rumanian Academy; V. Dimitriu, Professor of Jassy University; D. Hurmuzescu, Professor of Bucharest University, Secretary General of the Ministry of Public Instruction; Trajan Lalesco, Professor of Bucharest University; C. Sipsom, Professor of Bucharest University; O. Tafrali, Professor of Jassy University; J. Ursu, Professor of Jassy University; D. Voinov, Professor of Bucharest University; A. Atanasu, professor; A. Bagdad; P. Barozzi, Commissioner; General Cocea; C. Cretzu, lawyer; M. Dancovici, lawyer; Emile D. Fagure, Chief Editor of the journals *Adeverul* and *Dimineatza*, member of the Editorial Board of *La Rumanie*; J. Fermo, publicist; Z. Florian, professor; C. Janculesco, engineer; Léon Lahovary; St. Moraresco Adria; A. Nicolesco, architect; I. Parashivesco, lawyer; R. Pleshoyano, engineer; S. Popini; G. Raut; N. S. Russenesco, agriculturist; A. Zeuceano, lawyer; Traian Vuia, President of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina; Dionisie Axentie, Jean Bortes, Moga, Joseph Mureseano, Nicora, Patruca, Jean Tisca, Joseph Tisca, members of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina.

Paris, 10-23 May, 1918.

Rumania and Bessarabia

By A. RUBIN

[Attaché to the Rumanian Legation at Washington]

AS an article published in the June issue of your very interesting magazine, under the heading, "The Rumanian Nation," (Page 385,) gives rather an inadequate view of the Bessarabian question, I send you this so as to vindicate a point of history. The Princi-

pality of Wallachia—also known in the fourteenth century as "Bessarabia," from the name of her sovereigns of the House of Bessarab—conquered during that epoch the southern part of the region lying between the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Danube, the northern part being

under the Moldavian crown; that region thus became a province of "Bessarabia." Later, the name of Bessarabia fell into disuse for Wallachia proper, and was preserved only by that part of the country which had been more closely connected with the Princes of that name, being their conquest and, one might say, their creation, as before their time it was little better than a "steppe" of roving Tartars.

The earliest historical origins of Bessarabia are thus purely Rumanian-Wallachian in the south, Moldavian in the north. In the succeeding centuries Wallachia declined and the entire region between the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dniester came under Moldavian rule. Save for Turkish encroachments on the southern border, this situation lasted until 1812, when the Russians annexed the province. As the decadence of the Principality of Moldavia had then reached its worst stage, Moldavia protested in vain, and the Turks, availing themselves of their right of suzerainty, consented to the grievous mutilation by which Moldavia lost half its territory, and which brought its capital within fifteen miles of the border. The Russians extended to the whole of their newly acquired possession the appellation of "Bessarabia."

After the Crimean war, the southern part of Bessarabia was restored to the Principality of Moldavia, which, still nominally under Turkish suzerainty, was really, now, under the joint protection of the great powers and virtually independent. When the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia united in 1859 to form Rumania, Bessarabia naturally became also a Rumanian province.

When Russia declared war against Turkey in 1877, she did not at that time announce to Rumania that she sought the restoration of that strip of land. On the contrary, as the Rumanian Government felt some misgivings because of information received from Vienna and other capitals which seemed to point that way, the Rumanian Delegate, during the discussion of the terms of the Military Convention with Russia, insisted that Russia should pledge herself to respect,

not only "the integrity of the Rumanian territory," as the first draft was worded, but "the integrity of the present Rumanian territory"; in the French text, "*l'intégrité actuelle * * **" (Art. 2 of that convention,) and the correction was accepted by the Russian Government; the treaty accordingly modified was signed on April 16, 1877.

Rumania was thus entitled to believe that the question was settled once for all, and her gallant soldiers gave most precious help to the Russians before Plevna and elsewhere. Unfortunately, Russia was not true to her word, signed peace without even consulting her ally—an anticipation of 1918—and informed Rumania that she was to give up Bessarabia. As Rumanian public opinion protested hotly against this unwarrantable breach of faith, Russia tried to suppress the protests of the country through terror, and threatened to disarm the army that had just been fighting alongside of her own soldiers. To this menace Prince Charles replied fittingly that the Rumanian Army might be crushed, but never disarmed. (Spring of 1878.)

The dispute went up before the Berlin Congress, but while the justice of Rumania's cause was recognized, circumstances were against her, for Austria had been bribed by the cession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other great powers were loath to come to a break with Russia on a question that was not vital for their interests. Rumania had thus to agree to exchange Bessarabia for Dobrudja, a Turkish province which had also belonged to Rumania in the Middle Ages.

During the time Bessarabia remained in Russian hands little civilizing work was done. Although it was one of the richest agricultural provinces of Southern Russia, it lacked roads and railways, and as the Rumanian language was persecuted and its use forbidden in Church and School, the result was that the population was left in the blackest ignorance. Now that Bessarabia is again a part of the mother country it is to be hoped that she will soon be able to efface the sad traces left by Russian tyranny, anarchy, and general misrule.

Bessarabia's Historical Background

[BY D. N. CIOTORI IN THE NEW EUROPE]

FOR more than five centuries (fourteenth to nineteenth) Bessarabia was an integral part of the Rumanian Principalities. Even before 1300 the dynasty of the Bessarabs, the builders of Wallachia, extended their power on both sides of the Danube as far as the sea; and on the death of Mircea the Old (1418) the Dobrudja of our days as well as the fortresses of Chilia and Cetatea Alba, or the southern part of Bessarabia, were among the Wallachian dominions. The name itself is a reminder of the dominating power of the Bessarabs over the southern districts of that country, the extent of which is revealed in the words of the Polish chronicler, Broniovius, in 1579: "Moldaviae et Valachiae inferioris pars quae olim Bessarabia dicta fuit." Today Bessarabia comprises the territory bordered by the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Black Sea, covering an area of about 17,620 square miles.

At the opening of the nineteenth century Bessarabia was still under the domination of the Moldavian crown, but in 1812 Russia proposed to annex the whole of Moldavia as the price of her victories against the Turks. Napoleon, however, who was then preparing his great campaign against the Russians, urged the Turks not to conclude peace on that basis; and doubtless they would have continued to resist the Russians had it not been that Moruzzi, the Dragoman of the Porte, sold Napoleon's secret to the Russians, who then hastened to sign peace, contenting themselves with Bessarabia as the spoil of war. Thus the Rumanians of Bessarabia were severed from their kinsmen of the two Danubian Principalities; and the injustice was only partially repaired in the Crimean War in 1856, when the southern districts of Cahul, Ismail, and Bolgrad were restored to Rumania. But at the Berlin Congress (1878) Bismarck and Andrassy, in their anxiety to prevent a rapprochement between Russia and Rumania, prompted the Russian Government to lay

hands upon Bessarabia once more—the land and home of the very Rumanian soldiers who had been fighting faithfully shoulder to shoulder with the Russians at Plevna.

After this annexation the commercial importance of Bessarabia waned, and her territory became an asylum for all kinds of political adventurers, strange religious sects, and the ragtag and bobtail of all East European nationalities. But beneath this frothy cosmopolitan surface the main current of Bessarabian life remained true, and never lost its essential Rumanian character. Despite all the efforts of the Russian Government to denationalize the population by the influence of the clergy, a bureaucracy, and an apostate nobility, the "Moldavians," as they call themselves, have clung tenaciously to their Rumanian nationality and have never forsaken the Rumanian language. Only in one or two cases, such as the great families of Purishkievitch and Krupenski, do we find any successful instance of this Russian policy of denationalization.

Throughout the nineteenth century Bessarabia retained her Rumanian character. In 1812, according to the reports of the Rumanian Academy in 1889, there were 350,000 Rumanians and 30,000 of other nationalities. Fifty years later an officer of the Russian General Staff, in a report on the Bessarabian Government, concluded that three-quarters of the whole population of the province were Rumanian. The Russian official statistics of 1890 and 1900 bear much the same witness, while an authentic and authoritative ethnographical chart published by the French historian, Rambaud, shows clearly that the Rumanians form an absolute majority of the population.

It is particularly important at this moment to remember that the Rumanian claim to Bessarabia rests on a firm foundation of history and upon the indisputable Rumanian character of the

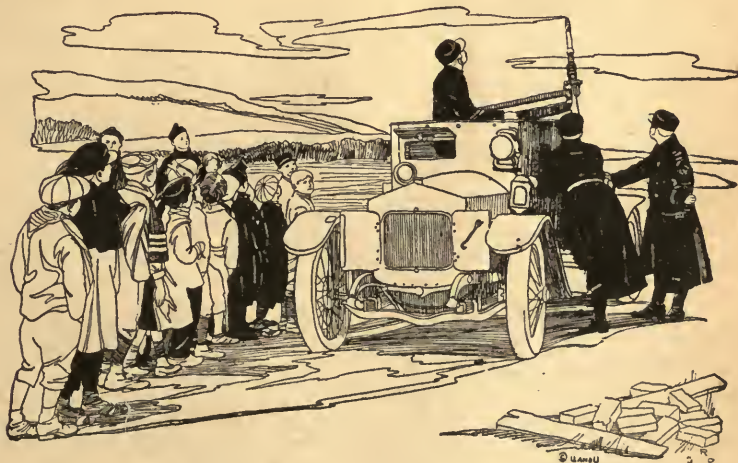
present population. It is therefore unjust and untrue to say that Rumania receives the offer of Bessarabia from the blood-stained hand of Germany as compensation for the humiliating peace imposed upon her. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is not honest commerce; and no one who knows the facts can admit that it is only as a matter of grace that Rumania can be allowed to annex Bessarabia. Revolutionary Russia, at all events, has recognized the right of the Bessarabian population to choose their own destiny, and by the self-determina-

tion thus accorded to them they elected a national assembly, which, by eighty-six votes to three, asked for re-union with Rumania. Thus an old injustice has been undone by New Russia, while a new and even more flagrant wrong has been committed by Germany. When Rumania emerges from her present nightmare, we may well believe that she will turn to the free Russian people, emancipated both from tyranny and from anarchy, in the hope of finding with them a friendly and peaceful basis for a new international co-operation.

Pershing at the Tomb of Lafayette

By AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

They knew they were fighting our war. As the months grew to years
 Their men and their women had watched through their blood and their tears
 For a sign that we knew, we who could not have come to be free
 Without France, long ago. And at last from the threatening sea
 The stars of our strength on the eyes of their weariness rose,
 And he stood among them, the sorrow-strong hero we chose
 To carry our flag to the tomb of that Frenchman whose name
 A man of our country could once more pronounce without shame.
 What crown of rich words would he set for all time on this day?
 The past and the future were listening what he would say—
 Only this, from the white-flaming heart of a passion austere,
 Only this—ah, but France understood! "Lafayette, we are here."



Bombing Hospitals

Testimony of Army Chaplains—Description of the Horrors

The bombing of hospitals by German airplanes in Flanders and Northern France is established on unquestioned evidence. In every instance proof was furnished that the hospitals were conspicuously marked, and there could not have been any doubt of their character. Colonel G. H. Andrews, Chaplain of a Canadian regiment, who arrived in New York on June 28, 1918, after three years' service overseas, described a German air attack on a hospital which took place May 29, 1918.

THE building bombed was one of three large Red Cross hospitals at Boulennes and was filled with allied wounded. A hospital in which were a number of wounded German prisoners stood not very far away.

"The Germans could not possibly have mistaken the building they bombed for anything else but a hospital," said Colonel Andrews. "There were flags with a red cross flying, and lights were turned on them so that they would show prominently. And the windows were brilliantly lighted. Those inside heard the buzz of the advancing airplanes, but did not give them a thought.

"The machines came right on, ignoring the hospital with the German wounded, indicating they had full knowledge of their objective, until they were over a wing of the Red Cross hospital that contained the operating room on the ground floor. In the operating room a man was on the table for a most difficult surgical feat. Around him were gathered the staff of the hospital and its brilliant surgeons. Lieutenant Sage of New York had just given him the anaesthetic when one of the airplanes let the bomb drop. It was a big fellow. It must have been all of 250 pounds of high explosive.

WOUNDED FALL THROUGH FLOORS

"It hurtled downward, carrying the two floors before it. Through the gap thus made wounded men, the beds in which they lay, convalescents, and all on the floors came crashing down to the ground. The bomb's force extended itself to wreck the operating room, where the man on the table, Lieutenant Sage, and all in the room were killed. In all

there were thirty-seven lives lost, including three Red Cross nurses.

"The building caught fire. The concussion had blown the stairs down, so that escape from the upper floors seemed impossible. But the convalescents and the soldiers, who had run to the scene of the bombing, let the very ill ones out of the windows, and escape was made that way.

"And then, to cap the climax, the German airplanes returned over the spot of their ghastly triumph and fired on the rescuers with machine guns. God will never forgive the Huns for that act alone. Nor will our comrades ever forget it."

The statement of Colonel Andrews was corroborated by a number of other officers.

DESCRIBED TO THE KING

The following first-hand account was given to King George of England by a Chaplain of the army on June 6, 1918, of an aerial attack upon a hospital in France by the Germans:

The hospital was a very large one, which received and evacuated something like 30,000 patients in thirty days. The particular section attacked was the Canadian section. The institution was situated near a railway and a small town, and while the Germans had a gun permanently trained on the town and had done much damage there, and had, moreover, consistently raided the neighborhood, the hospital had never previously been attacked, thus supplying proof positive that the nature of the place was well known, and that the German gunners and airmen had deliberately left it alone in accordance with the common practice of international law, the requirements of the Treaty of Berne, and the ordinary dictates of humanity.

The outrageous departure from this practice took place at about 12:30, (midnight.) Two machines appeared on the scene and

dropped three bombs. Two of the missiles fell on the outer wards, but one, a large incendiary bomb, fell plumb into the centre of the hospital, and caused a large conflagration. Forty-five nurses were in the hospital at the time, and all behaved with splendid heroism and self-sacrifice. An operation was actually in progress, and all concerned—surgeons, nurses, and patient—were killed.

On the second floor were a great many officers who were to have been evacuated two days later and to have gone home. Many fatalities occurred among them, and all the Sergeants on this floor were either killed or wounded. Three nurses and an American surgeon were among the killed, and many were badly maimed.

Although the fire lighted up the whole scene, one Hun machine returned and dropped two bombs, after which the enemy turned his machine gun upon the staff, nurses, and patients who were striving to get the occupants into the open.

During the attack the nurses steadfastly refused to take cover or avail themselves of such protection as would have been afforded by getting beneath the beds. On the contrary, they did their utmost to cheer and comfort the patients, gave them pillows with which to cover up their heads, and did for them everything that was possible. Even so, patients were killed or wounded, and many of these devoted women paid for their pluck and resource by cruel maiming from the brutal and deliberate savagery to which they were subjected.

PROTEST BY CONAN DOYLE

The following protest was issued in May by the author, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, against the bombing of hospitals:

It is our own nerveless policy which exposes us to the outrages of the Huns. They will do what they think they can do with impunity, and they will avoid that which entails punishment. When Miss Cavell was shot we should at once have shot our three leading prisoners. When Captain Fryatt was murdered we should have executed two submarine Captains. These are the arguments which the German mentality can understand. Two years ago you allowed me to plead in your columns for the bombing of the Rhine towns, and now, when at last it is partly done, we at once hear the cry for a truce in such warfare—the very result which I had predicted. But alas for the two wasted years! Now we have to deal with the bombing of hospitals. German prisoners should at once be picketed among the tents, and the airman captured should be shot, with a notice that such will be the fate of all air-men who are captured in such attempts. We have law and justice on our side. If they attempt a reprisal, then our own counter-reprisals must be sharp, stern, and re-

lentless. If we are to have war to the knife, then let it at least be equal for both parties.

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE.

Windlesham, Crowborough, Sussex, May 24.

PROTEST TO THE PRUSSIAN ORDER OF ST. JOHN

The Special Chapter of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem held a meeting at London May 14, 1918, the Duke of Connaught (Grand Prior) presiding, and resolved that the following communication be sent to the Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg and members of the Johanniter Orden in Germany—which is the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Prussia—protesting against the sinking of hospital ships, the ill-treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and continued breaches of the Geneva Convention:

14th May, 1918.

We, Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Grace, and other members of the said Order in Chapter-General solemnly assembled, desire to approach the most illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Honor, and other members of the Johanniter Orden, with regard to certain belligerent acts committed by the Imperial German Government during the present war, which appear to us to be opposed to the declarations, maxims, and professions of our ancient and illustrious Order of Christian Chivalry. Strongly imbued with the spirit of our order, we would beg of the noble members of the Johanniter Orden to petition his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor and exercise their influence with the Imperial German Government to prevent henceforth the sinking of hospital ships, to foster in all camps the humane treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and to observe scrupulously all the provisions of the Geneva Convention. We regret to record our opinion that in these respects the Government of his Imperial Majesty has not always acted up to the ideals and laws of our Christian brotherhood. These objects are so much the purpose and goal for which our ancient order has continually striven that we appeal with the more confidence to its eminent members in Germany, in the hope and belief that they will unite with us in endeavoring to uphold our historic mottoes, "Pro Fide"

and "Pro Utilitate Hominum," and to maintain the highest standard of Christian generosity, chivalry, mercy, and honor.

To the Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg of the Johanniter Orden and Knights and Members of the Orden.

The communication is signed by the Duke of Connaught, (Grand Prior,) the Earl of Plymouth, (Sub-Prior,) Colonel Sir Herbert Jekyll, (Chancellor,) and the Right Hon. Evelyn Cecil, (Secretary General.)

HORRORS OF PRISON CAMPS

In the June number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was printed a full extract of the report of Sir Robert Younger's committee on the treatment of British prisoners in German camps. Since that report was issued (April 11, 1918) other evidence of maltreatment of prisoners was obtained by the Government. The following are typical instances:

One man, who was captured on the morning of March 28, 1918, was made to work for two hours. Immediately after he was taken prisoner, serving a German field gun with ammunition and digging out a position for it under British fire. A witness was captured on March 21, 1918, and with about twenty others was taken to a German battery in action and made to carry shells and make a dump of them beside the road near Quéant. At Villers (near Cagnicourt) he was with a party, including warrant officers, N. C. O.'s, and men of the R. A. M. C., who were made to work on roads and light railways. If they did not work hard for eight hours a day they were knocked about with rifle butts or sticks. After a week at Villers they were marched to Ecourt (five miles from the front line) and put in a cage which was within range of the British guns. Here they worked under shell fire and the treatment was worse than they had previously experienced. The witness saw four men set to carry a marquee—a six-man job. Owing to the weight and the state of the ground they fell, whereupon a German Corporal and another man hit them with sticks. One man was thrashed till he lay on the ground

groaning. One working party had a Corporal killed and three men wounded by shell fire.

BEATEN, STARVED, AND UNDER FIRE

A third man reports that after being captured with ten others after dusk on March 24, 1918, they were questioned and marched from place to place for a long time, and he adds: "We were under artillery fire when we rested. This was about 1 P. M. on the 26th, and we had had no food since we were captured on the 24th, and nothing to drink except shell-hole water." This was their fate till dusk, when they tried to escape. One was shot, but the witness arrived in the British lines about 1 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th. Since dusk on the 24th he had been given no food at all and had had only three hours' sleep.

Another witness says: "I met one man who had been working behind the German lines. He said they were very badly treated * * * many died of weakness. When fresh batches were captured the Germans kept them working in the lines instead of sending them to the registered camps. Either this man or another that I met told me that a man died in his hut and his body was there three days before it was removed."

Further testimony: "Four of our prisoners were brought to Meschede while I was there who had been working behind the German lines. It was pitiful to see them; they were nothing but skin and bone. We could hardly recognize them as Englishmen. * * * They were in a terrible state." Though noncombatants, two men of the R. A. M. C. were made by the Germans to work in labor companies at Sagnicourt, Rumancourt, and Ecoust. One was hit in the back with the butt of a rifle by the guard. He saw two men knocked down and one who fainted from weakness, due to overwork and under-feeding.

Another witness was placed in one of the four prisoners' cages outside Cagnicourt, (about eight miles from the firing line.) "There was," he says, "no shelter for two days, and the Germans then put up two huts, which accommodated about 400, sitting down between each other's knees. There were 1,200 in the camp. After being captured they got no food for twenty-four hours." He was told that 200 prisoners had gone to hospital with dysentery, and on the morning he escaped 400 were reported sick.

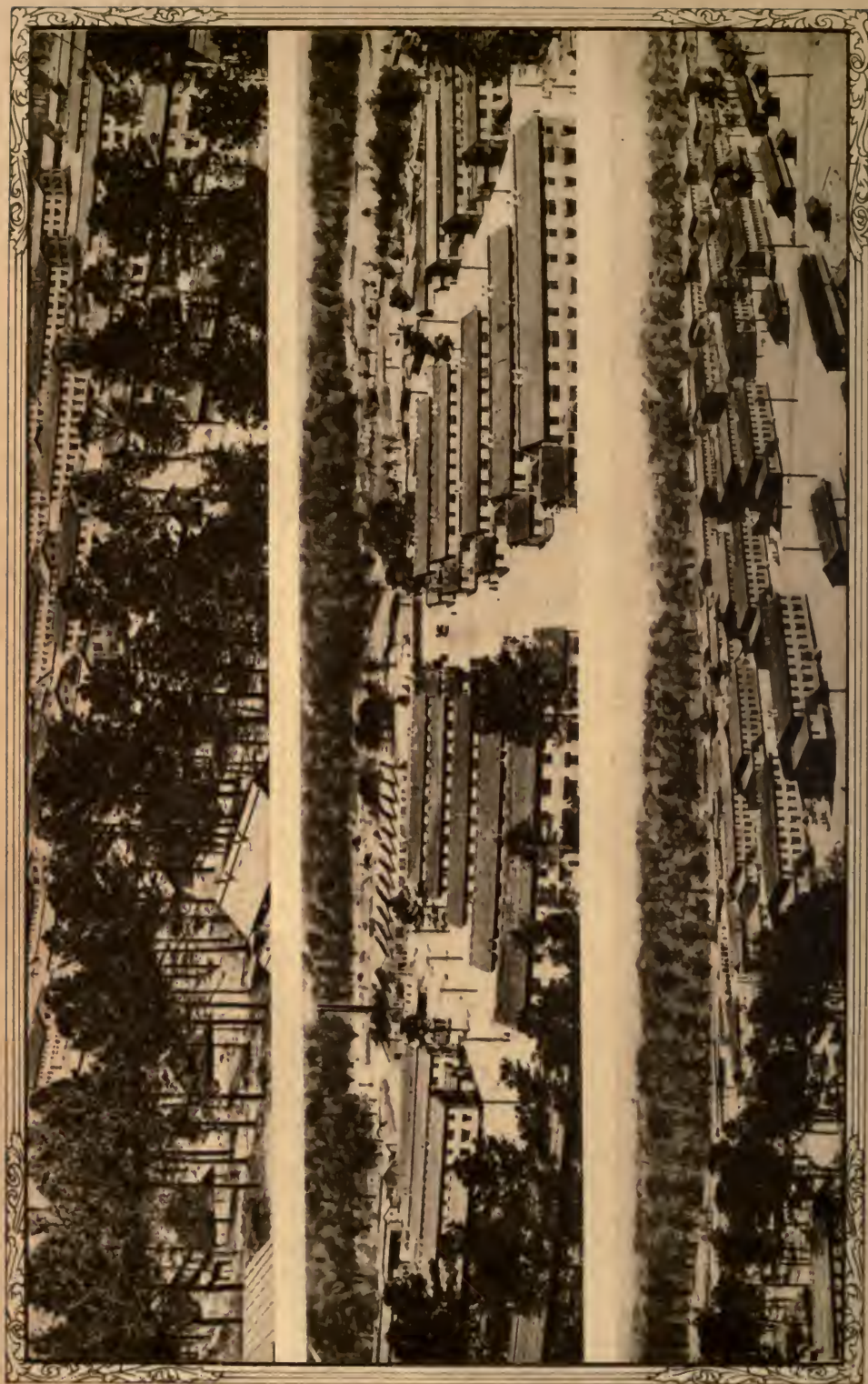




The new British type of tank, which is much faster and lighter than the original model. It is known as the "whippet"
(British Official from Underwood)



Armored man-power tank, used by the French, for cutting barbed wire entanglements
(Inter. Film Service)



PANORAMIC VIEW OF CAMP JACKSON NEAR COLUMBIA, S. C.

Belgian Courts Superseded

All Civil Trials in Flanders Conducted by German Judges in the German Language

[OFFICIAL]

The following account of the arbitrary measures taken by the German authorities in occupied Belgium in matters relating to courts of justice was issued by the Belgian Government in June, 1918:

EVER since the beginning of the invasion the Belgian court, conscious of its high social mission and of the duties which it entails, has never ceased to render justice with complete independence in spite of the difficulties created by the enemy occupation and the rigorous measures taken by the German authorities at the instance of several of its members.

This situation has come to an end; German jurisdiction has been established in Belgium, following upon acts which constitute on the part of the occupying authority an interference in the exercise of the judiciary power, a blow at its independence, and a flagrant disregard of the provinces of the Fourth Hague Convention, signed by Germany.

Guarantees of independence had been solemnly given to the Belgian court by the chief of the German administration, who in a letter dated March 21, 1916, addressed to the Court of Cassation in the name of Governor General von Bissing, wrote as follows:

Any fears which might be entertained in the Belgian court as to the danger to which it was exposed by the German administration—in regard to the independence of the Judge in the exercise of justice, which independence has been guaranteed by the Constitution as well as by the law of nations—are quite without foundation.

As was set forth by M. Terlinden, Procurator General, at the Court of Cassation of Belgium, in his charge Feb. 11, 1918, the Court of Appeals of Brussels was convoked on Feb. 7, in joint session of all the chambers, on the initiative of two of its members, to consider certain acts, discourses, and denunciations emanating from a group of persons, all of Belgian nationality, which took the

title of "Raad van Vlanderen," and which had decreed the independence and autonomy of one part of the Belgian territory. Referring to Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, it summoned the Procurator General to cause a search to be made and to seize the authors, co-authors, and accomplices of the acts denounced in conformity with Articles 104, 105, and 110 of the Penal Code, 2 and 3 of the decree of July 20, 1831, and 1 of the law of March 25, 1891.

The next day, Feb. 8, a Counselor of Justice in uniform, alleging that he was acting in the name of the German Governor General, seized the memorandum of this meeting in the Palace of Justice in the private office of the Procurator General, and set at liberty Borms and Tack, arrested that same morning by the presiding Justice.

The next day, Feb. 9, toward evening, the German police arrested at their homes the Judges, Lovy-Morelle, Jamar, Ernst, and Carez, who were interned in the camp of Celle Schloss in Germany. Mr. Jamar, because of the condition of his health, was almost immediately given his liberty.

On Feb. 10 the German authority announced to the Counselors of the Court of Appeals of Brussels that in participating at the meeting of Feb. 7 they had associated themselves with a political manifestation, and that as a consequence it forbade them any further practice of their profession.

On Feb. 11, after having listened to the charge of the Procurator General, Terlinden, the Court of Cassation recalled that the Court of Appeals, sitting in accordance with Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, had confined itself to charging its Procurator General to pur-

sue offenders against Belgian nationality under laws still in force, which no decree of the occupying enemy had deprived of their validity; it declared further that the interference of the governing authority was not compatible with the absolute independence of judicial functions nor with the laws which still govern them.

It added that, above all, the arrest of Messrs. Levy-Morelle, Ernst, and Carez, and the suspension of the Counselors of the Brussels Court of Appeals for legally performing their functions of judicature were in direct opposition to the fundamental rules of the law of nations and with the solemn promises made to the court by the Government of the occupying authority; that they constituted a denial of the complete liberty and independence of the Judge in the exercise of his duties, depriving his decisions of the authority which ought to be inherent in judgments.

The Court of Cassation announced as a consequence that, without abdicating its functions, it would suspend its hearings. On Feb. 12 the civil tribunal of the first instance in Brussels, considering especially that, according to the Constitution and laws of the Belgian people, it could exercise its functions only conjointly with the Court of Appeals of the same city, unanimously decided to suspend its activity without abdicating its functions. The commercial tribunal of Brussels declared itself in the same sense in a general assembly on Feb. 13. Successively, the judiciary bodies of the whole country adopted the same line of conduct.

All the attempts made by neutral powers to induce the German authorities to recall the measures taken in regard to the Belgian magistrates—who had done nothing but carry out the obligations which inhered in their position—were in vain.

Under the fallacious pretext of assuring the maintenance of public order and security by the application of Article 43 of The Hague Convention, which he had violated so brazenly, the Governor General in Belgium published on March 26, 1918, a notice announcing the creation of

German tribunals: "Until these tribunals enter upon their duties," he added, "the military commandants are charged with the duty of repressing crimes and delinquencies according to Section 18, 'third paragraph, of the 'Kaiserliche Verordnung' of Dec. 28, 1899."

A few days later an ordinance dated April 7 appointed German tribunals for repressive measures. According to its terms repressive justice is to be rendered in Belgium by imperial district courts with no duties but to administer the law, (Article 1.) The judiciary language is German, (Article 6;) these tribunals will apply the Penal Code in force in Belgium, and in all cases they will adjudge only such penalties as are listed in the Penal Code of the German Empire, (Article 11.) The procedure will be regulated as to its principles by the code of criminal law for the German Empire, (Article 14.) The decisions rendered are not subject to appeal, (Article 15.)

An ordinance bearing the same date created German tribunals for civil matters. According to this ordinance civil justice will be rendered in the first instance by the imperial district courts; in the second instance by the superior imperial court. Tribunals for arbitration may not be instituted except with the authorization of the chief of the civil administration, (Article 1;) the judiciary language is German, (Article 6.) These tribunals will consider only cases in which the parties, whether as plaintiff or defendant, appellant or witness, guarantee (a) one who is under German jurisdiction, one who is under the jurisdiction of one of the countries allied to the German Empire or of a neutral State; (b) a sequestered German, (Article 10.) The convention which is to be the basis of debate will determine the legislation which the tribunal must apply, (Article 15.) The forms of procedure are in principle those of the code of civil procedure of the German Empire, (Article 16.) Any judgment capable of execution in Germany is likewise capable of it in Belgium, (Article 19.)

Thus, in spite of Article 43 of the rules annexed to the Fourth Convention at The

Hague, foreign jurisdictions are established in Belgium in opposition to the laws and the traditions of the country. The occupant, as a deterrent measure, causes the courts of assizes to disappear; also the guarantee of a double degree of jurisdiction, and of appeal in cassation in case of a violation of the law. Disregarding the most elementary rights of appellants, it prescribes that, throughout the country in the districts where Flemish is the language of intercourse, as well as in those in which French is the language, the judiciary language is to be German. It subjects Belgian citizens to penalties prescribed by the German Penal Code; it regulates the procedure in conformity with German codes.

In civil cases it fixes the competence of these tribunals exclusively where the litigants are under German jurisdiction or under that of a German ally or a neutral State as plaintiff or defendant, or a third party. It concerns itself only with the interests of a subject of the German Empire and of its allies. It subjects the Belgians dragged before these tribunals to a German procedure, regulated by German legislation. In render-

ing decisions on Belgian territory under forms legal in Germany it again violates a principle of international law already contravened by the ordinance of June 16, 1915. Belgian sovereignty has not disappeared by the fact of the occupation. Foreign decisions can have no legal force unless they conform to the legislation of the country where they are to be carried out.

The Government of the King considers that it is its duty to protest against the measures which have been taken by the occupying authority in regard to the judiciary bodies of Belgium, against the deportation of Belgian magistrates to Germany, against the setting up of foreign jurisdictions under conditions which constitute a flagrant violation, especially serious, of international conventions, and against the application of German laws in Belgium. It also believes that it is its duty to call the attention of the neutral States to the fact that the decisions rendered by the German courts established in Belgium in repressive or in civil matters cannot in accordance with the laws of nations serve as a basis for a single act of procedure or of execution abroad.

Worldwide Celebration of July 4

Many Nations, Including Great Britain, Observe American Independence Day

TO a degree entirely unprecedented, the allied and neutral nations of both hemispheres in 1918 celebrated the Fourth of July as a holiday, thus tendering a friendly tribute to the United States in recognition of its unselfish part in the war. Great Britain, the nation for which the day might be supposed to have the least pleasant associations, celebrated it with a wholeheartedness seldom shown for its own national festivals. All over France the Stars and Stripes waved with the Tricolor, and Paris observed the day as earnestly as any American city. Throughout Algeria and the African provinces of France the Fourth was made a holiday

and the American colors waved amid the tropical foliage. All South America celebrated the day in an unprecedented manner, and it was proclaimed a national holiday in Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru. Australia sent messages of fraternal esteem, and the Ambassador from Japan delivered a speech in which he said: "We trust you, we love you, and, if you will let us, we will walk at your side in loyal good-fellowship down all the coming years."

In London American flags were everywhere in evidence—and so were American soldiers and sailors. The bells of St. Paul's rang a greeting to flags and men, and special celebrations of holy com-

munion were held throughout the diocese of London in honor of the day. The Stars and Stripes flew alongside the Union Jack from the Victoria Tower at Westminster, from the Prime Minister's residence in Downing Street, and from the principal Government offices.

Premier Lloyd George sent the following message of felicitation to General Pershing:

We join with our whole heart in your Fourth of July celebrations. Once a bitter memory, we now know that the events to which you dedicate these rejoicings forced the British Empire back to the path of freedom from which in a moment of evil counsel it had departed.

The entry of the United States Army into this great struggle for human liberty, side by side with the Allies, is sure proof that the mistakes and misunderstandings which formerly estranged our two countries are being transformed into a genuine friendship in the fiery furnace of common sacrifice.

HISTORIC MEETING

The chief function of the day in London was the Anglo-Saxon fellowship meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, under the shadow of the historic Abbey and close to Parliament House. Americans and British together filled the great hall to the doors to proclaim their unity of sentiment and resolution. The Stars and Stripes were everywhere, and copies of President Wilson's speech at the opening of Congress last year were distributed as "a new declaration of freedom, a charter for humanity and world peace." The band of the Coldstream Guards played American airs, and cheers broke out as men known on both sides of the Atlantic took their places on the platform. Viscount Bryce presided and Winston Spencer Churchill was the chief orator. The American speakers were George Haven Putnam, Professor Canby of Yale, General Biddle, and Admiral Sims. Viscount Bryce said in his speech:

For many a year, today was celebrated in the United States with hostility and defiance. By us in Britain it was remembered with sorrow as marking the severance of precious ties. And now, after 142 years, it is being celebrated by both peoples with like enthusiasm—by the children of those who revolted against the British Crown, as by the children of those who sadly admitted the loss of one of that

Crown's choicest jewels. What has been a day of anger on one side and grief on the other has become for both a day of affection and rejoicing.

Englishmen, he remarked, scarcely yet realized the new departure that America took when she entered the war. He continued:

The New World has come to redress the balance of the Old. Its fresh and fiery spirit has the promise of victory. This spirit, this zeal to serve the cause of right, this sense of common duty and common purpose, these perils which the American and British soldiers—citizen armies drawn from the people—are facing side by side—all this has brought Great Britain and America closer than ever they were under one Government before that far-off day of independence which we are celebrating here.

Now, these things will be the surest pledge of affection and co-operation in the future stretching before us as far as human thought can reach. Britain and America, to quote and adapt the famous words of Pitt, have altogether led the world of freedom by their example. Together they will save it, will save it for freedom by their exertions.

CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE

Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, said:

Great harmony exists between the spirit and language of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. The Declaration is not only an American document. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also saved the empire. By applying its principles and learning its lessons we preserved our communion with the powerful Commonwealth our children established beyond the seas. . . .

We desire to express to our American kith and kin our joy and gratitude for the mighty aid they are bringing to the allied cause. When we have seen the splendor of American manhood striding forward along the roads of France and Flanders we have experienced an emotion that words cannot describe. . . .

I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment of British history was reached on the night we declared war upon Germany. Like the people of the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost or thought of reward. The cost will be in the end far more terrible than the darkest expectation, but the reward that is coming is beyond our dearest hopes.

What is the reward? Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands is the desire to be truly reconciled to their kindred across the Atlantic, to blot out the re-

proaches and redeem the blunders of a by-gone age and dwell once more in spirit with them. That was the heart's desire which seemed utterly unattainable, but which has been granted.

Be the years of the struggle never so long, never so cruel, that will make amends for all. That is Great Britain's reward. The presence at this moment in Europe of a million American soldiers, awaiting side by side with their French and British comrades the utmost fury of the common enemy, is an event that seems to transcend the limits of purely mundane things and fills us with the deepest awe.

ROYALTY SEES BASEBALL

In the afternoon there was a baseball game at the Stamford Bridge grounds between the army and navy, the first at which royalty was officially present. King George, Queen Alexandra, and Princess Mary were ushered quietly into the royal box by Admiral Sims and were in their seats before the navy enthusiasts near by had realized it. Then their irregular shouts broke into a measured chant of "What's the matter with King George? He's all right!" The King heard it, knew that it was a true democratic welcome, and flushed with pleasure. Later he appeared on the diamond and was the centre of a cheering crowd.

The Dean of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury conducted special service in honor of American Independence Day, and the evening was crowded with entertainments. As in London, so in all the chief cities of England the day was observed with special exercises. Both Oxford and Cambridge paid friendly tribute with the aid of American military forces. Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield made much of the day, and there were special observances at Stratford-on-Avon, Plymouth, Bristol, and other places of historic interest to Americans.

The newspapers of the United Kingdom were filled with matter relating to these unprecedented celebrations, with cordial interchanges of sentiment by officials and prominent men of both nations, and with the record of our effort in the war. America's disinterested entry into the struggle, the thoroughness of her preparations, the speedy and successful trans-

portation of 1,000,000 soldiers, and the valuable co-operation of the navy were prominent editorial topics of the day. The historic change in American and British relations was commented upon with special emphasis as a foundation for a lasting and true friendship between the two peoples.

HONORED BY FRANCE

American Independence Day was celebrated throughout France, from the little villages of Lorraine and the Vosges, where French children joined American soldiers in honoring the Stars and Stripes, to the streets of Paris, where millions turned out to celebrate as almost never before in the city's history. [Ten days later the United States reciprocated with an unprecedented celebration of Bastille Day.]

President Poincaré sent the following message to President Wilson:

The Government of the Republic, at one with all the national representatives and the whole country, ordained that tomorrow, the Independence Day of the United States, shall also be a French holiday. Paris will give your glorious name to one of its handsomest avenues and acclaim to the skies the parade of the valliant American soldier. In every department, in every town, large and small, these manifestations of fraternity will be echoed.

Two peoples in communion of thought will, one and all, remember the fights of old that won liberty for America and hope for the forthcoming victories which will secure for the world a just and fruitful peace based on the law of nations and fortified by the approval of human conscience.

Permit me, Mr. President, cordially to extend to you on the eve of that great day of union and confidence the wishes and felicitations of France for the United States and yourself.

President Wilson replied:

With a full heart I welcome your message of congratulation upon the American day of independence. It is fitting that this glorious anniversary should witness the fraternity of free peoples in the cause of national self-determination. The happy fruitage of the ancient association of our lands in the common cause of liberty is today fitly seen in the union of our countries in the splendid task of upholding their rights in the face of barbaric aggression.

My countrymen are alike gratified and filled with pride at the tribute of brother-

ly affection which the French people are offering them so generously at every point of intercourse. I most hopefully reciprocate your prayerful wish that this may all presage the ultimate triumph of the rights of France and America not only, but also the rights of humanity.

CELEBRATION IN PARIS

The notable event in the morning in Paris was the ceremony opening the newly dedicated Avenue du President Wilson, (formerly the Avenue du Trocadero.) This took place in the presence of President Poincaré and an immense throng. Speeches were delivered by the President of the Municipal Council, the President of the Senate, Antonin Dubost; the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paul Deschanel, as well as Stephen Pichon, the Foreign Minister, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador. The speakers dwelt upon the significance of the intervention of America in the war and of the unity established among the Allies.

Enthusiasm reached a climax when several thousand American and French soldiers marched through the newly dedicated avenue and on down through famous streets to the Strasbourg Monument in the Place de la Concorde. Crowds of people that jammed every available inch of space and every window in the buildings along the line of march, on roofs, and even in trees, cheered themselves hoarse as company after company of khaki-clad Americans swung past to the stirring tunes played by a double band. The enthusiasm became uncontrollable when the regiments came into view, for the exploits of the Americans in their recent offensive on the Marne front had endeared them to the French.

LORD DERBY'S BON MOT

There was an impressive scene at the luncheon of the American Chamber of Commerce when the Earl of Derby, the British Ambassador, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador, clasped hands in celebration of America's Independence Day. It was the first time since the United States became a nation that the British Ambassador had attended a commemoration of the

event. "Even if we had not been allies," said Lord Derby in commenting on his appearance at the function, "I should have come."

Ambassador Sharp thanked France briefly for the great manifestation in honor of Independence Day, and continued:

Lord Derby, representing England, has broken an unwritten rule which has lasted from time immemorial with respect to an English Ambassador attending the celebration of our independence. I congratulate him. I congratulate the great country which he represents. It is in keeping with the British spirit of fairness. We know now why England is so great. I welcome Lord Derby here in the name of America.

The audience arose, cheering Lord Derby and shouting for a speech. The Ambassador demurred at first, but the cheers would not down. Finally he said:

I had always thought that America meant fair play, but it is hardly fair to call on me on such short notice to reply to such an eloquent tribute as has been paid me by Ambassador Sharp. As in the days of my youth a teacher spanked me, saying, "You will thank me later for this," I say now that I wish to thank America for the best licking we ever got. It has done us both a lot of good. We are grateful to you because that licking taught us how to treat our children; it is the reason why we now have Australia and Canada, and even South Africa, fighting beside us today.

ELSEWHERE IN FRANCE

Great enthusiasm marked the celebration in Nice. All the shops were closed, as is usual on the occasion of a national fête, and the Stars and Stripes, entwined with French flags, fluttered in the Mediterranean breeze. The city assumed the holiday spirit of the days long since forgotten—the happy days of peace. A popular concert was given in the public gardens, the audience numbering many thousands. A solemn high mass was held in the American church. This was followed by the blessing of an American flag presented to the American Army by the citizens of Nice.

The City of Marseilles changed the name of its largest dock to "Bassin Président Wilson" as part of its celebration of the day.

In French villages where there were

Americans the French soldiers and civilians joined them in celebrating the Fourth and making it the holiday of both nations. Civil and military buildings, business places, and private residences were decorated with American and French flags and the colors of the other Allies. Children in the streets waved small flags in honor of the Americans, many of the boys and girls throwing wild flowers at passing American automobiles and motor trucks. Hundreds of French automobiles moving back and forth at the fronts were adorned with American and French flags.

Many villages were enlivened by athletic games, participated in by American soldiers, while impressive ceremonies were held at some of the army posts. Women and children living in the vicinity of American cemeteries covered the graves of America's dead with fresh flowers.

One of the impressive sights along the country roads was that of groups of children parading and hurrahing with American, French, British, and Italian flags. French and American hospitals were decorated and occasional ambulances, bearing a few wounded, were cheered along the roadways, girls throwing kisses and wild flowers.

BELGIUM'S MESSAGES

As a part of the Belgian celebration of American Independence Day, the Stars and Stripes were raised over the free corner of Belgium in the presence of high Government officials and units of the Belgian Army. King Albert sent this message to President Wilson:

On the occasion of the memorable anniversary occurring on the Fourth of July, I wish to thank once more the great American Nation for its untiring efforts toward ameliorating the unfortunate condition of my fellow-countrymen and to express to it my admiration for the bravery displayed by its great army on the battlefields of France. Be pleased, Mr. President, to accept the ardent wishes I make for the greatness and prosperity of the United States of America.

The determination of President Wilson not to "finish the war before seeing Belgium restored to the plenitude of her

rights and her liberties" was the Independence Day message delivered to the Belgian people at Havre by Brand Whitlock, the American Minister. The societies of Havre addressed the Minister with these eloquent words:

Toward President Wilson, toward the citizens of the United States, goes up the greatest hymn that human gratitude can breathe. Every day we see your fine American soldiers marching toward the battlefield, where our fates will be decided. At sight of them so grave and calm, defying death for the salvation and fraternity of the world, we are profoundly moved. Tell them that the tombs of your dead will be altars before which our children will kneel to learn the most sublime lesson which a great people has given to the world in rising as one man for the defense of justice.

The Belgian Minister of War sent the following telegram to General Pershing:

On this memorable day I send you the cordial greetings and respectful sympathy of the Belgian Army, which associates itself with your national fête with élan and fervor. On this occasion detachments of all arms defiled before the American colors floating over the Flanders plain. All hearts are united in the same wish—success to the allied armies—and look forward to the glorious day when your troops, in their turn, will defile before our tri-colored flag hoisted in our reconquered cities.

IN ITALY—ALSO AFRICA

Across the Mediterranean in Northern Africa the Fourth of July was celebrated throughout Algeria and the French colonial possessions. In Algiers on the evening of the 3d there was a torchlight procession of all the troops in the garrison, with regimental bands playing American airs. A reproduction of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty was set up in one of the large squares. On the Fourth the Governor General reviewed the troops and, with other notables, paid a formal visit to the American Consul General. The day was observed as a complete holiday, and the American Consul reported that the celebration was an unprecedented homage to a foreign nation. Similar exercises took place at Tangier.

The celebration of the Fourth of July throughout Italy surpassed all expectations and was described by those who

saw it as the greatest manifestation of friendship and affection ever offered to any foreign country. In Rome many speeches were delivered from the Victor Emmanuel Monument by prominent men before the highest State officials and a vast crowd. The smaller cities and even the villages vied with each other in showing esteem for America. At Ancona a reception was given in the Town Hall and the city inaugurated a new avenue named after President Wilson. Gabriele d'Annunzio wrote an ode "To America in Arms" for the Fourth of July, containing the expression, "No more shall we divide with the brute the earth's bread." From all parts of Italy civic authorities, associations, and individuals sent messages to the American Ambassador, Thomas Nelson Page, expressing fraternal greetings and kindly sentiments for Italy's ally across the sea.

At noon Ambassador Page in Rome received a deputation of citizens from the Italian provinces still subject to Austria, who set forth the claims of their provinces to be reunited with the Italian mother country and expressed the hope that President Wilson would espouse their cause. The Ambassador replied that he would convey their wishes to the President.

Numerous processions marched through the city bearing mediaeval and heraldic devices, recalling the glories of each war. Prince Colonna, Mayor of Rome, delivered an address, greeting America in the name of Rome. Senator Ruffini, for the Italo-American Union, said: "President Wilson will remain in history as the most glorious champion of the fraternity of man."

King Victor Emmanuel sent the following message to President Wilson (and received a cordial reply):

Even in proclaiming their independence the American people affirmed that their mission in the world was one of liberty and justice. They have nobly kept faith with that supreme ideal, always and more than ever in this ruthless conflict of all the nations, by spontaneously intervening in the defense of right and against violence. Wherefore this anniversary is to-day celebrated by all the free peoples, as if it were their own glad some holiday, as a rite portending the victory of liberty and justice.

Italy, unshakable in her resolution to bear and do everything in the great common cause, sends to the people of the United States her expressions of brotherly sympathy at the very moment when she enthusiastically and proudly welcomes the sons of America who have come to fight by the side of her own sons. To you, Mr. President, who with enlightened wisdom and unswerving decision worthily preside over the destinies of your great nation, I am glad to manifest those sentiments, those purposes, and that confidence of the Italian people.

Florence conferred the freedom of the city on President Wilson. The exercises were witnessed by an enormous part of the population of Florence, as well as many people from neighboring cities. The Mayor read from a parchment granting citizenship to the American President, and Peter Jay, Counselor of the American Embassy at Rome, representing Ambassador Page, expressed the thanks of the United States.

Ambassador Page addressed the following message to the Italian people:

It is absolutely impossible completely to express to Italy and its people how deeply we Americans appreciate Italy's commemoration of Independence Day, the enthusiasm of which could not be surpassed in the United States.

As the representative of President Wilson and the American people, I must, however, express their satisfaction and mine at such a fine manifestation. Every American will be touched by its sincerity and will interpret it as evidence of a solidarity which guarantees the triumph of our sacred common cause.

May the ideal nobly expressed by President Wilson soon find its realization, to which the sacrifices, courage, and devotion of Italy will have contributed.

MESSAGES FROM GREECE

Both King Alexander of Greece and Premier Venizelos honored our Independence Day by sending cordial messages to the President. The King's was as follows:

On this memorable day, on which the great Republic celebrates the anniversary of its independence, I join the Hellenic peoples in expressing to you, Mr. President, and to the American Nation, my cordial felicitations and the ardent wishes I make for the happiness and prosperity of the American people. The Republic's participation in the world war constitutes all the more valuable a factor in the allied struggle, as it has for its sole aim the defense of the imprescriptible rights

of the oppressed peoples and the restitution of their spoliated property.

This was Premier Venizelos's message:

Mr. President, on this day, in which the great American Nation celebrates the proclamation of its independence, I wish to pay homage to the United States of America, which, finding in the principle in whose name it had achieved its Revolution a command to crush the arrogance of a power that spurned all law and humane sentiments, that aimed to force despotism upon the world, has in a magnificent effort thrown into the world conflict all its physical and moral forces. So the United States nobly took the position of a belligerent and, with admirable unanimity and dash, succeeded in organizing the valiant troops that are now fighting in defense of the French land. Greece is tensely watching their success, for a peace will spring from the defeat of Germany that will rest on the respect of all rights. I also salute with respectful admiration him who successfully led his country in the path of duty and of sacrifice for the liberties of mankind.

President Wilson's response was:

Your message of congratulation on America's natal day of freedom comes to blend the glorious traditions of our own struggle to conserve for our own land and people the priceless heritage of freedom with the splendid history of the great Greek people, whose indomitable aspirations for national self-government have reawakened and inspired their sons from of old to renewed endeavor in the great work of worldwide regeneration and enfranchisement. It is fitting that Greeks and Americans should stand side by side and strive for the triumph of their common cause, to the end that the spirit of freedom shall not perish among them. In the name of the Government and people of America I extend the hand of fellowship to your land and its people.

IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Fourth of July was celebrated throughout South America to an unprecedented extent. The day had been declared a national holiday by Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, and it was observed as fully as their own independence days. The streets of Rio de Janeiro were decorated and there was a parade of Brazilian naval, military, and volunteer forces during the afternoon and a torchlight procession in the evening. All the newspapers published sympathetic articles appreciative of President Wilson and America's fight for democracy.

The Argentine Government gave spe-

cial permission for the display of the American flag, and a dispatch from Buenos Aires stated that the business district of the city was displaying more of these flags than were usually to be seen in peace times in American cities on the Fourth of July. All the provinces of Chile observed the American anniversary with enthusiasm. Chilean newspapers without exception paid cordial tributes to the position taken by the United States in the war and to the progress made since entering the conflict. Venezuela and other South American States sent greetings.

Mexico celebrated the day with elaborate exercises in Mexico City, attended by Government officials and a large number of Mexican Army officers in uniform. All stores except those of Germans were closed. A telegram from Saltillo, Mexico, announced that the same was true of that city. President Carranza sent this message to President Wilson:

It is very gratifying to me to send your Excellency and the American people on this glorious anniversary that you are today celebrating the most cordial congratulations from the Mexican people and Government. At the same time I am pleased to express to your Excellency my most sincere, strong wishes for the prosperity of the United States, wishing that peace and justice will reign soon forever in both continents.

President Menocal of Cuba sent this greeting to the President of the United States:

I send to your Excellency my most cordial congratulations on the occasion of the Fourth of July, always a glorious day for all the free peoples, but now more revered than ever for its significance in the supreme conflict which is to decide the future of liberty and democracy in the world. I take pleasure in informing your Excellency that it has afforded me patriotic satisfaction to approve the law enacted by the Congress which makes the Fourth of July a holiday in Cuba.

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Canada gave various marks of recognition to our Independence Day, and Toronto for the first time in its history raised the Stars and Stripes over its City Hall.

Among the cablegrams that poured into the State Department at Washing-

ton from all parts of the world—except those under German control—was the following from the Commonwealth of Australia, communicated through Mr. Balfour and Lord Reading:

'Australia warmly greets America on its natal day. It notes with pride and gratitude that although only fourteen months have elapsed since the memorable declaration of war by the peace-loving, non-military United States against the enemies of civilization and small nations the brave armies and illimitable resources of the great English-speaking democracy are already a powerful factor in the world fateful struggle against militarism; springing from common family stock, Australia looks to the day when America will clasp hands across the ocean with Australia as a brother, thus making real the family tie and securing the destiny of the liberty-loving peoples of the Pacific.

Similar telegrams came from the Mayor and Council of Brisbane, Australia, and from the Governor of West Australia.

PARADE OF NATIONALITIES

A wonderful epitome of this worldwide appreciation of American ideals was afforded by the pageant parade of Independence Day in New York City, arranged by the Mayor's Committee of National Defense as a demonstration of the loyalty of Americans of foreign birth. More than forty nationalities were represented in the unique parade and pageant of floats that swept up Fifth Avenue unceasingly for ten hours. Estimates of the number of marchers agreed on a minimum of about 75,000. The first division presented a complete picture of the war activities of the nation; the second, the division of nationalities, was a picture of the nation itself, infinite in

its variety, yet one in its unity of devotion to democratic ideals. The crackle of the wireless and the roar of twenty-two airplanes in squadron formation in the sky above added the last touch of modernity.

Regarded purely as a pageant, the parade was remarkable in bringing out a greater variety of display of national spirit and national costume than the city had ever seen before. Many of these displays were a surprise. The brilliant pagentry of the Slav races had been to some extent anticipated, but what had not been expected, by the public, at least, were the remarkable exhibitions put forward by Armenia, Syria, Switzerland, Spain, Venezuela, and other nations whose floats and marchers were on a plane of artistic effect seldom found in a street parade.

There were men and women of the white, the black, the brown, and the yellow races. In the serried ranks that tramped to the rhythm of American music from early morn until the dusk of evening were mustered Jew and Gentile, Mohammedan, Confucian and Buddhist; Christians of the Roman and the Greek orthodoxies, followers of the religious dogmas of Calvin, Wesley, Martin Luther, Swedenborg, Roger Williams, Billy Sunday, and those of no religion at all.

There were men of wealth and men of poverty, men famous and men obscure. But, one and all, they paid homage to the land, whether of their birth or their adoption, which was the first to declare that "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The World's Independence Day

By SIR HALL CAINE

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SEVEN score years ago the American people brought forth on their great continent a nation consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men were created equal. Then they had many enemies, and only one

friend. Now they have many friends, and only one enemy. Then they were a little handful among the peoples of the earth. Now they are a hundred millions, and their mighty country is the half brother of the world, and today

their kindred, as represented by the sovereigns and statesmen, the soldiers and sailors, the speakers and teachers and writers of many lands, are stretching hands to them from across the sea.

Why are they doing so? Because the principle on which the American Nation was founded has been found to be true, and has prevailed because the nation so founded has passed through times of fierce testing and has endured, first, her time of separation from the motherland from which she sprang, when ties had been broken which might never be renewed, then her time of civil war with its million of dead, (all her own dead,) when friend was against friend, brother against brother, and father against son, and now her time of tragic choice between peaceful security on her own continent and the perilous call of justice and humanity on ours.

America came into the war two years after it began. The first intoxication of the war fever had not touched her. The delirious exaltation earlier had left her cold. She had watched the struggle in the Old World and seen the bitter fruits of it. She knew how the nations of Europe had suffered and how the iron had entered into our souls. She had no illusion about the bloody business upon which she was embarking, no mistaken estimate of the price she would have to pay, and yet she came in calmly, deliberately, without qualm or fear.

Why did she come in? She had no old score to settle, no bad peace to readjust, no territorial or economic advantage to gain. Autocracies may go to war for a little earth, but democracies have only the lives, honor, and welfare of their subjects to fight for, and American subjects on their far-off shores were secure. But liberty had been violated, civilization had been outraged, the right had been wronged, the weak had been oppressed, the helpless had been injured, and before the iron arm of a merciless tyranny justice and mercy and charity and humanity were being wiped out of the world.

If America was to be true to the principle to which she had consecrated her State, she had to resist these crimes.

Not to resist them was to become accessory before the fact to them. Therefore, America had to fight or the spirit on which she had founded her own nation had to die.

Only for a little while did she hesitate about her duty to step beyond the limits of her own continent. Moral law knows nothing about frontiers. The boundaries of the human heart are wider than the widest empire.

At the foot of Calvary there is only one country. The cause of liberty, of justice, and of mercy is the cause of humanity. A wrong done to the least of nations is a wrong done to all. So America could not shrink in the face of her right and of her duty.

"A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." On the common ground of adversity America is now standing by the side of all that is highest and best among the free nations of Europe. In that fact and in its sequel lies the supreme spiritual compensation of this awful war.

Again and again in the agony of our sorrow and loss and deep unfathomable mystery of it we have cried out of our bruised and wounded hearts, "What is God doing in this world of His children?"

But now we see. In His inscrutable way He is healing all the old wounds of the nations. He is drawing together the races of men who have been too long asunder. Out of the storm of battle He is bringing forth a great brotherhood of His scattered peoples, such as the world has never seen before.

Just as war, notwithstanding all its brutalities, is creating a new comradeship among the men who are fighting at the front, so that, coming out of every class and condition, all distinctions have disappeared with the civilian clothes they have taken off and the soldiers' uniforms they have put on, and nothing remains to the well-to-do man and the workman, the highly born and the lowly born, the educated and the illiterate, perhaps the ex-convict and the ex-clergyman, except the brotherhood in which they daily face sudden and untimely death, standing shoulder to shoulder in the same trenches,

sleeping side by side in the same dug-outs, and thus sharing together the biggest things they can do and give their duty and their lives—even so, the organized barbarity we call war is binding together the civilized nations into a great new spiritual fellowship.

“The friendships that are born in misfortune last longer than those that are born in happiness.” Let us pray that the fellowship of free peoples which the war has brought to pass may not end until it has laid the foundations of a lasting peace. With no lower hope than that could we keep our souls alive in the midst of all this suffering.

If we had to believe that what we ourselves are going through would have to be gone through again by our children and our grandchildren who are now living in the fullness of their childish joy, the whole world would be brokenhearted.

But our hope is sure, and our expectation will not fail. The night has been

long and dark and echoing with cries of pain, but on the forehead of the future we think we see the light of dawn, and when that day comes we know what it will be.

It will be yet a greater day than that of sevenscore years ago, when America was founded on her far-off continent, a nation that was consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the equal rights of all. It will be a day of freedom from the shadow of the sword which has darkened the sleep of man for more than a thousand years. It will be a day of liberation from the tyranny of the strong, from the enslavement of the weak, from the subjugation of the silent masses that have shed their blood age after age at the feet of crowned criminals who have sought for nothing but their selfish dominion and gained nothing but their guilty glory.

It will be the independence day of the world.

Another Cross for Belgium to Bear

Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet and essayist, marked the passing of Easter Sunday, 1918, with this poignant and picturesque bit of description:

The Germans are seizing the bells and organ pipes in the churches of Belgium. It must be admitted that they have reserved this blow for the last. They had already requisitioned leather, copper, including the humblest household utensils, and wool, even to that in mattresses and comforters; so it was the turn of the bells. The Belgians have learned patience. The women have taken up the spinning of wool again as in the good old days, on antique, rickety wheels. The children sleep on mattresses filled with newspapers—newspapers given over to German censorship—and now the sweet chimes and church organs are going to cease sounding the praises of God. After meatless meals, lightless nights, and coalless fires, the Belgians will have silent churches. Candles are unobtainable, communion wine is lacking in some places, and many persons have to go to church in wooden shoes, while there are no new clothes for communicants.

A Happy Easter! The bells will leave on Good Friday, but they will not return this year sowing thousands of multi-colored eggs along the way. They will not go to Rome, as the old tradition has it, and the little folk will wait in vain for their return, which in happier days was the signal for Easter rejoicings. Besides, eggs cost 25 cents apiece; this precious food is reserved for the sick, and there are few eggs and many who are ill.



A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Project Discussed From Various Viewpoints
by Leading Allied Statesmen and Publicists

By VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN

Former British Foreign Secretary

The idea of forming a league of nations to enforce peace, first brought into prominence in the United States by the organization headed by ex-President Taft, has become a theme of international discussion since President Wilson gave it his official indorsement. The early Summer months of 1918 brought forth many noteworthy utterances on the subject from English leaders of thought. The following pages contain contributions from Viscount Grey, Premier Lloyd George, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Arnold Bennett, and others.

THERE are projects that exist in shadowy form in an atmosphere of tepid idealism, admired by those who see that, if possible, they would be desirable. From time to time an attempt is made to embody them in material form and make them of practical use in national or international politics. It is then discovered that what appeared as an ideal to be wholly desirable and amiable cannot be of practical use unless we are ready to subject ourselves to some limitations or discipline that may be inconvenient, and unless we are prepared to overcome some difficulties that were not at first sight apparent.

The ideal is found to have in fact a stern and disagreeable as well as an easy and amiable side to it. Thereupon the storm beats against it. Those who never thought it desirable, for there are intelligences to which most ideals seem dangerous and temperaments to which they are offensive, and who had previously treated it only with contempt in the abstract, offer the fiercest opposition to it as a practical proposal. Many of its supporters are paralyzed by difficult aspects which they had not previously considered, and the project recedes again into a region of shadows or abstract resolutions.

This, or something like this, has hitherto been the history of the ideal that has now become associated with the phrase, "League of Nations," but it does not follow that the history of this or of other ideals will be the same after the

war as before it. There is more at stake in this war than the existence of individual States or empires or the fate of the Continent. The whole of modern civilization is at stake, and whether it will perish, be submerged, as has happened to previous civilizations of older types, or whether it will live and progress, depends upon whether the nations engaged in this war, and even those that are onlookers, learn the lessons that the experience of the war may teach them. It must be with nations as with individuals. In the great trials of life they must become better or worse, they cannot stand still. They must learn to profit by experience and rise to greater heights, or else sink lower and drop eventually into an abyss. And this war is the greatest trial of which there is any record in history. If the war does not teach mankind new lessons that will so dominate the thought and feeling of those who survive it and those who succeed the survivors as to make new things possible, then the war will be the greatest catastrophe, as well as the most grievous trial and suffering, of which mankind has any record.

Therefore, it does not follow that a league of nations to secure the peace of the world will remain impossible because it has not been possible hitherto, and I propose in this paper to consider shortly, to state rather than examine, for it would take a long time to examine thoroughly conditions that have not been present be-

fore, and that are present now, or may soon be present, and that are essential if a league of nations is to become effective.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS

These conditions appear to me to be as follows:

First, the idea must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the executive heads of States. It must become an essential part of their practical policy, one of their chief reasons for being, or continuing to be, responsible for the policy of their States. They must not adopt it only to render lip service to other persons whom it is inconvenient or ungracious to displease. They must lead and not follow; they must compel, if necessary, and not be compelled.

This condition was not present before the war. To what extent is it present now? It is not possible to answer this question fully, but it can be answered certainly and affirmatively as regards President Wilson, the executive head of the United States, and this alone is sufficient to give new life and purpose to the idea of a league of nations. President Wilson and his country have had in this matter the great advantage of having been for more than two years and a half, before April, 1917, able to observe the war as neutrals, free from the intense anxiety and effort that absorb all the thought and energy of the belligerents. They were able not only to observe but to reflect and to draw conclusions.

One of the conclusions has been that if the world, of which they form an important part, is to be saved from what they consider disaster, they must enter the war against Germany. Another has been that if national liberty and peace are to be secure in the future there must be a league of nations to secure them.

It must not be supposed from this that the Governments of the Allies are less ready to draw or have not already drawn the same conclusion from the experience of the war, but their countries have been at war all the time. They have been fighting, it is true, for the same ideal of national human liberty as the United

States, but fighting also for the immediate preservation of national existence in Europe, and all their thought and energy has been concentrated upon resistance to imminent peril. Nevertheless, in this country, at any rate, the project of a league of nations has met with widespread, cordial acceptance.

GERMANY'S OPPOSITION

On the other hand, the military party in Germany is, and must remain, opposed to it. It resents any limitation upon the use of force by Germany as fatal to German interests, for it can conceive no development, and even no security, except one based solely upon force. Any other conception is fatal, and this exclusive conception is essential to the maintenance of the power of the military party in Germany. As long, therefore, as this rule in Germany continues, Germany will oppose the league of nations. Nothing will change this except the conviction among the German people that the use of force causes at least as much suffering to themselves as to others, and that the security based upon law and treaty and the sense of mutual advantage is better than the risks, dangers, and sufferings of the will to supreme power and the efforts to obtain it, and this conviction must so work upon them as to displace the military party and its policy and ideals from power in Germany.

The situation, therefore, of this first condition essential to make the league of nations practical may be summed up as follows:

It is present certainly as regards the executive head of the United States, which is potentially the strongest and actually the least exhausted of all belligerent States. It either is, or will at the end of the war be found to be, present as regards the Governments of the countries fighting on the same side as the United States. Even among their enemies Austria has publicly shown a disposition to accept the proposal, and probably welcomes it genuinely, though secretly, as a safeguard for her future, not only against old enemies but against Prussian domination. All small States,

belligerent or neutral, must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard the small States as well as the great from aggression and war.

There remains the opposition of Germany, where the recent military success and ascendancy of Prussian militarism have reduced the advocates of anything but force to silence. Germany has to be convinced that force does not pay, that the aims and policy of her military rulers inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon her, and that when the world is free from the menace of these military rulers, with their sharp swords, shining armor, and mailed fists, Germany will find peaceful development assured and preferable to expansion by war and will realize that the condition of true security for one nation is the sense of security on the part of all nations.

Till Germany feels this to be true there can be no league of nations in the sense intended by President Wilson. A league such as he desires must include Germany, and should include no nation that is not thoroughly convinced of the advantages, of the necessity, of such a league, and is, therefore, not prepared to make the efforts, and, if need be, the sacrifices necessary to maintain it.

OBLIGATIONS INVOLVED

The second condition essential to the foundation of the league of nations is that the Governments and peoples of the States willing to found it understand clearly that it will impose some limitations upon the national action of each, and may entail some inconvenient obligation. Smaller and weaker nations will have rights that must be respected and upheld by the league. Stronger nations must forego the right to make their interests prevail against the weaker by force, and all States must forego the right in any dispute to resort to force before other methods of settlement by conference, conciliation, or if need be arbitration, have been tried. This is the limitation. The obligation is that if any nation will not observe this limitation upon its national actions, if it breaks

the agreement which is the basis of the league, rejects all peaceful methods of settlement and resorts to force against another nation, they must one and all use their combined force against it.

The economic pressure that such a league could use would in itself be very powerful, and the action of some of the smaller States composing the league could not perhaps go beyond the economic pressure, but those States that have the power must be ready to use all the force, economic, military, or naval, they possess. It must be clearly understood and accepted that deflection from or violation of the agreement by one or more States does not absolve all or any of the others from the obligation to enforce the agreement.

Anything less than this is of no value. How worthless it may be can be seen by reading the debate in the House of Lords in 1867 upon the Treaty Guaranteeing the Neutrality of Luxemburg. It was there explained that we entered only into a collective guarantee. By this it was apparently meant that if any one of the guaranteeing powers violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, or even if any one of them declined to take active steps to defend it, Great Britain and the other guarantors were thereby absolved from taking any action whatever. This was contrasted at the time with the Belgian treaty, which entailed a separate guarantee. Hitherto the nations of the world had made reserves in arbitration or conciliation agreements, showing that they were not prepared to accept the limitations upon national action that are essential to secure an effective league of nations. An exception is the conciliation treaty between Great Britain and the United States negotiated before the war. But the statement made above is generally true. The nations also carefully abstained from undertaking any obligation to use force to uphold the benevolent rules of agreements of general application that had been recorded at The Hague Conferences. Such obligation had been confined to local objects like the neutrality of Belgium or to alliances between particular powers, made to protect or serve their special interests.

ARE THE NATIONS READY?

Are the nations of the world prepared now, or will they be ready after the war, to look steadily and clearly at this aspect of the league of nations; at the limitations and obligations that it will impose, and to say whole-heartedly and convincingly, as they have never done before, "We will accept and undertake them"? Individuals in civilized States have long ago accepted analogous limitations and obligations as regards disputes between individuals. These are settled by law, and any individual who, instead of appealing to law, resorts to force to give effect to what he considers his rights, finds himself at once opposed and restrained by the force of the State—that is, in democratic countries, by the combined force of other individuals. And we not **only** accept this arrangement, but uphold it as **essential** to prevent the oppression of one by another, to secure each person in quiet life, and to guarantee to each the greatest liberty that is consistent with the equal liberty of his neighbors. That at any rate is part of the theory and object of democratic government, and if it is not perfectly attained, most of the proposals for improving it look rather to increased than to diminished State control.

But in less civilized parts of the world individuals have not reached the point of view from which this order of things seems desirable. There is the story of the native chief in Africa who protested to the British official against having to pay any taxes. The British official explained, no doubt in the best modern manner, that these taxes were used to keep order in the country, with the result that men and women and the flocks and herds in the possession of every tribe were safe, and each could live in its own territory without fear of disturbance, and that the payment of taxes was for the good of all. The effect of this explanation was to make the chief very angry. Before the British came he said he could raid the neighborhood, return with captives and captures of all sorts, and be received in triumph by the women and the rest of the tribe when he returned. The protection of his own

tribe from similar raids he was willing to undertake himself. "Now," he said, "you come here and tell me that I ought to like to pay taxes to be prevented from doing this, and that makes me mad."

The analogy between States and individuals, or groups of individuals, is not perfect, but there is sufficient analogy to make it not quite irrelevant to ask whether after this war the view held by the great States of the relations desirable between themselves will be that of the African chief or that of individuals in what we call civilized nations.

Nothing but experience convinced individuals that law was better than anarchy to settle relations between themselves. And the sanction that maintains law is the application of force with the support of the great majority of individuals behind it. Is it possible that the experience of this war will produce a settled opinion of the same sort to regulate the relations of States with one another and to safeguard the world from that which is in fact anarchy? What does the experience of this war amount to?

Our minds cannot grasp it. Thought is crushed by the accumulated suffering that the war has caused and is still causing. We cannot utter all we feel, and if it were not that our feelings are in a way stunned by the very violence of the catastrophe, as physical nerves are, to some extent, numbed by great blows, the human heart could not bear up and live under the trial of this war. Great must be the effect of all this; greater after, even, than during the war, on the working of men's minds and on human nature itself, but this is not what I intend to urge here.

INHUMANE METHODS

I will urge only one point, and one that is for the head rather than the heart. We are now in the fourth year of the war. The application of scientific knowledge and the inventions of science during the war have made it more terrible and destructive each year. The Germans have abrogated all previously accepted rules of warfare. The use of poisonous gas, the firing from the sea

upon open, undefended towns, and the indiscriminate bombing of big cities from the air were all introduced into the war by Germany.

It was long before the Allies adopted any of these practices even as reprisals, but the Germans have forced a ruthless, unlimited application of scientific discovery to the destruction of human life, combatant and noncombatant. They have shown the world that now and henceforth war means this, and nothing less than this.

If there is to be another war in twenty or thirty years' time, what will it be like? If there is to be concentrated preparation for more war, the researches of science will be devoted henceforth to discovering methods by which the human race can be destroyed. These discoveries cannot be confined to one nation, and their object of wholesale destruction will be much more completely achieved hereafter even than in this war. The Germans are not blind to this, but, as far as I can see, their rulers propose to avoid future wars by establishing domination by Germany forever.

Peace can never be secured by the domination of one country, securing its power and prosperity by submission and disadvantage to others; and the German idea of a world peace secured by the power of German militarism is impracticable as well as unfair and abhorrent to other nations. It is as intolerable and impossible in the world as despotism would be here or in the United States.

In opposition to this idea of Germany, the Allies should set forth, as President Wilson has already set forth, an idea

of peace secured by mutual regard between States for the rights of each, and the determination to stamp out any attempt at war as they would a plague that threatened the destruction of all. When those who accept this idea and this sort of peace can in word and deed speak for Germany we shall be within sight of a good peace.

FATAL TO MILITARISM

The establishment and maintenance of a league of nations such as President Wilson had advocated is more important and essential to secure peace than any of the actual terms of peace that may conclude the war. It will transcend them all. The best of them will be worth little unless the future relations of States are to be on a basis that will prevent a recurrence of militarism in any State.

"Learn by experience or suffer" is the rule of life. We have all of us seen individuals becoming more and more a misery to themselves and others because they cannot understand or will not accept this rule. Is it not applicable to nations as well? And, if so, have not nations come to the great crisis in which for them the rule "learn or perish" will prove inexorable? All must learn the lesson of this war. The United States and the Allies cannot save the world from militarism unless Germany learns her lesson thoroughly and completely, and they will not save the world or even themselves by a complete victory over Germany until they, too, have learned and can apply the lesson that militarism has become the deadly enemy of mankind.



France Unfavorable to Grey's Views

[BY THE PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES]

THE article published by Viscount Grey, formerly Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, on the necessity for the constitution of a league of nations was received badly by the press in France, where the idea of anything in the way of an international organization which will include Germany or anything German is scouted by all classes except a mere handful of the more extreme Socialists.

Not that Frenchmen as a nation have any rooted objections to a society of nations as such. On the contrary, there are no people in the world who are more anxious than the French to live in peace with their neighbors and give an opportunity for the free development of art, science, industry, and social evolution of every nation in close co-operation with all others.

But they are convinced in their bones that it is impossible to regard as anything but absolutely farcical the idea of endeavoring to persuade Germany to enter into a mutual arrangement such as the proposed society of nations involves. Germany has by her own acts declared herself an outcast and a pariah among nations, the French argue, and must in the nature of things remain so.

That a league of nations for mutual protection against Germany and to crush Germany till she is powerless to do further harm for all time is not only feasible but eminently desirable in the interest of all other peoples, every Frenchman agrees, but a league with Germany—never, they say.

"What head of a State," says Premier Clemenceau's paper, *L'Homme Libre*, "would ever consent to put his name at the foot of a treaty with that of the criminal and lying Hohenzollern? Can such a possibility be imagined as the loyal President Wilson accepting from the hand of the Hohenzollern the pen, with which to sign a pact of the reconciliation of their peoples? Never."

A Parliamentary committee was created some twelve months ago under

the Presidency of Léon Bourgeois to consider the conditions under which a society of nations might be realized. It is significant that, although the committee finished its work six months ago and transmitted its report to M. Clemenceau, as the head of the Government, on Jan. 17, 1918, the report has not yet been laid before the Chamber. Efforts have been made more than once by Socialist members to obtain the publication of the report, but so far, although M. Clemenceau himself made half a promise on one occasion, the report is still held back.

So far as can be gathered there is practically no support for the proposal here except among professional pacifists. It is not surprising, therefore, that Viscount Grey's utterance is very freely handled by the majority of the newspapers here. The *Journal des Débats*, in an article which it entitles "Reveries of a Country Gentleman," dismisses his arguments as the impossible and childish ideas of a man who, it suggests, is unable to realize the practical things of public life.

The *Temps*, more moderate, is equally condemnatory of the principle enunciated by the British statesman. It says:

So long as Germany remains what she is, she excludes herself by her own act from any society of nations which she cannot herself control after the Prussian manner. To try to convince her by argument of the necessity of giving up the religion of force and relinquishing the spirit of war is illusory. A society of free nations, inveterately allied against the powers of prey, is a reality which may be foreshadowed with confidence as a normal stage in evolution, but to try to create a league in which would be found alike freemen and serfs, victim and executioners, those who have suffered and those who have not expiated their crimes, would be a blunder.

The pacifist Pays alone pleads for the acceptance of Viscount Grey's ideas and regrets that he and Léon Bourgeois are not in the places occupied by Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and that the latter do not echo the words of the American President.

A Real League of Nations

By David Lloyd George

Premier of Great Britain

[From an Address Delivered in the City Temple, London, to the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.]

I HAVE stated—so have all the political leaders of this country—what our aims are: Vindication of international rights, restoration of conquered and trodden territories, the freeing of oppressed populations wherever they are, whether in Europe, in Africa, or in Asia, from the thralldom of alien despots, and, above all, making sure that war shall henceforth be treated as a crime, punishable by the law of nations.

As society is banded together for the punishment and repression of murder, theft, fraud, and all kinds of wrong and injustice inflicted by one individual upon another, so nations shall be banded together for the protection of each other and the world as a whole against the force, fraud, and greed of the mighty. To falter ere all this be achieved would be to doubt the justice of the Ruler of the world. To carry the war on a single hour after those aims can be attained would be to abandon the world to the spirit of evil.

With reference to the league of nations, the Bolsheviki have taught us one lesson at any rate, that a real league of nations does not come by talking about it. They forgot something which was essential—that once you have begun you have got to fight for it. The result was that while they were writing dispatches and making speeches about the league of nations they were left with barely half a nation to enter into a league with anybody. While they were talking about the rights of self-determination and allowing their armies to fall to pieces the Germans were stripping Russia of province after province, and while they still went on talking the Germans added Reval to Riga, and were on their way to make Odessa a German port. That is not the way to get a league of nations.

I would warn you in all sincerity not to mistake phrases for facts. There is

nothing more deadly even in peace; it is disastrous in war. I could frame—any man could—declarations of the most resounding equity as a basis for peace, every one of which would be accepted with a loud tongue by the Prussian war lords, and yet you would find, exactly as the Bolsheviki did, when these phrases came to be interpreted, that they were resounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

No man had discoursed so eloquently on the league of nations as the Kaiser. He would have satisfied the most exacting critic in the Free Church Council. His reply to the Pope breathed the spirit of brotherhood and Christian kindness. There was never a word about giving up Belgium, but there were whole passages on disarmament. Not a syllable about surrendering Lithuania and Courland, but on the league of nations he was absolutely sound.

He said he would not only accept the league of nations, but Germany was prepared to place herself at the head of it. When I saw that I knew what he really meant. Then you found the spirit of dominancy still there—a dagger wrapped in the Sermon on the Mount.

We have had treaties before; we must now know that we can give them reality. Millions of young men from the British Empire, from France and Italy—and in due time there will be millions from America—are engaged in demonstrating at the risk of their lives to the Prussian war lords that the world has reached that stage of civilization where justice can be enforced against the most powerful nations that trample upon its decrees. These are the true apostles of the league of nations. If they fail all leagues will be shams, and all treaties will continue to be nothing but scraps of paper. If they succeed—and they will—the league of nations will be an established fact.

Then you may beat your swords into plowshares, not until then. * * *

You cannot half wage a war. You must give the whole of your strength or not at all. That great Old Nonconformist who waged many wars and faced many misunderstandings, Oliver Cromwell, said: "Prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all." That is sound. If any man here or elsewhere can show me any way by which we can make peace without betraying the great and sacred cause for which we entered the war, and for

which so many millions have sacrificed their lives, to him will I listen gladly, gratefully, and thank God for the light which is given me.

Short of that, mere peace talk is undermining fibre and morale. I confidently ask my fellow Free Churchmen to use their potent influence in this land to sustain the heart of this great people to enable them to carry through to a triumphant end the greatest task that Providence has ever yet intrusted to their hands.

Earl Curzon's Proposal in Parliament

The House of Lords on June 26, 1918, discussed the proposed plans of a league of nations after the war. Viscount Bryce urged the Government to open an inquiry into the subject and to let the world know that it was doing so.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Government leader in the House of Lords, agreed with Viscount Bryce that there was no reason why, without waiting for the termination of the war, the Government should not discuss the proposal for a league of nations, which, he said, ought to be called into existence immediately after the war was ended. To a large extent, he said, leagues of nations existed already, as, for instance, the league of the British Empire and the league of over twenty nations allied to resist German militarism. There was also in existence in Paris machinery representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States for unity in naval, military, and economic matters.

These leagues, Earl Curzon continued, represented two-fifths of the human race and formed at least a nucleus from which it was possible to proceed. In outlining the duties of such a league as was proposed, Earl Curzon said that in order to be effective it ought to embrace all States, certainly all great States, but it was difficult to contemplate Germany being admitted.

Describing the inherent difficulties involved in the idea, Earl Curzon said that

he desired the House to assent to two propositions:

First, that it was desirable to prevent wars, or, if that was too Utopian, to limit them and diminish their horrors, to which end general concurrence and the ultimate admission of all the important States of the world was necessary.

Second, he said that he believed opinion in England was rather in advance of the opinion among the Allies, except possibly the United States. It was therefore advisable not to proceed too quickly and thus avoid rebuff.

The admission of Germany to a league of nations, Earl Curzon continued, was impossible until she was compelled by force of arms to abandon her world dream.

Therefore, in the first place, he suggested that there be two leagues, one friendly league of allied nations and another league of enemy nations. In the friendly league he suggested that refusal to submit a quarrel to arbitration should, by the very fact itself, place the refusing nation in a state of war with the others, and they should support each other without the need of any international police.

These were the lines the Government considered desirable and was earnestly investigating with the idea before long of exchanging views with the Allies, Earl Curzon said.

The Death Knell of Empire

By H. G. WELLS

H. G. Wells holds that a league of free nations would be the death knell of all empires. Its primary function, he maintains, would be the establishment of a supreme court whose decisions would be final, before which every sovereign power would appear as plaintiff against any other sovereign power or group of powers.

THE plea, I take it, will always be upon the line that the defendant power or group of powers is engaged in proceedings "calculated to lead to a breach of the peace," and calling upon the league for an injunction against such proceedings.

I suppose the proceedings that can be brought into court in this way fall under such headings as these that follow: Restraint of trade by injurious tariffs or such like differentiations, or by interference with through traffic; improper treatment of the subjects or their property (here I put a query) of the plaintiff nation in the defendant State; aggressive military or naval preparation; disorder spreading over the frontier; trespass, (as, for instance, by airships;) propaganda; espionage; permitting the organization of injurious activities, such as raids or piracy. Clearly all such actions would come within the purview of any world supreme court organized to prevent war.

But, in addition, there is a more doubtful and delicate class of case, arising out of the discontent of patches of one race or religion in the dominions of another. How far may the supreme court of the world attend to grievances between subject and sovereign? Such cases are highly probable, and no large, vague propositions about the "self-determination" of peoples can meet all the cases.

In Macedonia, for instance, there is a jumble of Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Rumanian villages always jostling one another and maintaining an intense irritation between the kindred nations at hand. Quite a large number of areas and cities in the world, it has to be remembered, are not homogeneous at all. Will the great nations of the world have the self-abnegation to permit a scattered subject population to appeal against the treatment of its ruling power to the supreme court?

SOVEREIGNTY CURTAILED

This, it seems to me, is a much more serious interference with sovereignty. Could a Greek village in Bulgarian Macedonia plead in the supreme court of the league of nations? Could the Armenians in Constantinople, or the Jews in Rumania, or the Poles in West Prussia, or the negroes in Georgia, or the Indians in the Transvaal make such an appeal?

Personally, I should like to see the power of the supreme court extend as far as this. I do not see how we can possibly prevent a kindred nation pleading for the scattered people of its own race and culture, or any nation presenting a case on behalf of some otherwise unrepresented people—the United States, for example, presenting a case on behalf of the Armenians.

But I doubt if many people have made up their minds yet to see the powers of the supreme court of the league of free nations go as far as this. I doubt if, to begin with, it will be possible to provide for all such particular cases. I would like to see it done, but I doubt if the majority of the sovereign peoples concerned will reconcile their national pride with the idea, at least so far as their own subject populations go.

[Mr. Wells argues that the armies and navies of the world must be at the disposal of the league and its powers must extend to a restraint of armaments and the control of the munition industry of each country—which leads him to the final deduction of the impracticability of the idea. He concludes as follows]:

THE END OF EMPIRE

But power over the military resources of the world is by no means the limit of the necessary powers of an effective league of free nations. There are still more indigestible implications in the idea,

and since they have got to be digested sooner or later, if civilization is not to collapse, there is no reason why we should not begin to bite upon them now.

I was much interested in the alleged proposal of the German Chancellor that we should give up (presumably to Germany) Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, and such like key possessions. That seemed to excite our press and several of our politicians extremely. I read his speech very carefully, and he did not propose anything of the sort. He was defending the idea of sticking in Belgium and Lorraine because of the strategic importance of those regions to Germany, and he was arguing that before we English got into such a feverish state of indignation about that, we should ask ourselves what we were doing in Gibraltar, &c.

We English are so persuaded of the purity and unselfishness with which we discharge our imperial responsibilities, we know so certainly that all our subject nations call us blessed, that it is a little difficult for us to see just how it looks to an outside intelligence that we are, for example, so deeply rooted in Egypt.

The German idea of freedom of the seas, again, is a quite selfish and aggressive idea, as Lord Robert Cecil has explained; they want to set up all over the earth coaling stations and strategic points, after the fashion of ours. Well, they argue, we are only trying to do what you British have done. If, they say, we are not to do so, because it is aggression, and so on and so on, is not the time ripe for you to reconsider your own position?

LEAGUE OR EMPIRES?

At the risk of rousing much patriotic wrath, I must admit that I think we have to reconsider our position. Our argument is that in India, Egypt, Africa, and elsewhere we stand for order and civilization, we are the trustees of freedom, the agents of knowledge and efficiency. On the whole, the record of British rule is a pretty respectable one; I am not

ashamed of our record. Nevertheless, the case is altering.

It is quite justifiable for us, no doubt, if we do really play the part of honest trustees, to remain in Egypt and in India under existing conditions; it is even possible, as things are, for us to glance at the helplessness of Arabia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, incapable of self-government, politically new-born infants crying out for trustees.

But our case, our only justifiable case, was, and is, that we were, and are, trustees because there was no better trustee possible. And the creation of a council or a league of free nations will be like the creation of a public trustee for the world. The creation of a league of free nations is the creation of an authority that may legitimately call upon existing empires to give an account of their stewardship. It comes to that. For an unchecked fragmentary control it substitutes a general authority.

This league must necessarily alter the whole problem, therefore, of the tutelage of the politically immature nations, the control of the tropics, and the distribution of staple products in the world. It will knock away every excuse which can be made for dominion over "subject peoples."

The plain truth is that the league of free nations, if it is to be a reality, must do no less than supersede empire altogether; it must end not only this new German imperialism which is struggling so savagely and powerfully to possess the earth, but British imperialism and French imperialism which do now so largely and in aggressively possess it. And, moreover, this idea queries the adjective of Belgian, Portuguese, French, and British Central Africa alike, just as emphatically as it queries "German."

Are these incompatibilities understood? Until people have faced the clear antagonism that exists between imperialism and internationalism, they have not begun to suspect the real significance of this project of the league of free nations.

A Peace League Based on Population

By ARNOLD BENNETT

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WAR is well organized. Peace never has been well organized. Of course, it is easier, though far more expensive, to organize war than peace, because only one State is needed to organize war, whereas at least two States are needed to organize peace. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the making of war is so efficiently and smoothly organized that war occurs, against almost everybody's wish, whereas the keeping of peace is so badly organized that, though almost everybody wants peace to be kept, peace isn't kept.

On July 26, 1914, the Austrian Ambassador telegraphed to Vienna that the Russian Minister had been warned about the extreme danger of mobilizing armies as a form of diplomatic pressure. He said purely military consideration of the question by the General Staffs would then find expression, and, if that button were once touched in Germany, the situation would get out of control.

You see how war works, almost by itself. It is quite certain that no touching of any button, either in Germany or in any other country, would ever have started peace machinery so efficient and smooth that a peace situation would get out of control. The nations simply had to keep peace, in spite of themselves.

The machinery for keeping peace has hitherto been what we call diplomacy; it has horribly failed. All statesmen are agreed as to the chief reason for its failure. The reason is that diplomacy is secret. Among modern peoples, who, after all, have learned a certain amount of common sense from the ages, war could never happen if the preliminaries to it were open and above board.

Once upon a time the peoples thought war was grand. They now know war is insane. A few highly placed persons in any country who want war may succeed in starting the efficient machinery of war by mystifying and mesmerizing the people. They arouse alarm and excite-

ment. They talk about a crisis, and about delicate negotiations, and about an acute crisis, and about a deadlock, and about anticipating the worst. Nobody outside the ring knows anything.

WAR THROUGH FEAR

Ignorance is the mother of fear, and fear is the mother of foolishness. Suddenly there is a panic on the Stock Exchange. Newspapers full of naught but preparations for war do the rest. The peoples have gone to war, and they don't know why. Later on, they learn they went to war because they had lost their heads and been fooled accordingly by a few wily personages whose trade was war.

Now, this particular kind of lunacy could not possibly happen if there were a league of nations for keeping the peace. In the first place, the proceedings of even the most inefficient league of nations would be entirely public, and the peoples would know all that was going on all the time. In the second place, a league of nations must take at some stage action of some sort in conference, and the effect of any conference on any international question can be foretold with certitude.

Said Lucien Woolf in excellent suggestions for the prevention of war which he wrote for *The New Statesman* three years ago:

A conference prevents excitement by being so intolerably dull. When a score of diplomatic gentlemen have been sitting round a green baize table discussing some international question for a fortnight they have killed all interest in that question for at least a year. The Algeiras Conference killed the Moroccan question in this way. Before it met Germany and France were boiling with excitement. Long before it finished its work everybody was so bored with it that it was quite impossible to use Morocco as an excuse for war for five years.

International conferences not only have the immense advantage of world-

wide publicity, they possess also the admirable quality of curing perilous fevers by mere tedium.

AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

It is very probable, it is, indeed, almost sure, that international disputes would not be settled by conference. They would ultimately be settled by the decision of a tribunal, or court of justice, with full powers, but this tribunal would itself be nominated by the league in conference, and therefore in the end everything would depend on the constitution of the league; that is to say, upon the principles upon which the various nations were allowed to send representatives to the sittings of the league. And the first essential of a successful league is that it should be constituted in such a manner as would not only lead to the doing of real justice in all disputes, but would also convince each separate nation that that nation was having a fair chance in the activities of the league. Unless real justice is done and unless the nations are satisfied as to the general fairness of the league, the league cannot last very long. It is bound to fall to pieces.

Now let us consider a little what the league at work will actually consist of. It will consist, not of heavenly beings, seraphim, cherubim, saints, and high philosophers removed from the weakness of common beings; it will consist of persons very like you and me, subject to our failings, our weaknesses, and our prejudices. Half of the members of the league, when they assemble in the morning, will be wondering whether or not they can digest their breakfast properly. More than half of them will be open to flattery or to threats, and a great deal more than half of them will have axes to grind.

The existence of the league will not change human nature, and there will be precisely as much human nature within the meetings of the league as there will be outside those meetings. The meetings will be remarkably like other meetings of committees and councils.

It follows, therefore, that important

and influential negotiations will go on informally between sundry groups of the league and quite apart from the formal meetings, and that a large proportion of the members will attend the meetings with their minds already made up on points on which their minds are theoretically supposed to be quite open. In other words, the real, effective proceedings of the league will not, after all, be quite so public as we in our innocence may have imagined. There will be an appreciable amount of what we call lobbying; that is, members and groups of members will foregather in private and A will say to B, "Will you vote for my project?" and B will reply to A, "Yes, I will vote for your project, if you will vote for mine," and so on in increasing degrees of complication.

Well, how will the nations of the world agree to constitute the personnel of the league? The principle adopted at the old Hague Conferences was beautifully simple. Forty-four States were represented, and the principle was one nation, one vote. The smaller nations insisted upon this principle as the price of their adhesion. Their argument was that, as each nation was sovereign and independent, all nations were equal and must be equally represented. It was a charming principle and might conceivably work well on the planet Mars, but it could never work well on earth, because it was so absurdly contrary to all earthly notions of common sense.

Eight great powers of the world—Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Japan, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary—comprise about three-quarters of the total population of the world, and under the one-nation-one-vote scheme they had less than one-fifth of the voting power. Luxemburg and Denmark, with a combined population less than half the population of London, could swamp the vote of the entire British Empire with its area of 13,000,000 square miles and its population of over 400,000,000 souls. The thing would obviously be ridiculous in any plan for a truly practical and workable league.

The only simple alternative seems to be representation on the basis of popu-

lation. Democracy is the politics of the future, and this would be a democratic alternative. It would, however, mean that, if Luxemburg had one representative, Britain would have some 1,700 representatives, which is almost as ridiculous as the one-nation-one-vote scheme. The personnel of the league must be kept down to a reasonable size, hence either the smallest States could not be represented at all or several of them would have to combine together to send a single representative.

But the smaller nations are not of urgent importance. The league is to be chiefly concerned with the prevention of war. The smaller nations would never make war, only great powers would make war, and it is the representation of the great powers that matters in the constitution of the league. Hence let us glance at a list of the great powers, adding Spain to them, if you like, as Spain did make war not such a long time ago, and see if there is anything curious about it.

There is just this that is curious about it, namely, that two groups dominate it, an Anglo-Saxon group and a Teutonic group. In mentioning a Teutonic group at all I am, of course, assuming that the war is over and the German militarists smashed. Outside these two groups we observe Russia, with a population so gigantic that it could look after itself in the league, and Spain, which would itself be the head of an important group comprising Spanish South America, and Japan, which is Oriental and incalculable. France and Italy are left out in the cold. They would probably never combine together, and, even if they did, their combined forces would not equal that of Germany alone.

CONCESSIONS TO FRANCE

The idea of a league of nations has had some success in France, but only very modified success. Do you wonder

why? France, like Italy, may or may not have consciously realized the reason of her coldness toward the idea of a league, but the reason is this: On a population basis of representation France would be simply nowhere in the league; she would be a trifle amid tremendous groups.

There is no suggestion for anything so silly as the old balance of power in what I am saying, but there emphatically is the suggestion of the inevitable drawing together of nations allied by race or language, or by both. Undoubtedly lobbying would occur within the great groups, and bargaining would go on, as to which no hint would ever appear in the official proceedings of the league. France, like Italy, naturally fears this, and on a population basis of representation could do almost nothing to counter any movements which she might imagine to be against her interests.

France counts for far more than her population in the progress of the world. She is the centre of civilization, the historic nursery of ideas, the admired heroine of the earth, and a league of nations without her whole-souled co-operation is unthinkable; hence her fears must be dissipated, they must have no ground to stand on and no air to breathe.

How can her fears be dissipated? They can only be dissipated by giving her appreciably larger representation in the league than she is strictly entitled to on a basis of population; the same in less degree with Italy.

I am fully aware that my proposal is a very delicate one, and will arouse many objections; nevertheless I regard the proposal as the *sine qua non* of a successful league of nations. Let this proposal be made, and the idea of the league of nations will instantly jump forward. The proposal involves difficulties, but these difficulties must be met. It involves sacrifices, but greater sacrifices than these will have to be made if a league of nations is to be and is to work.

After-the-War Problems

How England is Handling Them.

It was announced on June 20 that an American commission would be sent to England, France, and Italy to study the methods under consideration in those countries for solving the economic problems which will arise when the armies are dispersed. The following review of the questions as they are being considered in Great Britain was prepared by an editor of The London Telegraph May 30, 1918:

IT is good to know that while the great struggle for human freedom still rages, and the day when victory, full and complete, shall at last crown all our sacrifices cannot yet be foretold, problems that must inevitably arise with the coming of peace are receiving an ever-increasing amount of attention. In the forefront of these problems stands industrial reconstruction—and especially, perhaps, that side of it which concerns the resettlement in a wage-earning capacity of millions of men taken from industrial life to fight the nation's battles in various parts of the world. There need be no secret about the fact that Government departments, and particularly the Ministry of Labor, have been planning for a long while how best to achieve this difficult task.

A first essential is intimate co-operation between military and civil officials in order to avoid the dispersal of men in such numbers as literally to swamp the employment market. What is aimed at is a process accurately adjusted to supply the requirements of industries as they swing over from war to peace activities. How, then, are the stout British fighting men in France, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and in India to be fitted into the scheme of the country's life whenever the time comes for them to doff the uniforms they have so honorably adorned? It is, to begin with, purely a civil problem, and is being treated as such by those on whom falls the duty of looking ahead in this matter. The War Office authorities have shaped their scheme for dispersing the men with admirable minuteness.

In the case of a citizen army such as ours it was a wise step to register the occupation followed by every man, and

the resulting information should prove of enormous value hereafter. Our army, as a matter of fact, is now classified in occupational groups, and when the period for dispersal is here the Labor Ministry, acting with knowledge of the ability of particular trades to absorb labor, will be able to indicate the moment at which men in any particular group should return to civil life.

A HUMAN TOUCH

In dispersing by drafts from different units according to industrial needs it is hoped to avert to a great extent the evil of unemployment, which it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell would inevitably result were men sent back haphazard in great batches without thought for their future. It will be a huge business, anyway, and it must be tackled not only scientifically but sympathetically, unless chaos is to follow. Happily, from what one gathers, there is a wholesome desire to deal with the matter in a spirit that will commend itself to everybody. The army will have had the use of the men, and when they have finished their job it does not propose to turn them loose in a careless fashion to fare as best they can, but, co-operating with the Ministry of Labor, to return them as far as possible as they can be absorbed in civil employment.

It has been indicated that the basis of the whole scheme is industrial reconstruction, and this being so, the amount of assistance it will be possible for employers to render is incalculable. There is reason to believe that they will render all the service that lies in their power, since so many have promised to re-estate their late employes.

Every man who has work waiting for

him will be brought home with the least possible delay consistent with the priority of industrial requirements. There will be much to be gained, therefore, by co-operation all round. The army has been characterized as a soulless institution, but, as a matter of fact, in looking ahead at this problem, it appears to have been moved by very human considerations. For example, there is a desire to recognize the claims of the men who have been longest in the field—the old soldiers, who have no situations to which they can return. These men, one is assured, will not be kept to the last, but will be dribbled home early enough to give them a reasonable chance in the labor market, which is precisely what everybody would wish them to have.

Other examples might be given, but the above will be sufficient to show that a "human touch" is present in the program which has taken shape for the mightiest home-coming in the long history of our land.

SENDING SOLDIERS HOME

Whenever the day comes on which it can be said that the end of the war is at hand, people will naturally begin to ask how soon they may expect to have husbands, sons, or brothers in the home circle again.

As has been indicated, the army authorities will be prepared to perform their share of the task in an expeditious manner. A representative of The Daily Telegraph had the privilege of being present the other day at a full rehearsal of the system of dispersal carried out at a military station "somewhere in the home counties." It will probably be many months, and they will be anxious months, before the scheme is required, but it is desired that all the necessary plans should be perfected down to the smallest detail, so that there may be no hitch when the word "Go" is given.

For the purposes of dispersal England and Scotland will be divided into twelve areas, containing eighteen stations. The convenience of the men themselves will be closely studied. John Smith may be serving with a Highland regiment in France, but his home may be in London

or somewhere else in England. So when the day arrives for him to make his exit from the army, he will not be sent to the dispersal station nearest to the depot of his regiment, but to the one nearest to the place where he wants to live on becoming once again a civilian. The idea is to deal with men from France and men from the home commands or other theatres of war as nearly as possible at the same rate. The arrangements for troops from the overseas dominions will be made by their own Governments. Many of these fine soldiers were promised when they enlisted that they would be given an opportunity to visit London before they went back. There will probably be some of them who will look to have that promise redeemed after the war.

It seems hardly time yet to describe in great detail the exact lines of the dispersal procedure as carried out at the station visited by the writer. The authorities are testing the scheme to discover any possible flaws. To the non-military mind there seemed to be absolutely none. Everything appeared to run with the smoothness of clockwork. Every man on leaving his unit will be provided with a dispersal certificate containing, among other information, a record of his equipment.

UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY

He will be required to leave his rifle and other Government property in a particular shed, where he will be furnished with a new sandbag in which to pack his private belongings. Thereafter he will proceed to a hut labeled "Policy Office," where he will be handed an unemployment donation policy insuring him a certain weekly sum if unemployed for a specific period after he leaves the army. The rate and period are not yet settled. In another hut, which is the pay office, his protection certificate will be stamped, and he will receive an advance of pay. A railway warrant will be forthcoming to carry him to his home, and, finally, he will depart in uniform, plus greatcoat, on what amounts to twenty-eight days' furlough. At the end of that time he will be out of the army. His uniform he will keep. His greatcoat he

will return, a label having been provided, and will get a fixed sum from the army for doing so.

There is good authority for saying that the various documents necessary to provide for Tommy's exit from the fighting forces have been reduced to a minimum. Yet 45,000,000 forms will be required, consuming 350 tons of paper.

TRADE SAFEGUARDS

A number of departmental committees were appointed by the London Board of Trade in the earlier part of 1916 to consider the position of various British trades after the war, especially in relation to international competition, and to report what measures, if any, are necessary or desirable in order to safeguard that position. The reports of four of these committees, those on the textile, iron and steel, electrical, and engineering trades were published recently, though all were dated a year earlier.

All agree in recommending that the

importation of enemy goods in the respective trades should be prohibited after the war except under license. The textile and engineering trades committees recommend a minimum period of prohibition of one year; the electrical committee three years, subject to importation under license in special circumstances after the first year; and the iron and steel committee "during the period of reconstruction," though in this case three members dissent from the terms of the majority statement. Three committees definitely recommend anti-dumping legislation, two (textile and engineering) on the lines of that enacted in the United States, and one (iron and steel) of that in force in Canada; while the electrical committee suggests the prevention of the sale in the United Kingdom of any imported electrical goods at prices lower than those current in the country of origin and the imposition of import duties sufficiently high to protect the industry effectively.

A Toast to the Flag

By JOHN DALY

"Here's to the red of it;
There's not a thread of it,
No, nor a shred of it,
In all the spread of it,
From foot to head,
But heroes bled for it,
Faced steel and lead for it,
Precious blood shed for it,
Bathing in red.

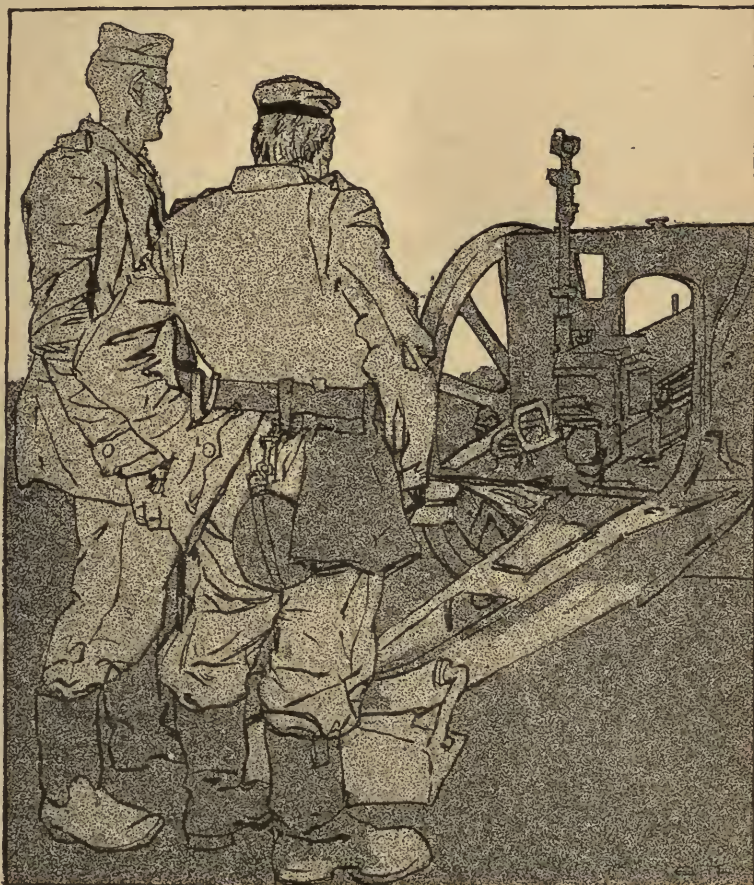
"Here's to the white of it;
Thrilled by the sight of it,
Who knows the right of it
But has felt the might of it
Through day and night;
Womanhood's care for it
Made manhood dare for it,
Purity's prayer for it
Kept it so white.

"Here's to the blue of it,
Heavenly view of it,
Star-Spangled hue of it,
Honesty's due of it,
Constant and true;
Here's to the whole of it,
Stars, stripes, and pole of it,
Here's to the soul of it,
Red, white, and blue."

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

Melting Down the Statues in Germany



—From *Kladderadatsch*. Berlin.

“And this once was Goethe!”

[English Cartoon]

Truthful Karl!



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

THE IMPERIAL LION COMIQUE: "There has been nothing whatever the matter, gentlemen!"

[English Cartoon]

Cologne Is Reaping the Whirlwind!



—From *The Passing Show*, London.

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Disconsolate Eagle

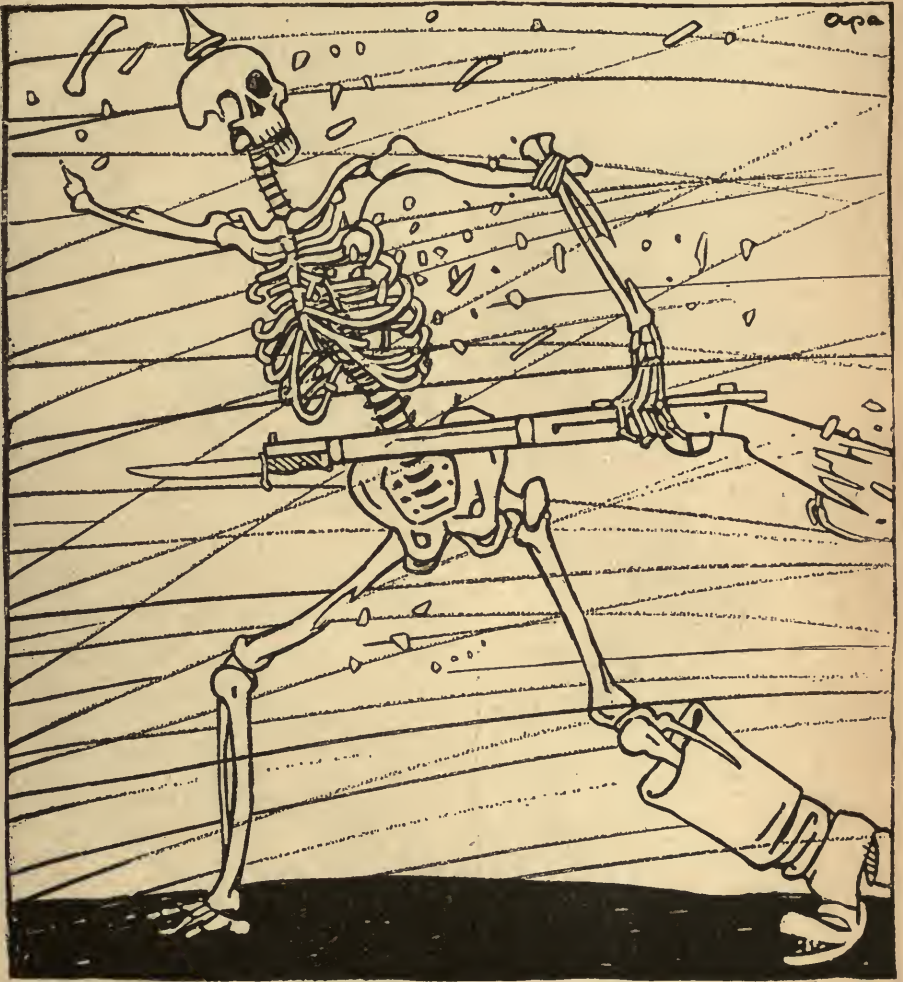


—From Esquella, Barcelona.

"Just when I thought I had desolated the fields I see those strong plants blooming fresher than ever."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The End and the Means



—From Iberia, Barcelona.

Courage! Courage, friends! A little more tenacity and we shall be masters of Hill X.

[Italian Cartoon]
In the Italian Alps



—Il 420, Florence.

SENTINEL OF THE GRAPPA: "Comrade, they shall not pass here."

SENTINEL ON THE PIAVE: "Nor here!"

[Italian Cartoon]
The Torture of Tantalus



—Il 420, Florence.

Paris, so near and yet so far!

[American Cartoon]
The German Mother Hubbard



—Cartoons Magazine, Chicago.

Old Kaiser Cain
Went to Ukraine

To get his starved people some corn:

But when he got there

The Ukraine was bare—

And the Huns wish they'd never been born.

[Italian Cartoon]
The Kaiser's Grief



—Il 420, Florence.

[American Cartoon]

The Gorged Hun



—Brooklyn Eagle.

"How I would like a leedle schmoke!"

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail.

KAISER: "What have I not done to preserve the world from such horrors?"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Crocodile Tears



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

[German Cartoons]

The Poor French



FRANCE: "England is in danger and Calais must be defended to the last Frenchman and American."

The Entente's Delicate Shrub



"It's certainly not thriving this Spring! Our sole hope is fertilizer from America."

Distress Turns to Prayer



IN HEAVEN: "I hear a lot of prayers in English. What's wrong in England?"

In America



PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now, ladies and gentlemen, there's no trick, no bluff—simply a stroke of the pen, and behold! 30,000 U-boats, 50,000 tanks, 150,000 airplanes."

[Dutch Cartoons]

Rumanian Peace



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.

FERDINAND OF RUMANIA: "They call that a peace by understanding. I don't want anything else on the same basis."

In the Dutch Cottage



—From *Notenkraker*, Amsterdam.

The shadow on the wall.

[American Cartoon]

The June Bride



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

[American Cartoon]

German U-Boats in American Waters



—From *The New York Times*.
A Front They Did Not Mean to Break.

[English Cartoon]
The Star-Gazer



—From John Bull, London.

"Beholding heaven, and feeling hell."—("Lalla Rookh," Tom Moore.)

[American Cartoons]

More and More Am I Convinced

The World Knows Their
Conception



—Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoon]

"I Did Not Will This War"



—New York Herald.

[Canadian Cartoon]

"Who Said Death?"



—Montreal Star.

[American Cartoon]

Sardonic Humor



—Newark News.

[Italian Cartoon]

As He Would Like It



—From Il 420, Florence.

[American Cartoon]

The War of the Crosses



—From *The Providence Journal*.

Potsdam Society Note



—Central Press Association.

"Owing to the impassable condition of the roads, the Crown Prince and party have canceled their proposed joy ride to 'Gay Paree' this Summer."

Breaking Into the Big League



—St. Louis Republic.

This Is Only the Beginning



—Baltimore American.

Getting Their Scalps



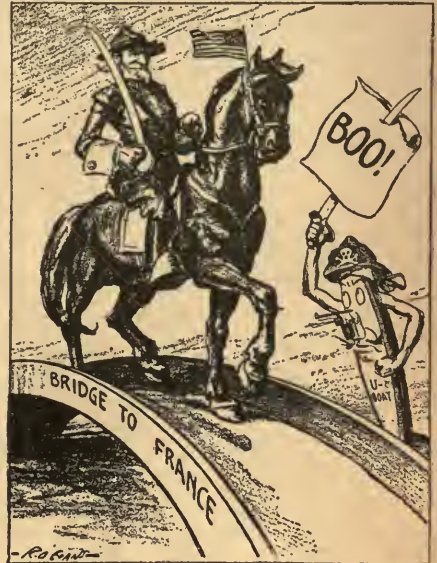
—Baltimore American.

He Never Shies at Anything

The Greatest Knave in the World



—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.



—Baltimore American.

The Hun Is At the Gate



—Baltimore American.

The Sea Wolves Are Barking At Our Door



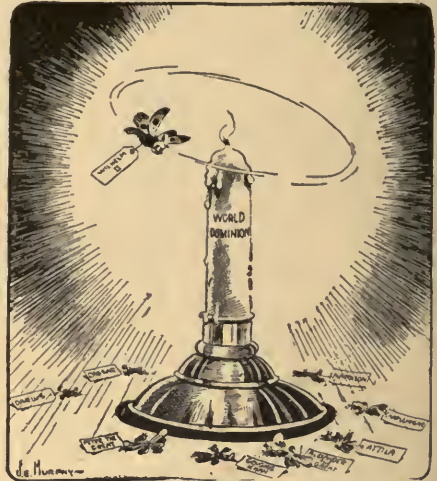
—Rochester Times-Union.

Pulling Together



—Dallas News.

Moths and the Flame



—San Francisco Call-Post.

Turn on the Other



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Tell It to the Marines



—Detroit News.

Prosit!—How Much Longer?



—Satterfield Syndicate.

"This Is Victory Speaking:
SEND MORE MEN!"



—St. Louis Republic.

Becoming!



—Milwaukee Sentinel.

Cheating Himself



—San Francisco Chronicle.

[Dutch Cartoon]
The Russian Resurrection



KAISER: "Hang it! I believe the thing is actually alive, after all!"
—from *De Amsterdamer*, Amsterdam.

MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM M. WRIGHT



Commander of the 3d American Army Corps

(© Press Illustrating Service)

MAJOR GEN. GEORGE W. READ



Commander of the 4th American Army Corps
(© Harris & Ewing from Paul Thompson)

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1918.]

BEGINNING THE FIFTH YEAR

THE first month of the fifth year of the war was the most favorable for the Allies since the beginning of the great conflict. Not only was the initiative wrested from the Germans on the Western front, but they were outgeneraled and outfought by British, French, and Americans; they lost much valuable territory, to capture which had cost them dear; their losses in man power were very serious (estimated at 360,000 between July 18 and Aug. 18) and the morale of their troops was appreciably lowered. The union of anti-Bolshevist elements in Russia, the collapse of the Lenine-Trotsky control, and the early re-entrance of Russia into the war as a formidable factor on the side of the Allies gave serious concern to the Central Powers. No less significant was the momentous movement of the Czechoslovaks, Jugoslavs, and Poles for independence. But overshadowing all else in the gloom which fell upon the Teutonic forces was the knowledge that 1,500,000 American troops were on French soil; that the flood was continuing to pour in at the rate of 300,000 a month, and that the American soldiers on the battlefield, fighting man for man, had bested the Kaiser's crack troops, who had never before met defeat. Added to all this was the increase in allied shipbuilding and the accelerated upward curve of new tonnage in excess of submarine sinkings, the net excess in July alone being over 250,000 tons.

There were no military operations of any importance on any of the other fronts. The battles in France and the intervention in Russia are treated fully elsewhere in these pages. The killing of the Czar by Bolshevik agents gave a tragic setting to the thrilling developments in Russia.

In political circles the most important event of the month was the conviction and banishment of M. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, by the French

Senate, thus more firmly than ever establishing the French patriots and discouraging the "defeatist" elements.

The outstanding events in America in relation to the war were the speeding up of all munition and shipbuilding work, the acceleration of the overseas movement of soldiers, which exceeded 300,000 in July, and the adoption by the Administration of conscription between the ages of 18 and 45, accompanied by the announcement that 4,000,000 American soldiers were expected to be in France by June, 1919, with another million ready to go if necessary.

* * *

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF

THE ex-Czar Nicholas of Russia, whose murder was one of the month's events, was the eldest son of Emperor Alexander III. and Empress Maria Fyodorovna, née Dagmar of Denmark. He was born at Tzarskoe Selo on May 6, (18,) 1868, and grew up in the gloomy palace at Gatchina. He received a moderate education, like that of an ordinary Guard officer. Among his teachers were the famous obscurantist Pobiedonostzev and Mr. C. Heath, to whom the Czar owed a knowledge of English superior to that of the official language of the Russian Empire. At the age of 13 years he was nominated Hetman of the Cossacks, and at the moment of his accession to the throne he had the rank of Colonel.

The first important event in the life of the young Prince was a trip around the world, which he made in 1890-91, in the company of several relatives and young officers. The voyage was undertaken ostensibly for educational purposes, but it was said to have degenerated into a series of debauches. In Japan, the country which was destined to play such a tragic part in Nicholas's life, he was struck by a Japanese policeman on the head, receiving a rather serious wound. On his return from foreign parts

Nicholas resumed the life of a Russian military youth.

In 1894 the heir to the throne was betrothed to Princess Alix of Hessen, daughter of the Grand Duke of Hessen, granddaughter of Queen Victoria and sister of Grand Duke Ernst-Ludwig of Hessen Darmstadt. On being baptized into Orthodoxy, she was given the name of Alexandra Fyodorovna. The couple married shortly after Nicholas's accession to the throne, in November, 1894. About the same time a certain Ivan Rasputin was arrested on the charge of having organized an attempt on the life of the young ruler.

The last Russian autocrat was a good father and husband. His wife bore him four daughters in succession, and finally, in 1904, a son, named Alexis (Alexei) and immediately nominated heir apparent to the throne. Throughout his reign Nicholas manifested indecision, a restricted outlook, and a marked obscurantist tendency. He was strongly inclined toward religion with a superstitious passion for spiritism and occultism.

The coronation of the Emperor took place in May, 1896, in Moscow. During the festivities arranged for the masses to celebrate the solemnity thousands of people were killed and wounded in a panic occasioned by criminal mismanagement. This disaster foreshadowed all the calamities of Nicholas's tragic reign, which were precipitated by the Japanese war and the revolutionary upheaval. He was forced to sign the addication manifesto on March 15, 1917, when the revolution was an accomplished fact.

* * *

HONORS FOR FRENCH GENERALS

THE Council of Ministers of France announced on Aug. 6 that General Ferdinand Foch, Commander in Chief of the allied forces on the western front, had been promoted to be a Marshal of France. The Ministers also conferred the Military Medal upon General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French Armies on the western front. In presenting the name of General Foch, Premier Clemenceau said:

At the hour when the enemy, by a for-

midable offensive on a front of 100 kilometers, counted on snatching the decision and imposing a German peace upon us, General Foch and his admirable troops vanquished him.

Paris is not in danger, Soissons and Château-Thierry have been reconquered, and more than 200 villages have been delivered; 35,000 prisoners and 700 cannon have been captured, and the enemy's high hopes before the attack have been crushed. The glorious allied armies have thrown him from the banks of the Marne to the Aisne. Such are the results of the High Command's strategy, superbly executed by incomparable commanders. The confidence placed by the republic and by all the Allies in the conqueror of St. Goud, the Yser, and the Somme has been fully justified.

A memorandum issued prior to the promotion of General Foch said that his elevation to the rank of Marshal would not only be a reward for past services, but would also "consecrate even more deeply the authority of the great warrior called upon to lead the Entente armies to a definite victory."

The citation accompanying General Pétain's decoration said:

He has always succeeded in maintaining a firm, benevolent discipline in the armies, in upholding the morale to a supreme degree, and inspiring a high degree of confidence. He has acquired imperishable rights to national gratitude by victoriously repulsing the German onslaught.

* * *

THE MARSHAL'S BATON

THE most ancient and highest military honor which the Republic of France can bestow is the baton of a Marshal of France. It antedates both the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor and the Military Medal; it lacks the political taint of the former, but does not aspire to the credit for individual bravery as does the bestowal of the latter.

For over forty years no one had received the Marshal's baton in France when it was given to General Joffre in December, 1916. This reward for the soldier who had conceived and executed the battle of the Marne was delayed by the socialistic influences which prevailed in the Briand Ministry in the first year of the war and feared military dictatorship. And now General Foch, whose strategy in command of the 7th Army

at the battle of the Marne was as dramatic as it was effectual, receives the second baton for winning what may be known as the second battle of the Marne and for having saved, at least in the popular mind, Paris for the second time.

This baton, as provided for by the present military regulations, is a staff seventy centimeters long and five in diameter, covered with dark blue velvet, flecked with gold stars and tipped with silver heads on the rims of which is engraved the Latin legend: "Terror belli; decus pacis" [the terror of war, the honor of peace.] It is carried in the right hand clasped in the middle with one end resting on the hip and is used to salute instead of the sword.

The dignity was first instituted in France by King Philip Augustus at the time of the Third Crusade in 1191.

* * *

BRITISH TROOPS ON THE CASPIAN SEA

ACCORDING to dispatches Aug. 18 British forces were in possession of Baku, the important port on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, and also held important positions in Turkestan, on the eastern coast. The troops had passed through Baluchistan and Eastern Persia. By a curious contradiction, while the British in the north of Russia are opposing the Bolsheviki, in the Caucasus they are allied with the Bolsheviki in fighting the Turks. The presence of British troops in these regions was unexpected; it was announced in official circles that they were in alliance with the Armenians and with local revolutions hostile to the Central Powers, and would aid in preventing the Germans and Turks from securing dominion there.

* * *

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONES UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

BY authority of a joint resolution of Congress, President Wilson, on July 23, 1918, issued a proclamation taking control of the telegraph and telephone systems of the United States, and appointing the Postmaster General to act as supervisor. The Government did not take over the marine cable and radio systems because of the questions of for-

eign ownership involved. Postmaster General Burleson assumed formal possession, control, and operation of the land wires at midnight July 31. He stated that the systems would be operated as heretofore, and that no changes would be made until after the most careful consideration of all the facts.

* * *

THE CONFERRING OF FOREIGN DECORATIONS

WHEN France and England recently desired to confer orders on Americans for military distinction, it was necessary to find some way of accepting the compliment without violating that section of the American Constitution which declares that "no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince, or foreign State." (Article I., Section 9, sub-Section 8.)

England has the distinction of being the only country which has preserved the forms of the investiture of knighthood, since the days "when knighthood was in flower." In the British Empire it has long been the custom to confer orders of knighthood, with the knightly prefix *Sir*, not only on distinguished sons of Dominions but on natives of India, whether of Princely rank or high personal distinction.

King George in July awarded the Order of the Bath to Admiral Rodman and the Order of St. Michael and St. George to Admiral Strauss, both of the United States Navy. Generals Pershing, March, and Biddle received the decoration of Knight Commander of the Bath. Under a rule passed by Congress permission was given to Americans to accept foreign decorations, but before the rule was adopted an order tendered to Admiral Sims by King George was declined. The Americans in receiving these orders do so without the ceremony of the accolade—the laying on of the sword and the recital of mystic words; nor are they "dubbed" in a kneeling posture signifying allegiance. They are simply pre-

sented with the orders as a gift. No titles go with the honors thus conferred.

* * *

PRESIDENT WILSON'S APPEAL REGARDING MOB VIOLENCE

PRESIDENT WILSON issued a personal appeal on July 26 addressed to the public, denouncing mob spirit and mob action. He referred not alone to mob action against those suspected of being enemy aliens or enemy sympathizers; he denounced most emphatically mob action of all sorts, especially lynchings. In this address he said:

I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob, or gives it any sort of countenance, is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their savior. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?

The President called upon the law officers to co-operate to end the evil, and closed with these words:

I now call upon it, upon its men and women everywhere, to see to it that its laws are kept inviolate, its fame untarnished. Let us show our utter contempt for the things that have made this war hideous among the wars of history by showing how those who love liberty and right and justice, and are willing to lay down their lives for them upon foreign fields, stand ready also to illustrate to all mankind their loyalty to all things at home which they wish to see established everywhere as a blessing and protection to the peoples who have never known the privilege of liberty and self-government. I can never accept any man as a champion of liberty, either for ourselves or for the world, who does not reverence and obey the laws of our own beloved land, whose laws we ourselves have made—he has adopted the standards of the enemies of his country, whom he affects to despise.

* * *

THE BANISHMENT OF M. MALVY

THE sentence of exile passed by the French Senate, sitting as a Supreme Court, on M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior in so many Cabinets, for his share in the doings of Bolo, revives the

general question of exile as a punishment. One of the earliest and most famous exiles was Aristides, ostracized for opposing Themistocles's policy of naval expansion; that is, voted into exile by a ballot of oyster shells cast by the Athenian Assembly. One of the voters, asked the cause of his adverse vote, replied that he had nothing personally against Aristides, "but was tired of hearing him called 'the Just.'" This was about 485 years before our era. Another famous exile was the poet-Ovid, who, for complicity in some unknown intrigue, which the Emperor Augustus held to be treasonable, was banished to Torni, at the mouth of the Danube, in the ninth year of our era. Coming to more recent times: A statute of King Charles II., of the year 1678, made banishment to America the equivalent, as a punishment, of execution. The most famous modern exile was the Emperor Napoleon, whose banishment to St. Helena has become a proverb. During the period of assassinations in Russia which culminated in the murder of Alexander the Liberator, in 1881, many of the Bolsheviki of those days were exiled to Siberia, where they held a position quite different from that of the many dangerous criminals; for the Russia of the Czars, in this, perhaps, altogether too humane, sent convicted murderers to Siberia where America would have electrocuted them. In this way it happened that a third of the male population of some Siberian towns consisted of convicted murderers. But the closest analogue to the case of Malvy is that of Marshal Bazaine, who, in 1873, was exiled to the Ile-Sainte-Marguerite, whence he escaped to Italy and Spain, where he died in 1883.

* * *

GENERAL DEGOUTTE'S CAREER

THE French Official Bureau issued the following memorandum regarding one of France's ablest Generals:

General Degoutte, the victor of Château-Thierry, who shares with Generals Mangin, de Mitry, Berthelot, and Gouraud the merit of having won the second battle of the Marne, is one of the most able and brilliant of the young French Generals. By a curious coincidence, General De-

goutte is a colonial, like Mangin and Gouraud. All his military career has been made in the colonial campaigns of the French Republic in Tunis from 1890 to 1895, in Madagascar from 1895 to 1896, in China in 1900, and in Morocco from 1911 to 1913.

Like Mangin and Pétain, he, at the outbreak of the war, was a Colonel and had distinguished himself, especially in the battle of Allette in November, 1917, where, with his army corps, he captured 4,000 prisoners, 134 guns, and 282 machine guns in a few hours. He is now commanding a whole army, which includes American troops which attack the Germans from the Ourcq to the Marne and took Château-Thierry.

General Degoutte was born at Charny, in the Department of the Rhone, on April 18, 1866. After being graduated from St. Cyr in 1888, he became an ensign in the Zouaves in 1890, and was promoted until, at the outbreak of the war, he held the rank of Colonel. He was made Brigadier General in 1916 and Major General this year.

* * *

GENERAL MANGIN'S ACHIEVEMENTS

GENERAL JOSEPH MANGIN, who was in command of the French-American forces between the Aisne and the Marne, had charge of the French troops in Tangier prior to the outbreak of the war. In 1912 he led his command from Tangier to Marakesh, where Muley Youssef's rival, El Hiba, had proclaimed himself Sultan. He went to the rescue of French officers there.

In May of 1916 Mangin's troops temporarily wrested Fort Douaumont from the Germans. The following October it was Mangin's command which again took Douaumont and also Fort Vaux, in the French "comeback" at Verdun.

In December, 1916, troops under General Mangin captured the entire Vacher-auxville-Loivemont-Besonvaux ridge, on which the Crown Prince had set up his remaining observation posts to direct the fire on the City of Verdun. This blow drove the enemy from the line they took Feb. 23 of that year and was accomplished two days after the Crown Prince began a drive for Verdun. The French also occupied Bezonvaux, which the Germans took on the first day of the offensive. The blow was so severe that the

Crown Prince was long in returning to the attack.

In the Spring of 1917 General Mangin, seconded by General Hazel, commenced an attack in the Aisne sector, and by the middle of April the French offensive was in full swing between Soissons and Rheims. The French Army had made big gains when the offensive was suddenly stopped, and shortly after this General Mangin was relieved of his command.

The General was placed in an obscure post, and immediately there arose many protests. The sudden change in front by the French was charged to Premier Painlevé, who was accused of bringing the offensive to a halt, owing to the influence of the "defeatists," of whom Caillaux was the leader. Painlevé denied these charges. Matters stood thus when Clemenceau came in and drove out the "defeatists." One of his acts was to imprison Caillaux; another was to send General Mangin back to the field.

General Mangin had his next opportunity with the beginning of the great German offensive, which commenced March 21 last. The 5th British Army was routed and was in retreat when his army appeared and effectually closed the roads between the advancing enemy and Paris. It was on the arrival of General Mangin and his forces that the German advance was completely stopped at this danger point.

* * *

GENERAL GOURAUD'S FAMOUS ORDER

THE following is the text of General Gouraud's order issued on July 17, 1918, the eve of the second battle of the Marne:

To the French and American Soldiers of the Army:

We may be attacked from one moment to another. You all feel that a defensive battle was never engaged in under more favorable conditions. We are warned, and we are on our guard. We have received strong reinforcements of infantry and artillery. You will fight on ground which by your assiduous labor you have transformed into a formidable fortress, into a fortress which is invincible if the passages are well guarded.

The bombardment will be terrible. You will endure it without weakness. The attack in a cloud of dust and gas will

be fierce, but your positions and your armament are formidable.

The strong and brave hearts of free men beat in your breasts. None will look behind, none will give way. Every man will have but one thought—"Kill them, kill them in abundance, until they have had enough." And therefore your General tells you it will be a glorious day.

* * *

JULIUS CAESAR AND THE MARNE

THE mention of Roman camps, Roman cities, and Roman roads in the western battle area recalls the fact that Julius Caesar, who effectively brought the present France within the area of Latin influence and the Latin tongue, carried on a campaign in the present battle area in the Spring of the year 57 B. C., two years before he crossed the Channel to "remote Britain." Julius Caesar started from Vesontio, (Besançon,) and, marching thence by way of Belfort into the plain of Alsace, gained a decisive victory over the Germans and drove them back across the Rhine. He followed this success by a campaign in the neighborhood of Rheims, then the territory of the Remi, who remained friendly to the Romans. Caesar successfully checked the army of the northern tribes at the passage of the Aisne between Laon and Rheims, but as he advanced northward the Nervii offered a strong resistance, until they were crushed on the banks of the Sambre. In 55 B. C., Caesar was again fighting in the present war zone, this time in Flanders, against the invading Germans. After practically annihilating them, he turned eastward, and built the famous bridge across the Rhine, the Latin description of which, in his "Gallic War," has long been the despair of schoolboys. Later in the same year he went to Britain, landing on the coast of Kent—in fact, accomplishing what the German fleet has so far failed even to attempt.

* * *

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S VIEW OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION

AN official statement was issued by Austria-Hungary Aug. 17, denouncing British recognition of the Czechoslovaks as a nation in these words:

The form and contents of this latest declaration of the British Government must

be emphatically repudiated. The Czechoslovaks' National Council is a committee of private persons who have no mandate from the Czechoslovak people and still less from the Czechoslovak "nation," which exists only in the imagination of the Entente.

Equally absurd is it to represent this committee as a future Government, which as yet does not exist.

In reference to the Czechoslovak "army," it may constitute a part of the Entente army, but it certainly cannot be an ally of the Entente in the sense of international law. It is well known to us that only a slight fraction of the self-styled Czechoslovak Army are Austrian or even Hungarian citizens of Slovak tongue.

These disloyal elements, guilty of perjury, will, notwithstanding the Entente's recognition, be regarded and treated as traitors. It cannot be permitted that the peoples who have always fulfilled their duties as Austrian and Hungarian citizens, and whose sons as members of the Austro-Hungarian Army fought bravely against the Entente, shall be subjected to the suspicions cast upon them by such methods as employed by the British official declaration. The Austro-Hungarian Government reserves its steps in this regard.

A full account of the Czechoslovak movement will be found on pages 489-93 of this magazine.

* * *

THE ANTIQUITY OF SOISSONS

SOISSONS, which fell to the Germans on May 29 and was retaken by the French on July 28, is principally situated on the left bank of the Aisne. It is one of the oldest towns in France, and, after the Romans left it became the capital of the Frankish Kingdom of Neustria. It has a beautiful cathedral, in a combination of Romanesque and Gothic, Notre Dame, the old Church of St. Séger, and the two abbeys of St. Jean des Vignes and Notre Dame, both of which were reduced to ruins in 1914-15 by periodic German bombardments, while the cathedral suffered little. The Town Hall had a library of 60,000 volumes, including many rare and illuminated manuscripts in old French. The population of the town at the beginning of the war was 15,000. On the Plateau of Vregny, to the northeast of Soissons, in A. D. 486 Clovis defeated a Roman army and ended Roman dominion in Gaul.

CAVALRY IN RECENT BATTLES

MARSHAL FOCH made skillful use of cavalry units in the great battle between the Marne and Aisne in July. He took advantage of their mobility and threw them in wherever his advancing infantry units threatened to lose touch with each other in the heat and confusion of the contest. No gaps were left where the enemy might strike back, for always the horsemen came up to fill the hole until the infantry line could be rectified and connected in a solid front.

The same tactics marked the first use of French cavalry in the battle of Picardy, when the French took over eighty-eight kilometers of front from the British to permit the latter to mass reserves at seriously threatened points of the line further north. A French cavalry corps, complete with light artillery, armored cars, and cyclists, arrived first on the scene in Picardy and relieved the British. They fought it out afoot until the heavy French infantry arrived and took over the task. Three days later the horsemen were on the move again, this time hurrying to the front where the enemy was hitting hard at the Lys line. The cavalry rode hard as the advance guard of the French infantry columns marching toward St. Omar. In the first twenty-four hours, despite the long strain of fighting in Picardy, they covered 125 kilometers without losing a man or horse. In sixty-six hours they had transferred their whole corps over 200 kilometers and arrived east of Mont Cassel.

The cavalry corps stood in support of the British for ten days in April, after the enemy had forced the line held by the Portuguese division. It maintained communication between two British armies and organized the ground from Mont Cassel to Mont Kemmel while the French Army moved up behind it. As the French infantry took over, the cavalry was drawn off to the left in the Mont Kemmel region, and for five days the horsemen, fighting afoot with two infantry divisions, withstood the terrific assaults of the Germans, who sought to hammer a way through behind Ypres at any cost. They endured steady bombardment for days, and when the infan-

try were hemmed in on top of Mont Kemmel the cavalry drove forward in counterattack and held off the shock divisions of the enemy while the French gunners got their pieces away.

Later, at the battle of Loire, the cavalry also shared fully with the infantry, blocking gaps in the line, and the final definite occupation of the town for the Allies was accomplished by a cavalry battalion.

* * *

SELF-DENIAL OF AMERICANS

SIR WILLIAM GOODE of the British Food Ministry, declared in a statement July 11 that the self-denial of Americans, for the sake of those in want of food in England and France, was an exhibition of idealism almost without a parallel in history. He stated that from July 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918, the United States exported to the Allies 80,000,000 bushels of wheat and wheat products, although it was officially estimated that, owing to the short crop, only 20,000,000 bushels would be available for export. Mr. Hoover calculated that 50,000,000 out of the 80,000,000 bushels represented the individual sacrifice of the men, women, and children of the United States, who either gave up eating white bread or reduced their consumption of it.

In March, 1918, the amount of pork and pork products exported to the Allies from the United States reached the enormous figure of 308,000,000 pounds, more than six times the normal and 50 per cent. greater than in any previous month in the last seven years. In addition there were over a billion pounds of pork and pork products in American storage. In January the Allies asked Mr. Hoover for 70,000,000 pounds of frozen beef a month for the following three months. In March the United States shipped 86,000,000 pounds of beef and beef products to the Allies. That was over 20 per cent. larger than any previous month in seven years. The increased export was provided by the reduction of domestic consumption. By voluntary economies the saving on sugar for the year in the United States would amount approximately to 400,000 tons.

Since the United States Food Adminis-

tration came into existence the cost of food production, so far as the chief commodities were concerned, had increased 18 per cent., while the price of those commodities had decreased 12 per cent. to the domestic consumer. In May of last year the wholesale price of flour at Minneapolis was \$16.75 per barrel of 196 pounds. It was predicted that it would go to \$20 or more. In early May of this year, however, the price had fallen to \$9.80, a decrease of 41 per cent.

* * *

HUMANITY AT WAR

UP to the present, twenty-eight nations have entered the world war. What is their total population, and how large a part are they of all mankind? One may answer this best by listing, in alphabetical order, the nations which have so far declared war, and adding their populations together. They are:

Countries.	Population.
Austria-Hungary	50,000,000
Belgium	8,000,000
Bulgaria	5,000,000
Brazil	23,000,000
China	420,000,000
Cuba	2,500,000
*France	90,000,000
Germany	67,000,000
Great Britain	440,000,000
Greece	5,000,000
Italy	37,000,000
Japan	54,000,000
Liberia	2,000,000
Montenegro	500,000
Panama	400,000
*Portugal	15,000,000
Rumania	7,500,000
Russia	180,000,000
San Marino	10,000
Serbia	4,500,000
Siam	6,000,000
Turkey	42,000,000
United States	110,000,000
	<hr/> 1,569,410,000

*Including colonies.

To these might be added nations like Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and Uruguay, which, without actually entering the ranks of active belligerents, have taken steps in that direction. No trustworthy estimate for the total of humanity for 1918 is available, but the list

given above exceeds the billion and a half until quite recently given as the total of the human race.

* * *

NATIONS NOT IN THE WAR

THE following nations, taken in alphabetical order, and with their populations added, have, so far, taken no part in the world war:

Countries.	Population.
Abyssinia	8,000,000
Afghanistan	6,000,000
Andorra	6,000
Argentina	8,000,000
Bhutan	250,000
Chile	5,000,000
Colombia	5,000,000
Denmark	3,000,000
Ecuador	1,500,000
Mexico	15,000,000
Monaco	20,000
Nepal	4,000,000
Holland, (including colonies)	40,000,000
Norway	2,500,000
Paraguay	800,000
Persia	9,000,000
Salvador	1,250,000
Spain	20,000,000
Switzerland	3,750,000
Venezuela	2,800,000
Total	<hr/> 135,876,000

This is a curious list of the "pacific" nations which, whether from preference or under duress, have refrained from taking part in the greatest event in all history. It would appear, then, that all but about one-twelfth of the human race is already implicated in the world's greatest war.

* * *

MILITARY service conventions between the United States and Great Britain were ratified July 30, whereby British subjects and Canadians in the United States must enlist in the armies of their own countries or be subject to conscription in the United States, the same rule to apply to Americans in Great Britain and Canada. It is estimated that the agreements affected 54,000 Americans in British territory (of whom 36,000 are in Canada) and 250,000 British and 60,000 Canadians in American territory.

Germany's First Great Defeat

How the Enemy Offensive, in Its Fifth Phase, Was Rolled Back From the Marne

[PERIOD FROM JULY 18 TO AUG. 18, 1918.]

BY the turning of the great German offensive on July 18, and the initiative of action subsequently passing from Ludendorff to Foch, the greatest battle of the war has been developed in France. It is the greatest, not because of the vast number of troops employed, the length of the casualty list, the latitude of front in action, or the area of territory involved—the battles in Russia during the first three years of the war several times surpassed all these elements in magnitude. It is the greatest because Ludendorff's comprehensive strategy to separate the French armies from the British, rolling the former south and isolating the latter north of the Somme, has, in the last month, not only been rendered nought, but been turned against himself, involving a probably decisive loss in men and material. The costly minor objectives he gained in the first four months of his mighty effort have, in the fifth, been torn from him one after another, and his carefully selected strategic positions, from which he intended to reach for his major objectives, have become hopelessly compromised.

He began on March 21 with available men and material superior to those of the Allies; his tactical positions were superior; so were his strategic, with few exceptions. Five months later he found himself inferior in all these elements and issuing orders to his army commanders to economize man power in every possible way.

On March 21 there were, according to a deduction made from the most authoritative revised statistics, 210 German divisions on the western front, together with 55 (Maurice says 60) reserve divisions. Of these Ludendorff had at once available for his offensive a maximum of 110 and 23 reserve; that is to say, 1,430,000 men plus 299,000, or, in round numbers, 1,729,000 men. From March 21 until

after the second phase of the offensive, on the front between Ypres and Arras, begun on April 9, he employed 79 divisions against the British in the north, 23 divisions against the British and French in the centre, and 24 divisions against the French alone in the south—thus being obliged to call upon his reserves to the extent of 16 divisions. From the middle of April until the third phase of the offensive—conducted entirely by the Imperial Crown Prince—began on May 27, from the Chemin des Dames to the Marne, it is estimated that half the divisions employed were refitted. Germany does not refit a division unless it has lost between 30 and 40 per cent. of its effectives; hence, at the minimum, the refitting represents a casualty list of about 813,000 men.

ENORMOUS GERMAN LOSSES

The Crown Prince employed in his assaults of May 27, June 9, and July 15 a total of between 36 and 40 divisions, but these on the latter date were quickly augmented until he was using 40 between Rheims and the Argonne Forest and 47 on the Marne salient, having stripped the Picardy front as bare as was advisable—barer than was advisable, as subsequent events have proved—in order to do so. His retreat from the Marne to the Vesle, between July 18 and Aug. 5, allowed him by the shortening of the line to economize to the extent of 10 divisions, or 130,000 men. Meanwhile, two new armies had been placed at his service which together were probably made up of a few over 40 divisions, or between 500,000 and 600,000 men, giving Ludendorff a maximum of 176 divisions, or, in round numbers, 2,339,000 men, minus, of course, the casualties suffered from May 27 on, which may or may not have been replaced.

As Ludendorff is now fervently impressing upon his commanders the neces-

sity for economy in man power, it would probably be even under the mark to place the Crown Prince's losses between May 27 and Aug. 18—from Albert around to the Argonne Forest—at 25 divisions, being half the total he saved by shortening his line plus half the effectives of the two new armies, or, in round numbers, 325,000 men. As stated last month, the isolated attacks of the Allies between June 26 and July 18, which had nothing to do with the German offensive, cost the enemy on the western front 210,000 casualties, of which 25,000 were prisoners. These figures may be summarized as follows:

Ludendorff's effectives available	
March 21.....	1,729,000
Additions by refitting up to May 27..	813,000
Two additional armies at the maximum	600,000
Total number affected.....	3,142,000
Ludendorff's losses:	
From March 21 to May 27.....	813,000
From June 26 to July 18, (independent of others).....	210,000
From May 27 to Aug. 18.....	325,000

1,348,000

Net survivors, 1,794,000.

WHY INITIATIVE WAS LOST

In other words, he now has 1,794,000 men available for the defense of a front, threatened at various points, throughout a length of 250 miles, from Ypres to the Argonne Forest, when on March 21 he had 1,729,000 available for attacking a length of 195 miles, between the very same points. This produces the paradox of 7,180 men per mile for the present defense, when five months ago he had 8,866 men per mile at the beginning of his great offensive. At that time he could so concentrate his predominant forces that at certain points they fought the British five to two and the French four to three, while in their descent to the Marne they fought in the favorable ratio of nine to seven. No wonder that the initiative has passed to Foch!

These figures of Ludendorff's losses, huge as they are, are short of the official estimate. The French estimate is from 700,000 to 1,000,000 up to July 18, and 360,000 from that date to Aug. 16. And it is known that between the last two

dates 70,000 German prisoners have been registered, with more than 1,000 cannon taken, exclusive of an estimate of more than 10,000 machine guns.

But if the man power of Foch first equaled and then surpassed that of Ludendorff, as it obviously did, some time between March 21 and July 18, why did he wait for a masterstroke when, ere the latter date, he might have at least prevented the enemy's further advance? The answer is to be found in those minor offensives of the Allies between June 26 and even after the opening of the fifth phase of the German offensive on July 15, which, recorded in last month's review, now reveal their analogy with the greater operations of the month under review. We have already seen how these minor movements cost the Germans 210,000 men in casualties, 25,000 of whom were prisoners, but that is not the point to be considered here. The point is that they strategically prepared the sites where bolder and more decisive movements were presently to be made, and that Ludendorff, firmly believing that Foch still had no reserves, allowed the Imperial Crown Prince on July 15 to strike simultaneously in Champagne, east of Rheims, from Rheims to the Marne, and then to cross the Marne, without waiting to hear of the result of the attack in Champagne—a stupendous military error.

FIRST "COUP DE FOCH"

When this review closed last month, the blow delivered on the left side of the Marne salient was only a few hours old. It was still in its defensive stage, still a remedy for the transit of the Marne, the possible breaking of the Champagne line, and the envelopment of Rheims. Soon, however, its character was to become entirely offensive.

That was the first *coup de Foch* made possible by the master's unobserved preparations, both tactical and strategic, by his daily augmenting army of manoeuvre, of whose existence even the Allies had their doubts. By Aug. 5, the Crown Prince had been driven from the Marne to the Vesle, and there on the Aisne-Vesle watershed had concentrated a vast



HEAVY BLACK LINE FROM ALBERT TO REIMS SHOWS NEW BATTLEFRONT, AUG. 18, 1918. BROKEN LINE SOUTH OF SOISSONS AND REIMS INDICATES THE CHATEAU-THIERRY POCKET, FROM WHICH GERMANS WERE DRIVEN BY FRENCH AND AMERICANS; BROKEN LINE THROUGH MONT-DIDIER INDICATES SALIENT CLEARED BY BRITISH

array of guns and troops in anticipation of a front attack.

Two days later, 100 miles to the north, there was another coup de Foch, delivered by Sir Douglas Haig against the armies of Prince Rupprecht on the Lys salient. On Aug. 8 there was another, halfway between, on the Somme, directed against the lines of communication which feed the vast accumulation of troops and guns of the Crown Prince on the watershed of the Aisne-Vesle, and without which even the German front in Champagne to the eastward could hardly exist.

These three allied offensives, begun on July 18, Aug. 7, and Aug. 8, with their attendant diversions, make up the story of the month. All have proceeded far enough to show the advantage of the Allies in possessing a supreme commander, far enough to compare the genius of that supreme commander with that of his famous German opponent, far enough even to agree with the dictum of Major Gen. Sir Frederick B. Maurice, uttered on Aug. 17, that Ludendorff must now choose between giving up offensive projects and shortening his line by a great retreat.

BEGINNING THE ATTACK

What was the situation on the Marne salient, when, in the early morning of July 18, French and American detachments under General Mangin attacked the right wing of the Crown Prince? The latter had been for three days held with great losses on the Rheims-Argonne line and on the edge of the mountains of Rheims, (Le Forêt de la Montagne de Rheims,) between the Cathedral City and the Marne; between Château-Thierry and Mezy the Americans, on the first day of the fifth phase of the offensive, July 15, had thrown him back across the river; but to the east, from Mezy to beyond Chatillon, he was nearly four miles south of the stream. His objectives were perfectly obvious: to occupy the Mountain of Rheims and the railway junction of Epernay, seven miles south. This achievement would force the French to retire from the strongly fortified Champagne line, and reward him with tactical

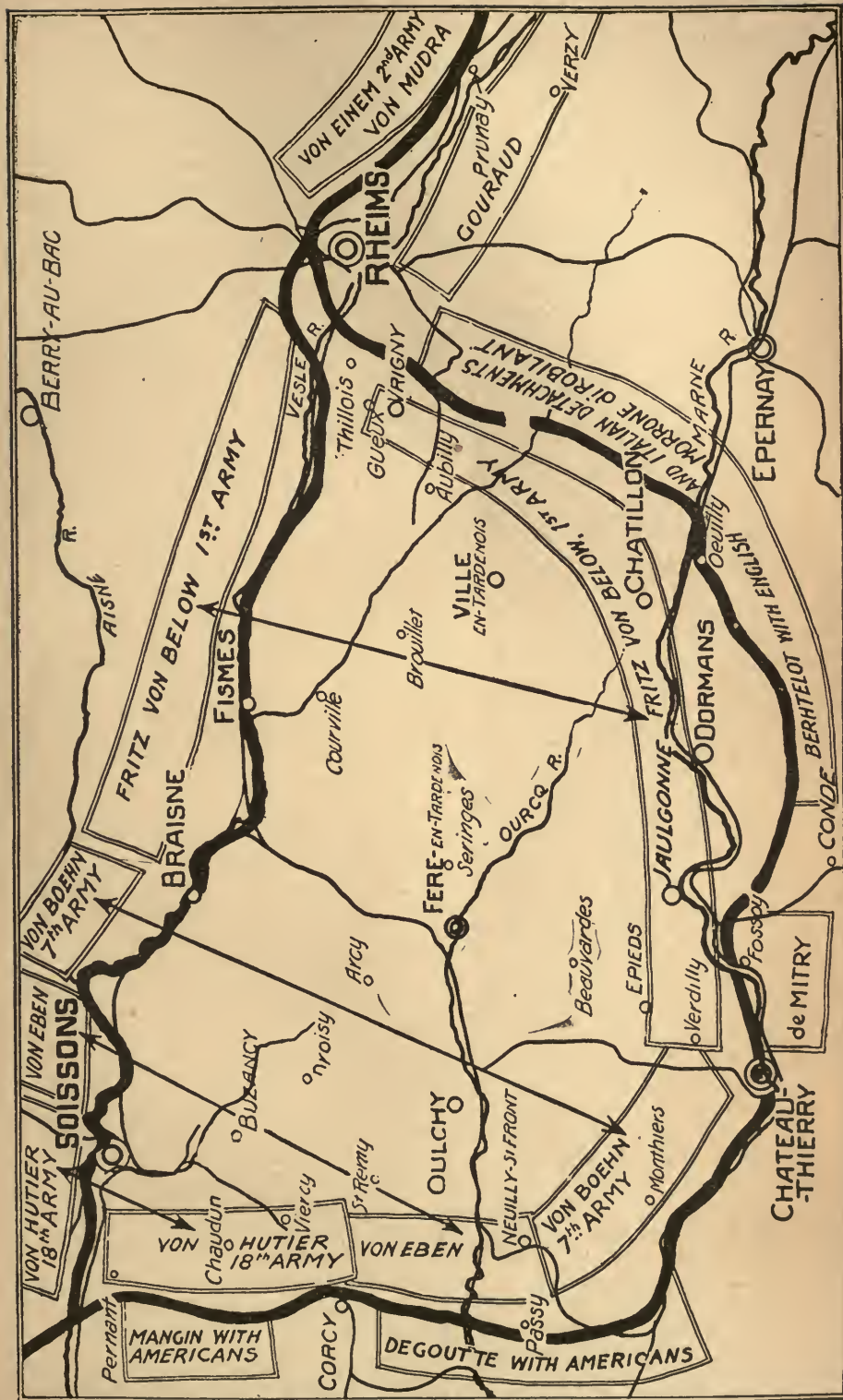
facilities for a tremendous onslaught against the French centre.

The Franco-American attack was delivered from Amblény, six miles due west of Soissons, south to Bouresches, five miles northwest of Château-Thierry—a front of about twenty-eight miles. The greatest penetration was six miles in the north, as far as the River Crise, which, on its way to join the Aisne at Soissons, skirts the south and west sides of the plateau which dominates that town from the south. On the following day Italian detachments recovered Bouilly, northwest of the Mountain of Rheims. In the north a grip was gained on the plateau and on the Chaudun region, and in the centre a two-mile advance was made up the Ourcq. In these two days 17,000 prisoners were taken by the Allies and more than 360 guns, some of which were of mid-calibre gauge.

DRIVEN OVER THE MARNE

As from the first day French cavalry had been operating behind the enemy's lines, and the enemy himself had been obliged to hurry reserves to protect his right wing, it is not astonishing that, on the third day of the coup de Foch, he should have entirely forsaken the south bank of the Marne. In the west his line of communication between Soissons and Château-Thierry had already been cut. In the east the Italian detachments, reinforced by some English battalions, threatened the highway along the Ardre, which joined Fismes, on the Vesle, with Verneuil and Chatillon, on the Marne.

By July 23 the Soissons-Château-Thierry line, save where it mounted the plateau south of Soissons, was entirely in the hands of the Allies. Three more miles had been made eastward up the Ourcq. The Americans had advanced to Epieds, on the Fère-en-Tardenois-Château-Thierry highway, six miles beyond the latter city. In the centre the Allies had crossed the Marne and threatened the envelopment of Jaulgonne. On the eastern leg of the salient the Italians, English, and French were within two miles of the Fismes-Chatillon highway. The booty to date amounted to nearly 25,000 prisoners, over 400 guns, many of



THE CHATEAU-THIERRY "POCKET," AND POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES THAT FOUGHT THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE: THE GERMAN COMMANDERS WERE FORCED FROM THE MARNE POSITIONS IN THE SOUTH TO THE INDICATED VESSEL POSITIONS AT THE NORTH

large calibre, and vast stores of supplies. On July 25 the enemy attempted a diversion by making violent attacks to throw back the eastern leg of the contracting salient. They were repulsed. On the other side of the salient the French occupied Oulchy-la-Ville, the last point held on the highway save to the north, on the Soissons plateau. The end of the first week of the coup de Foch revealed the Crown Prince using every effort to save his army from envelopment and his accumulated guns and stores from capture by hurrying them to the north or destroying them on the spot.

CAPTURE OF SOISSONS

On Aug. 1 the French official report announced that the total number of prisoners taken since the opening of the fifth phase of the German offensive, July 15, on the Marne and the Champagne fronts was 33,400, of whom 674 were officers. The next day the French occupied Soissons, entering, not over the plateau, but from the southwest. Meanwhile, on the 26th, the hold on Oulchy had been expanded; on the 27th the columns had begun to ascend and to descend the Ourcq, with Fère-en-Tardenois as the objective; on the 28th this objective was attained, and the east side of the salient pushed in over the Rheims-Dormans highway; on the 29th the enemy made prodigious resistance, but was pushed back east of Plessier-Huleu and Oulchy-le-Château, north of Fère, and west of Bligny and St. Euphrase; on the 30th the Germans gained a little ground west of St. Euphrase, but two miles to the southwest on the Ardre, in the neighborhood of Bligny, the French discounted this gain and made its position untenable; still further to the southwest the Allies occupied Romigny, and some progress was made by the French and Americans north of Fère; the 31st was consumed by violent opposition, made by the enemy to keep the Americans out of the Forêt de Nesles, northeast of Fère; on Aug. 1 some British detachments, which had, meanwhile, been incorporated with the French in the region of Plessier-Huleu, joined in taking the height north of Grand Rozoy and reached Cramoisselle; and finally, with the taking of Soissons

on the 2nd, a penetration averaging two miles was made throughout the salient, over a front that had been contracted from eighty miles, on July 18, to forty-five on Aug. 2.

The feverish, formidable efforts made henceforth by the Crown Prince to hold the watershed of the Aisne-Vesle have been interpreted in two ways: either he has expected that Foch, according to the latter's "Principles of War," delivered at the Ecole de Guerre before the war, would attempt an immediate decision with a retreating enemy, or his Highness needed a strong base from which to launch another attack upon the Marne and beyond.

WITHDRAWAL ON THE LYS

Meanwhile, it was being asked why did not the British attack, either on the Lys salient or upon the Somme, since it was known that Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria had depleted his reserves in order to aid his Highness of Prussia. Apparently it was not until Aug. 5 that Ludendorff discovered, for the first time, the strategic importance of the minor assaults that had been made from time to time from June 26 on the Lys salient and on the Somme and Montdidier sectors.

At any rate, on Aug. 5, in order to counteract the effect of the strategic positions still remaining unutilized by the Allies, he made three withdrawals—on the Lys salient, north of La Bassée; in the Albert region, and between the Avre and Montdidier. On the following day he even attacked and gained ground on the Bray-Corbie road, south of Albert. Evidently the withdrawal of the Bavarians in the north was just what Sir Douglas Haig had been waiting for, or he did not care to have it proceed further, through fear of compromising his plans. He immediately followed it up, and by Aug. 7 had launched a formidable attack on the Lawe River, with a five-mile base and a penetration of 1,000 yards. Further south, in the Albert region, he recovered the ground lost on the Bray-Corbie road two days before.

On Aug. 18 Sir Douglas Haig made another advance, the strategic complement

AMERICAN DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS



Major Gen. C. H. Muir
28th Division

(Clinedinst from Press Illus. Service)



Major Gen. J. E. McMahon
5th Division

(Clinedinst from Underwood)



Major Gen. G. H. Cameron
4th Division

(© Harris & Ewing)



Major Gen. W. G. Haan
32d Division

(© Harris & Ewing)

AMERICAN AVIATORS WHO DIED ON DUTY



Major Raoul Lufbery
(*International Film Service*)



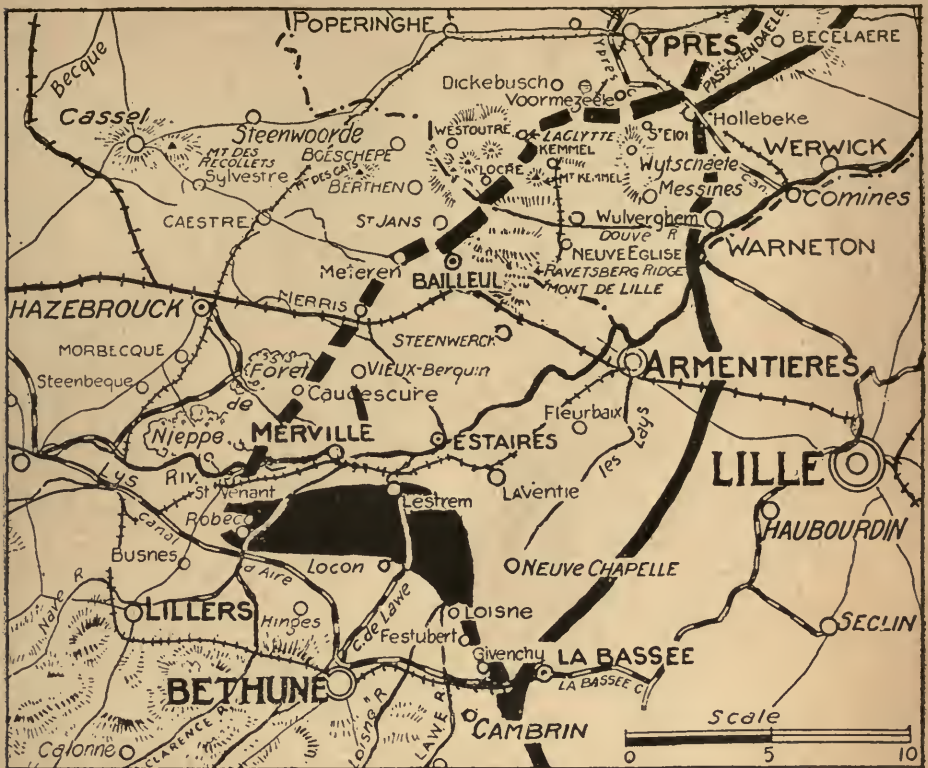
Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt
(*© Western Newspaper Union*)



Major J. Purroy Mitchel
(*© Underwood*)



Victor Chapman



THE SMALL BLACK AREA INDICATES THE LYS SALIENT WON BY THE BRITISH

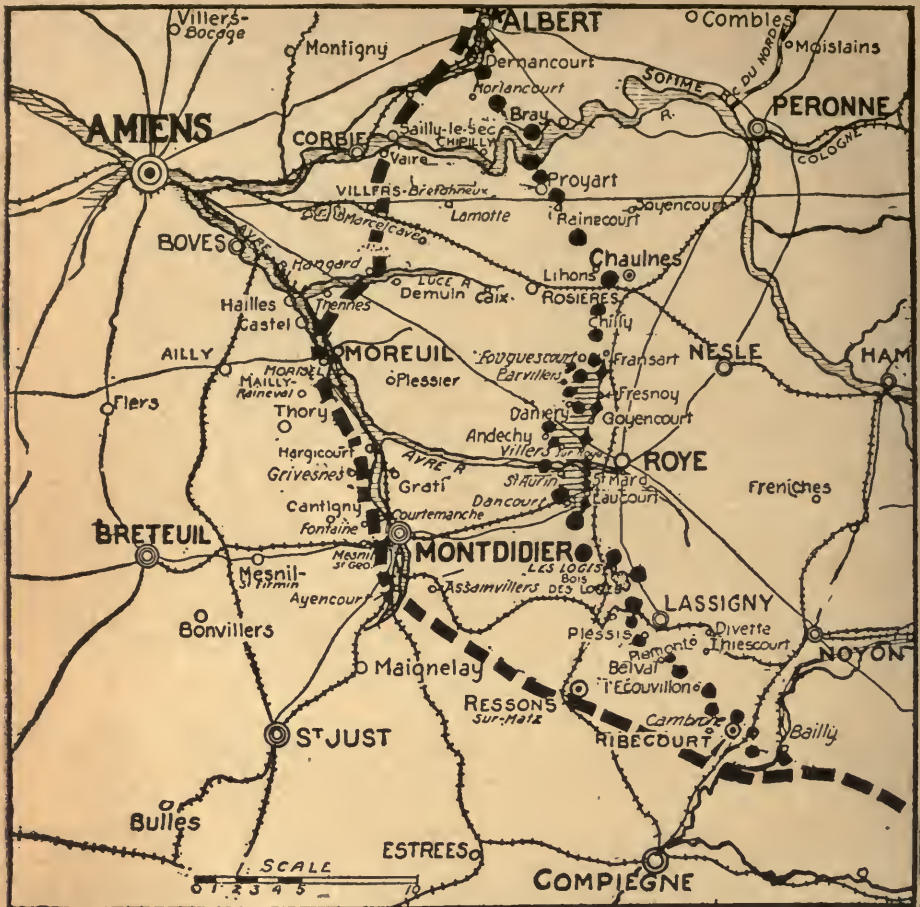
of that made on Aug. 7, for it was against the centre west of Armentières, where over a four-mile front he forced the Germans back between Bailleul and Vieux Berquin, capturing the village of Outtersteene and taking 400 prisoners.

THE PICARDY OFFENSIVE

The events following July 18 on the Marne had both a defensive and an offensive character, but on the Picardy salient, between Albert and Montdidier, on Aug. 8, Foch struck in a way which was designed to be offensive from the very beginning. This front, like the Lys and the Marne salients, had already been prepared for offensive eventualities. In this region the last preparatory coup was made on July 23 when the French troops by a brilliant minor operation between Moreuil and Montdidier captured Mailly-Raineval, Sauvillers, and Aubvillers, thus securing a succession of heights overlooking the Avre River.

The element of surprise in the great Picardy attack is as remarkable as the precise manner in which it has been developed—as the unfolding of its objectives, the attainment of which would have a direct bearing upon the German front to the southeast as far as the Argonne Forest. In geographical character it is not unlike the affair of July 18, for its objective line, Péronne-Roye, bears the same relation to the front from Soissons to the Argonne, that the objective line of July 18, Soissons-Château-Thierry, did to the Marne salient. It is on a much larger scale, however.

In the first three days of the battle as many interesting phases developed. In the first phase the British, under Rawlinson, advanced about nine miles on the plateau to the south of the Somme by driving back the army of von der Marwitz from Moreuil. But Débenys's French army, which from the time of its advance had to cross the Avre under fire



DETAIL MAP OF THE MONTDIDIER SALIENT EVACUATED BY THE GERMANS WHEN THEY FELL BACK TO CHAULNES, ROYE, AND LASSIGNY

of the enemy, who destroyed bridges as fast as they were constructed, could not proceed so rapidly, particularly as its right was threatened from a wooded ravine running parallel to the Avre. So Rawlinson held back in his advance on Roye until Débeny not only had time to envelop the ravine but also to flank Montdidier on the south. That was the second phase.

The third phase was marked by a general advance, which still continues, with pincers out for Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny. At its beginning Rawlinson made up for lost time in the direction of the Péronne-Roye line. Then Débeny, on his side, arrived within three miles of Roye. At this point, south of Montdidier, the French General Humbert sud-

denly attacked without any artillery preparation the army of von Hutier, which covers the front southeast of Fontenoy, west of Soissons. His attack, preceded by a formidable array of tanks, moved north toward Roye and at the same time turned the flank of the Lassigny massif.

CAPTURE OF MONTDIDIER

On the first day of the development of this third phase, Aug. 10, Montdidier was captured and the number of prisoners registered was 25,000. The total casualties of the Allies were less than 6,000. Eleven German divisions had been smashed. Americans had joined in the fray and with the British had captured the whole of the Chipilly spur.

By Aug. 12 the massif of Lassigny had been taken and the number of prisoners had reached 40,000. By the 18th there had been a retirement of the foe at Bucquoy, six miles northwest of the important railway junction of Bapaume; a circling movement was in progress by the French in the forest southeast of Lassigny, netting the town of Canny-sur-Matz, two miles away; the Oise Valley, southeast of Noyon, was dominated from its heights; Rawlinson was only a mile from Roye.

The map of the Picardy salient on Aug. 18 presents a most interesting appearance. The front shows almost as it did before the battle of the Somme in the Summer of 1916, when the objectives of the British and French were respectively

Bapaume and Péronne. Meanwhile, tanks and high-power traction guns, to say nothing of the bombing airplanes, have rendered nought the defenses of 1916. These new engines have also rendered lines of communication inoperative long before they could be occupied. Another change is that two years ago the front, with its elbow at Noyon, was securely held by the enemy from that point eastward along the heights of the Oise and the Oise-Aisne watershed. Now the enemy has a broader terrain surrounding the La Fère-Noyon-Compiègne road to Paris, broader around the Laon-Anizy-Soissons road, but this added possession incurs ever augmenting danger as the Allies close in upon Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny to the northeast.

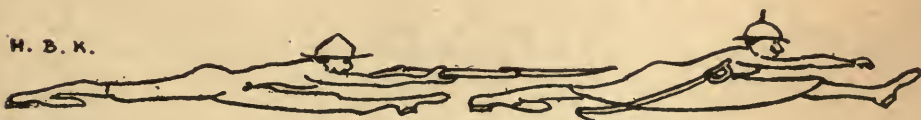
A German Account of the Flame Throwers

The origin of the German flame throwers, or flammenwerfer, was described by the Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung in its issue of June 9, 1918, as follows:

The flammenwerfer troops owe their weapon to pure chance. Their present commander, Major R., a reserve officer, during military exercises in time of peace received an order to defend a fort to the last extremity. In the course of the operations, when all means had been exhausted, he finally called out the local firemen, who happened to be under his orders at the time, and they, armed with fire hose, directed streams of water at the assailants. In the critical discussion following the exercises, the Kaiser was present when Major R. declared that he might have sprinkled his assailants with burning petroleum quite as easily as with water. The Emperor asked whether that could be done and received the reply that it was possible. It required long efforts, however, before Engineer L., who had been intrusted with this task, succeeded in discovering the combination of mineral oils hurled in flame jets by our engines against the enemy.

In peace times Major R. was chief of the firemen's corps in Leipzig. This Prince of Hell, (Fürst der Hölle,) as he is called by his men, enjoys great popularity, not only among his immediate subordinates, but throughout the army. He can now contemplate with pride the important development of the contingent placed under his orders. In January, 1915, he commanded a detachment of only thirty-six men; it is now a formation with special shock troops, armed with grenades and with everything necessary for independent operations.

H. B. K.



Second Battle of the Marne

Three Weeks of Brilliant Fighting Which Drove the Germans From the Marne With Heavy Losses

The counteroffensive launched on July 18, 1918, by the French and American forces on the Marne in the Château-Thierry district proved to be one of the most important military operations of the war. It was a complete surprise to the Germans, who were still occupied with an attempted offensive of their own, and the allied blow gained momentum each day; for three weeks there followed an uninterrupted series of successes for the armies under Marshal Foch. The Château-Thierry pocket was entirely cleared, thus parrying the thrust toward Paris and ending that menace; Montdidier was occupied, and the menace to Amiens thereby removed; the important railway lines from Paris to Châlons and from Paris to Amiens were freed from enemy control; chief of all, the snatching of the initiative from the enemy filled the Allies with confidence and shook the German morale. The masterly strategy of Marshal Foch, between July 18 and Aug. 15, wrested from the enemy more than 73,000 unwounded prisoners, 1,800 large guns, and 10,000 machine guns. In the following pages CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presents the narratives of this great battle cabled from the front by special correspondents with the American and French Armies.

America's Part in a Historic Battle

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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JULY 18, 1918.—On a front of forty kilometers, from Fontenoy to Château-Thierry, the Americans and French this morning launched an offensive against the German positions. It was the first allied offensive of moment for more than a year. The Americans are playing a large rôle. They are fighting in the Soissons region, the Château-Thierry region, and other points along the big front.

When the German high command started its drive Monday morning [July 15] it started more than the Kaiser planned for. The French and Americans were entirely successful in guarding their secret and the attack at 4:45 o'clock this morning, without one gun of artillery preparation, took the Germans completely by surprise.

The Americans and French had an early breakfast and started out. Then with rolling barrages ahead of them they went on. A big piece of military work, very recent in conception, but of Foch planning, was shown when, at the precise minute, 4:45 o'clock, the French

and Americans along nearly thirty miles of front went over the top and against the invaders. As in halting the German drive, the Americans were at two vital points of the allied drive—Soissons and Château-Thierry—and elsewhere as well. On what was done to the ends of the line depended the success of the whole movement.

I was present at the fighting this morning in the Château-Thierry region, where our boys had done so much to aid the allied cause already. Just as the whistle was blown for the doughboys to start, our gunners started barrages with their seventy-fives. Our troops swept down the hill north of the Bois de Belleau toward Torcy. Shouting as they went, the American soldiers advanced on Torcy, and at precisely 5:30 the commander reported that they had captured the town.

A little to the south other Americans swept around Belleau and closed up. Belleau was captured at 8:20 o'clock, and by that time German prisoners began coming back. Captured officers ad-

mitted that the coming of the Americans had been a complete surprise. Sweeping north the Americans charged into the Bois de Givry, and, after a short fight with Germans, went on down Hill 193 and into the village of Givry. Two hours later these troops had taken the town of Montairs.

In the meanwhile other American detachments with the French had charged the German positions in front of Courchamps and, while held up temporarily, brought up reinforcements, chased the Germans out of the woods, captured eighteen guns, and took possession of Courchamps.

HOW AMERICANS FIGHT

July 19.—A survey just completed of the woods south of Mézy, through which the Germans advanced against the Americans on July 15, and subsequently were driven back across the Marne, revealed that more than 5,000 Hun fighters had been killed there. The officers who made the survey tell me that the bodies at some spots were three and four deep, where, in close formation, the Germans tried to go ahead against our machine guns. According to the usual ratio between the killed and total casualties, this would mean that we inflicted more than 20,000 casualties on the boche.

Practically the whole of the Kaiser's famed 10th Guard Division came across the Marne against the Americans, and very few of them got back. Prisoners taken from the 6th Grenadiers said one battalion was annihilated in the woods, and of the other battalion about one company was left. Since our troops threw the Germans back across the Marne on the sector from Gland to Jaulgonne, the enemy has made no further attempt to cross there.

A general review of this operation shows that one reason why the Germans suffered such heavy losses in the woods forming the triangle from Fossoy, to Mézy, to Crezancy, was that the Americans were overwhelmed by such large numbers that the line could not hold, but nevertheless refused to retreat where it could possibly hold a place in the woods. This sent the German advance sweeping over large numbers of nests which shel-

tered ten, five, or two Americans, and sometimes one, who stuck while the boches passed by and then opened up on them.

Last night tales of heroism of these men were being told. I believe that of all of them the story of Sergeant J. F. Brown was most notable. Brown commanded a detachment of eleven men when the German onslaught came. They had shelter, which saved them under the heavy German bombardment, and when the advancing boche came along they let him pass, and then got ready to turn their machine gun loose. But just then a hundred or more Germans came along. Brown ordered his men to scatter quickly. He ducked into the woods, and saw the Huns put his beloved machine gun out of the war. The Germans passed on. Brown looked around and seemed to be alone. He started toward the Marne, away from his own lines, and met his Captain, also alone.

These two Americans, out there in the woods in the dark, the Captain with an automatic pistol and Brown with an automatic rifle, saw that the boche barrage kept them from getting to their own lines, and so decided to kill all the Germans they could before they themselves were killed. They lay in the thicket while the Germans passed by in large numbers. According to Brown's report, they heard two machine guns going back of them, and decided to go and get them. The two crept close and charged one of the machine guns, which killed the American Captain. Brown got the lone German gunner with his rifle. Then up came an American Corporal, also left alone in the woods, and Brown and the Corporal started after the second German machine gun, behind a clump of bushes.

They got close, and Brown with his automatic rifle killed three Germans, the crew of the gun. Then, attracted by the shooting close at hand, up came the eleven men Brown had commanded, each looking for Germans. Brown resumed command, and led the party to where they could see more Germans in a sector of trench taken from the Americans.

These thirteen Americans performed

a feat never to be forgotten. The Germans evidently were left in the trenches with machine guns to meet a counter-attack should the Americans make one. Brown posted his twelve men about the Hun position in twelve directions. He took a position where he could rake the trench with his automatic rifle. At a signal the twelve Americans opened up with their rifles from twelve points, and Brown started working his automatic rifle. Brown said he didn't know how many Germans he killed, but fired his rifle until it got so hot he couldn't hold it, and had to rest it across a stump. The Germans then, thinking they were attacked by a large party, decided to surrender. A German Major stepped out of the trench with his hands high, yelling "Kamerad!" Brown laid down his heated rifle, and while three of the hidden Americans guarded him, advanced toward the Major. Then all thirteen Americans moved in and disarmed the Germans. Brown said he didn't know how many there were, but it was more than 100.

Then, with Brown and the Corporal at the head, and the other eleven Americans in the rear, the procession started through the woods, guided by a dough-boy's compass, toward the American lines. It wasn't plain sailing. They were behind the German advance, and had to pass it and a space between the fighting Germans and the Americans. On the way through the woods several parties of Germans saw the advancing column, with Brown and the Corporal at its head, and hurriedly surrendered.

Beating through the thicket, Brown led his party to a place where the German advance line was broken. Just as he started over the American lines the Germans laid down a barrage. This got four of the Germans, but didn't touch an American. Brown and his twelve comrades got back with 155 prisoners. The four killed made a total for the thirteen Americans of 159.

American officers were almost dumfounded at the strange tale Brown brought back, but doubt vanished when, soon after he reached regimental headquarters, a military policeman showed up with a large bundle of maps and

plans Brown had taken from dead German officers killed by his automatic rifle, and, handing them to Brown, said: "Gimme my receipt."

Brown, who is 23 years old and last year was a shipping clerk, had met this man on the way back, and, turning over the maps, which made a heavy bundle, had stopped while he scribbled out the receipt he demanded. Meanwhile barrage shells were falling all around. This receipt is part of the records of the American Army.

The prisoners included a Major, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and a number of noncommissioned officers.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

July 20.—If there is any one in the world who doubts the stamina of American men, call attention to one unit of our lads who Thursday morning [July 18] went over the top fifteen minutes after reaching the front line, following an all-night ride in camions. They fought all day Thursday and Thursday night and all day yesterday, and today they are there in line, with no other rest than brief snatches of sleep.

Stretcher bearers tell me that they have picked up hundreds of wounded men with grievous hurts sleeping soundly where they fell. That is the American fighters' spirit. They stop when their job is done.

We were here in the woods when we heard of bitter fighting up ahead. Leaving the car, we started that way. We went through the woods where the shot-down trees lay in tangled profusion, across a wheatfield dotted with ugly shell holes, and then into another wood.

Here we began to see the bodies of French and Americans, but mostly those of Germans, sprawled in grotesque attitudes where they had made the supreme sacrifice. It seemed a holy place. It was almost calm here on the wooded hillside where so many men had died and now lay about awaiting burial.

Suddenly a steam hammer sound ahead told us to keep out of machine-gun range. Through the trees over a little embankment and then on the other side was a sight never to be forgotten. A German trench position fifty yards in

length was seemingly filled with enemy dead. I started counting, got up to seventeen at one end and stopped the gruesome undertaking.

The scene at the other end of the trench told the story that all fighting Americans have now learned. There had been a German machine gun nest, sheltered by wickerwork, with earth behind. Just in front lay the bodies of three, part of the platoon that had charged the gun. I knew their comrades had been successful when I saw behind the breastworks the bodies of a German gunner and two helpers, dead from American bullets. All lay where they had fallen in the fight, more than twenty-four hours before.

On beyond the trench position lay dozens of dead Germans, and here and there an American fighter who had finished his work. Then from the top of an embankment I heard a whistle, and saw, a mile ahead, a line of brown backs leap out from the edge of the wood and start across a wheatfield. As they went through the ripened grain I heard the machine gun going again from the strip of woods ahead of them. Some fell, but others kept on, and at last I saw them going into the edge of the wood in skirmish formation.

THE MARNE FREED

July 21.—The Germans are all back across the Marne now. While the Crown Prince was hurling shock divisions against the victorious advance of the Franco-American troops south of Soissons yesterday, General Foch surprised the German high command a second time in a week by throwing a vast force against the German positions all the way from Château-Thierry to Rheims. This morning Americans and Frenchmen are eating breakfast on the bank of the Marne which the Germans held twenty-four hours before.

The Germans were in small numbers on July 20 in the hook of the river near Jaulgonne, and then on to OUILLY. Thousands of Germans were holding the positions taken last Monday and Tuesday, [the 15th and 16th.] The Dormans line was eight kilometers south of the Marne.

The Americans and French, fighting together from Château-Thierry east to south of Dormans, preceded the attack with short but intense artillery work, putting down a barrage along the river bank to prevent the Germans retreating without paying a heavy price for having ventured south of the war-famed stream.

The advance proceeded well from the start. By 4 o'clock the Germans had been cleared out as far east as six kilometers west of Dormans. South of Dormans the enemy, with his retreat cut off, made a determined but vain stand. By 6 o'clock detachments of Americans and French reached the river bank in one place, and soon after a message was flashed to all the armies that the Germans had been put back across the Marne.

The Germans crossed the Marne between Fossoy and Jaulgonne July 15 at the start of the Crown Prince's ill-fated drive, but the Americans drove them back before nightfall, inflicting losses of 20,000. It was after the enemy had driven in a way by superior numbers against the French troops that the Americans were put in between south of Jaulgonne and south of Dormans. They had been itching ever since to get a show against the enemy, and they won the results already stated.

The wonderful thing about the sensational attack from the east against the German salient July 20 is that it took place without lessening the power of the drive against the salient from the west between Soissons and Château-Thierry. Here we met violent counterattacks by German shock troops, but nevertheless made more progress and captured more prisoners. The Americans have established themselves on the Soissons-Château-Thierry road, about ten kilometers south of Soissons, and kept their hold on the heights overlooking the city.

A HISTORIC WEEK

What a week this has been in the world's history! A week ago, while the French were celebrating Bastille Day, the Germans, strong in hope because of two preceding drives, were making ready for another great effort. On the 15th they

launched an attack from Château-Thierry to north of Chalons on a 100-kilometer front. They crossed the Marne and moved a short distance toward their objectives. Then, out of a clear sky, July 18, came Foch's blow from Soissons to Château-Thierry. On Thursday and Friday French and Americans fought ahead, and then today they hit Ludendorff a body blow south of the Marne. The week started with a formidable German offensive. The week ends with a great allied offensive.

Americans, French, English—all the Allies—now face the fury of the German high command, with its great military machine. That machine is big and powerful, but it is not the machine it used to be. The morale of the German Army is weakening from day to day. The size of the German Army is growing surely less day by day.

The morale of the allied armies is getting better every day, and because of America the size of the allied armies is growing day by day. The defeat of Germany is but a matter of time. How much time no one can say. America should rejoice, but America should not be overconfident. But for what France has to be thankful for America has a just right to be thankful for, too.

South of Soissons, where the bitterest fighting of the week took place, it was the Americans who had the good fortune to push the line furthest ahead. Northwest of Château-Thierry, the closest point to Paris, it fell to the Americans to push the Germans back. East of Château-Thierry the Americans drove the enemy back the same day he crossed the Marne. South of Dormans the Americans held the German advance and helped drive the foe back. North of Chalons, the grand objective of the Crown Prince, the Americans stood on the plains and the boche could not pass.

It was the lot of American soldiers to be at vital points, and they made good. It is not to be supposed that Americans were at those points through accident. Perhaps Foch felt that the ultimate, complete victory depended on what the American fighting man could do, and perhaps he thought it best to know now. It seems but fair for America to know

and believe that after all the greatest allied gain of this glorious week is the assurance that the American fighting man has no superior. What tens of thousands of them have done in the last week hundreds of thousands will do. The week has changed the nature of the war from an allied defensive to an allied offensive. For the first time in more than a year the Germans are on the defensive.

THE TURNING POINT

July 22.—Château-Thierry, the nearest German-held point to Paris, was occupied yesterday morning by French and Americans, who established a strong position north of the river preparatory to pushing on. Bridges were thrown across the stream and guns were brought up.

I went into Château-Thierry a short time after the Germans left it—a city which will forever occupy a place in American history. It must always be recalled as marking a region where the American troops stopped the enemy just where his "peace drives" of 1918 took him nearest to Paris and the fruition of his insolent hopes.

Where hundreds on hundreds of shells had screeched overhead that Sunday morning, their roar interrupted by the rat-a-tat of machine gunners, it was peaceful almost, if one discarded the casual shells that the retreating boche sent backward. Up the road moved the graceful French cavalymen and blue-coated poilus, cracking jokes about the boche going to Paris.

We passed the crest of the hill, and since no one stopped us ran into the city until halted by débris and barricades.

RUINS IN CHATEAU-THIERRY

It was uncanny. But for an occasional shell and the droning of our airplanes overhead, absolute quiet ruled amid the débris where thousands on thousands of shells had put war's mark on the pretty and historic little city. For a moment we stood at Carnot Place looking north into the city. Not a living being was in sight.

The advance troops, which crossed, had moved on and other troops were not yet there. Up the Rue Carnot, paved with a

three-foot deep carpet of débris, one saw barricade after barricade raised fifteen feet high, perhaps two to every block. Those on this side of the river were made by the French, and those on the other side by the Germans.

All was quiet now along those grim little forts from behind which machine guns and rifles had spit venom for seven long weeks. To our left lay the railroad station and yards. The station was but an empty shell, and the tracks were torn up in hundreds of places where bottled hate had fallen from Hunward.

There was much wreckage along the Quai de la Poterne and the Promenade de la Levée, marking the business district of the city. The invader had left his characteristic marks. Shop after shop lay in ruins, with shells of walls standing. Pretty little cafés were gone beyond repair.

On the outskirts of the city the residential districts were in much better shape. Here were found perhaps three-score persons who had stayed on through all the hell that had raged there. Among them was Mme. de Prey, 87 years old, to whom home had meant more than life. She had occupied her seven weeks caring for German wounded. A French General, who learned what she had done, kissed her withered cheeks in homage. There were in the midst of this war wreckage a trio of children, who, left out of doors the first time for so long, made the best of their opportunity.

The magnificent stone bridge over the Marne on the Rue Carnot was blown up for almost its entire length.

In years to come American tourists will go to see Château-Thierry. They will not see the débris and carnage I saw yesterday, but it will be many years before the war marks are wiped away. Remember that on that line of white stone houses on the south bank of the river the American machine gunners, after a thirty-hour ride in camions from another part of France, placed their tools of war and held for thirteen hours against the mad rushes of the oncoming Germans to get across the river seven weeks ago.

July 25.—The fight for Epieds was one of the most severe and costly in which the

Americans have engaged. North of Epieds is a wooded hill, and to the west are similar hills at the lower end of the Bois de Châtelet, and to the east other hills up to the northern end of the Bois de Trugny. Epieds is reached by a valley from the south, through which runs the main road. On Tuesday afternoon [July 23] the American infantry went up the ravine by the side of the road into the village. They were swept by fire from more than a hundred machine guns the Germans had placed on the hills about the village. We got into the village. Soon the Germans got the range, and began heavily shelling Epieds, and we withdrew to the hills, the Germans taking possession of the village under the protection of artillery fire and bringing in more machine guns.

Yesterday morning we again faced the task of retaking Epieds. In the meanwhile our troops had taken possession of most of the Bois de Trugny, and the French and Americans had taken all of Bois de Châtelet. While a small force stayed in front, drawing the fire of the Germans from the village and hills, our troops moved against the machine gunners from the rear. The troops in front of the village and on both sides attacked together, forcing the Germans to evacuate quickly.

Trugny, a small village, was the scene of more bloody fighting between the Germans and Americans, the result of which was shown by the fact that the woods this morning were clear of boches.

Nothing more typically American could be imagined than the way in which we took a position yesterday afternoon north of Epieds. The Germans had intrenched along a roadway with a large number of machine guns. The terrain on both sides of the road was most difficult and seemed to mean certain death to infantrymen advancing up the road. Soon up that road came ten automobiles of a well-known American minor make. On each were one or two machine guns. Half a mile from the beginning of the German nests they got into action and went up the road at top speed, spurting streams of bullets on either side. The Germans stood until the cars were almost upon them, and seeing little chance

of "kamerading" to the cavalcade beat a retreat. The cars, returning, met the infantrymen going up to occupy the position they had cleared and to move on. The operation was completely successful, only two of the cars failing to come back. The American General at once christened the outfit "Ford's Cavalry." Stories of this exploit gave rise to an erroneous report that American cavalry had been used in action.

CROSSING THE OURCQ

July 29.—The Germans have crossed the Ourcq. So have the Americans. On a line well north of the stream our troops, with the French on the right and left, this morning are pushing back the Germans toward the Vesle River. The enemy had evidently intended to make a stand on the north side of the Ourcq, but a brilliant charge was made by the Americans, who forced the stream, broke through their position at half a dozen points, and forced their hurried withdrawal from the bank. The line along the Ourcq from Fère-en-Tardenois to the source of the river is held by American troops.

Fère-en-Tardenois was taken yesterday by the French, with American aid. The German withdrawal is going much faster than the high command expected. The retreat was forced so strongly that hundreds of tons of ammunition were left behind yesterday by the fleeing Huns. While the Germans withdraw on a regular line of flight it cannot be rightly called a rout, but the pressure of the Americans yesterday played havoc with the Crown Prince's retreat.

There is some doubt if any chapter of our fighting reached the thrills of our charge across the Ourcq yesterday. Americans of indomitable spirit met a veritable hell of machine guns, shells, gas, and bombs in a strong position, and broke through with such violence that they made a salient jutting into the enemy line beyond what the schedule called for. One has heard for many years of the fighting qualities of the American unit which led the charge, [Company K, 165th Regiment, former 69th New York National Guard.] It has added greatly to its glory.

Saturday's withdrawal of the Germans before our never-lessening pressure took them at midnight across the river and into strong hilled positions on the northern bank. There they placed many hundreds of machine guns ranging on the river, and trained their artillery to lay down barrages on the stream. Two fresh Guard divisions were placed in front of the Americans, and the bridges were destroyed behind the fleeing foe. At midnight the enemy thought he had a new line. He had for a few hours. At 4 o'clock a part of the famed fighting unit stepped from the woods on the southern bank, leaped into the stream, which is about two feet deep, and got to the other bank before the Germans were aware of it. But by the time all were over, the machine guns cut loose and the barrage swept them mercilessly.

They held twenty minutes and had to come back. But the Germans were all wrong if they thought the Americans were through. At 5:15 another dash was made, and after bloody fighting this, too, was driven back across the stream.

In the meanwhile our engineers brought up two bridges, with every piece of wood cut and fitted beforehand, and threw them across the stream. At 7 o'clock four companies made the dash. To say they stayed across makes a short story of valiant resistance. The Germans put down a barrage behind them along the stream and mowed them down with machine guns from their trees, from behind rocks and from bushes.

While the situation was becoming precarious for these men big plans were executed behind them, and at 8 o'clock the grand rush started. It put thousands of Americans across the river by 10 o'clock. By this time our artillery was locating the Germans, and field guns on the south bank were shooting point blank into the Hun machine gun nests. Our men got set on the northern bank and started for the hills lining the stream. After half an hour of the bitterest sort of fighting we got deep into these positions, and the enemy broke and ran down the northern side of the hills and over a valley to another series of hills near.

By this time Americans were across

the river in a dozen places. By noon they had captured Sergy, and two hours later had Seringes. The Germans then began a withdrawal all along the line they had expected to hold. It was the first charge of the Americans which had broken them. The German machine gunners in the trees were killed and the others fled. We brought back a few prisoners. That the Germans intended to stand here is shown by pile after pile of ammunition we found where the guns had been hurriedly pulled out.

Never have the Americans done hotter fighting. Never did they show to better advantage. Never did the Hun fight nastier. It was not the deadly work of the machine guns in the trees and houses, and even in the churches, that awoke the wrath of our men. It was not the terrific barrage that angered them. But when they saw Hun snipers kill their wounded comrades, then they saw red and made the enemy pay.

Time after time the Germans played machine guns on the stretcher bearers. I saw their wounded, and they told me. One overloaded truck came in with wounded and reported that a German airplane had swept low and dropped a bomb which destroyed an open truck carrying wounded. The driver and two wounded men were killed. Stretcher bearers wading the river with helpless wounded were fired on by German snipers in the hills beyond.

The Hun left nothing undone to make the Americans regret their audacious and gallant charge. He did not succeed.

KAISER'S CRACK TROOPS

July 30.—Sergy changed hands nine times in twenty-four hours. That tells the story of the bitter fighting when the German command threw two fresh Guard divisions against the Americans north of the Ourcq yesterday, in an endeavor to put them back across the stream.

The result may be best told by saying that the Americans are not only on the north side of the Ourcq this morning, but in positions further advanced than when the Crown Prince hurled his violent attacks against our line early yesterday. At least one German Guard division was

rendered fightless for some time to come.

Had the Americans not held back these fighting Prussians the French would not have been able to make their advance north of Fère-en-Tardenois, and also on our right. The Prussians and Bavarians now trying to hold back the Americans were brought hurriedly from the rear, where they had been held to make an attack against the English, preparatory to the Crown Prince's grand drive in August.

It should be a source of the greatest pride to America that her youthful soldiers are able to hold their own against the Kaiser's best shock troops, for such the Prussian and Bavarian Guards are. At Sergy was an American division which met the 4th Prussian Guard Division. The result speaks for itself.

The fighting went back and forth all morning. First we had the mauled village, and then the Prussians had it. Both sides made advances from edges of woods and retreated to that shelter. Finally, just after noon, when it was our turn in the village, the American artillery got down a heavy barrage, which caught the Prussian attackers and drove them back. By the time the enemy came again we were too strongly situated for them, and the result of the bloody battle was that we held Sergy.

Almost the same story tells the fighting yesterday for Seringes, only the battle was not so fierce and the village changed hands five times instead of nine.

PRUSSIAN GUARDS BEATEN

July 31.—The change from rearguard warfare, where the German machine-gun nests had the attackers at a disadvantage, to warfare of attacks and counter-attacks has given the Americans a new opportunity to inflict heavy losses on the crack German troops. Part of one American division has met the 4th Imperial Prussian Guards in the last two days north of the Ourcq in the vicinity of Sergy. There has been the bitterest sort of fighting by brave men against brave men. American soldiers who charged these Prussians manning machine guns tell me they had to shoot

them at the guns to make them stop firing.

Last night seven Germans were brought in, members of the 5th Foot Guards Regiment, a part of the 4th Prussian Guard Division. They said that the day before their company, 150 strong, had been thrown into the fight. They refused to retreat, and the Americans refused to retreat. The seven said they were all that were left of their company. They were captured in hand-to-hand fighting after their ammunition was exhausted.

Instead of fighting with their machine guns until the Americans were close and then fleeing, these Germans charged with rifle and bayonet. That kind of fighting our men like, and the result was bloody slaughter. It so happened that two of the four companies which helped to meet the Prussians were composed largely of German-American fighters. They certainly showed no sign of love or respect for the Fatherland or its best military representatives.

FIERCE AIR COMBATS

Perhaps the most sensational of all the enemy efforts of the last two days has been what some call the most intensive airplane activity of the war. On Sunday the Germans hurried scores of crack fliers here, and they are showing the utmost daring and efficiency. The air yesterday was literally filled with German planes which knew no fear. They bombed us and they strafed us, and our observation machines were almost invariably attacked when nearing their line.

The Germans traveled in fives, tens, and fifteen, which made them formidable. One of the most wonderful sights of the war was to see ten of their planes challenge and meet eight of ours. Up there in the air one could hear the droning of many engines with perhaps five or six machine guns going at once, in a free-for-all battle as the fliers circled about looking for the foe's vital spot. One such battle lasted fifteen minutes, during which two planes dropped and others drifted apart.

German planes flew yesterday from

five to ten miles behind our lines in broad daylight, braving countless guns and dropping many bombs. I was standing talking to an American General when we saw the nerviest sort of aerial performance. A road was filled with American trucks, soldiers, and automobiles. All along it on mounted carriages were anti-aircraft guns of every description.

Out of the clouds came three boche machines. The guns opened up, throwing hundreds of shrapnel shells, but the fliers came on and on. They descended until only 500 feet above the ground, cut loose with their machine guns, achieved some results, and flew away. There is no denying that it takes brave men to do this.

MEUNIÈRE WOOD TAKEN

Aug. 2.—When the Americans' advance took them across the Ourcq and into the line of Seringes-Sergy-Ronchères they struck two German strongholds on either end of their line, one in the Forêt de Nesles and the other in the Bois de Meunière. To push our line ahead in the middle would avail nothing if the two ends held us up.

For the last four days bitter fighting has been going on to break these German strongholds. On the left we have fought gradually forward until now the front line is in the fields before the southern end of the Forêt de Nesles. Our right was slightly behind the left, and so it was of more immediate importance to attend to the Bois de Meunière, for the German line along the southern edge of the wood made a deep dip in our line from Cierges to in front of Ronchères.

The Germans had been successful with heavy artillery, machine-gun fire, and shock troops in holding back our attacks on the front at the south end of the woods. The French were on our right in the district east of the woods.

This was the situation when the Americans tackled the problem July 31. Having been taught our lesson as to the perils of frontal attack alone on the woods, the operation was divided into two parts. The first was to push our lines up be-

yond Cierges to the west of the woods, to get the Germans in the woods into a pocket, and then to storm the woods.

We had a somewhat perilous hold on Cierges. Our line there was being threatened by the German hold on Hill 200, which lies in the Bois de Cierges to the south of the village itself. The first thing we did was to strengthen the man power in Cierges. This done, we had the Germans on Hill 200 where we could attack them from the northwest and south.

GERMAN MACHINE GUNNERS

As long as the Kaiser has fighters like those Jaegers holding that hill he is far from beaten. Knowing that it meant death, the machine gunners stuck at their posts until the Americans had literally bayoneted them to force them to stop shooting.

There were about 300 Germans there, who were equal to ten times that number in the open field. They were arranged in nests of twelve men to a machine gun, five gunners, and seven infantrymen to protect the gunners. Each man had three days' rations. They had been put there and told to stick, and they did. Their rations are very picayune compared to the American soldier's food. One chunk of black bread, one tin of biscuits, and one pound of canned pork. After clearing the Bois de Cierges, we took the smaller Bois de Crimpettes, near Cierges.

This completed, the next job was to storm the Meunière Woods. To make a long story short, on July 31 we charged six times against the German positions at the southern end of the woods, and six times were beaten back. The German communiqué laid great stress on this temporary check to the Americans.

The bravery of our men was unmatched as they went against the machine guns, in trees, in holes, and behind sandbags, one nest to every sixty yards against our men, charging up an open slope. The units making the attack were lumberjacks, farmer boys, and Indians. They fought gallantly, but nightfall found them about where they started.

But the Germans were greatly mis-

taken if they thought we had enough. Shortly after midnight yesterday morning we trained scores of guns on the southern end of the woods and sent over thousands of high-explosive shells. At 3:30 o'clock the charge started from the west and from the south of the woods.

THE AMERICAN WAR CRY

The Americans moved stealthily, with fixed bayonets, until they got into the edge of the woods and atop the machine gunners. Then the Indians yelled, the lumberjacks shouted, and the farmer boys cheered. They were where they could mix it at close range with the Germans, and that was what they wanted. Their yells could be heard a mile away. They were up against two of the Kaiser's redoubtable divisions, the 200th Jaegers and the 216th Reserve Division. They fought with vim and joy.

The bayonet is a good weapon against gun nests on the ground and infantrymen, but the German machine gunners in trees gave lots of trouble. Lads who back home had learned to shoot squirrels put their training to good advantage, hiding behind trees and shooting down the "monkey fighters."

On the ground things went better. The Germans were fresh and the Americans in good trim. Our boys fought like madmen. They had lost their comrades at the hands of these Germans and now were to avenge them. No quarter was asked or expected. The Germans had orders to fight until death, and the Americans needed no such order. Wounded men slightly hurt, who were brought back to the dressing stations, sneaked away to get back into the fight. One boy from Michigan was found half way back to the battle, where he fainted from loss of blood.

I saw many of our wounded, and all were full of vim and smiling with joy at what had been done. "We gave 'em hell, all right," was the message they had for every one along their way.

Without much artillery on either side and without gas, the Americans fought the Germans through these woods, four kilometers long, for six hours. At 9:30 o'clock we took up a position across the

northern end of the woods. The French on the right had fought their way up gallantly.

FIGHT TO THE DEATH

Perhaps the most sensational incident of the fight was when about 200 Germans got around behind our men. They were chased into a clearing, where the Americans went at them from all sides with the bayonet, and I am told that three prisoners were all that were left of the Germans. These prisoners said they had been rushed from Flanders, taken by train to Laon, and marched into the woods, where they arrived three days ago. They were told that they must fight to the death, because the Americans took no prisoners.

The capture of Hill 200 brought to light a flagrant German violation of the Red Cross regulations. On top of the hill stands a heliograph tower, one of those built by Napoleon. The Americans saw a big Red Cross flag waving from it, and kept both artillery and machine gun fire averted from it.

When our men were close up many of them were cut down by fire from two machine guns in the tower. American snipers gained good locations and killed the crews of the machine guns. Captain Boyle, with a detail, mounted the stairs of the tower and found the German gunners dead beside their weapons.

To the left of the Bois de Meunière we made another attack later in the day north of Cierges. After several hours of fighting we drove the Germans from this vantage point.

Further west our luck was not so good. Our repeated attacks were met by strong German resistance from positions better than ours. The Germans were entrenched in the southern end of Nesle Woods against our men charging through an open field up the slope.

However, on the front from Seringes east, two and a half kilometers, we advanced from 300 to 400 yards.

GERMANS RETREAT OVER THE VESLE

The Americans continued their advance on Aug. 2 and 3, covering more than six

miles. On the morning of Aug. 2 the Americans began storming the Nesle Woods, which they easily took, and continued their forward movement in close liaison with the French and British Armies. On Aug. 4 the Germans withdrew across the Vesle, and the Americans took Fismes, an important German supply depot. Mr. James describes this achievement as follows:

Aug. 4.—The Germans are back across the Vesle and still going north. It was Fismes, with all the roads between the Aisne and the Vesle converging into it, that was to have been held by the enemy at all costs. But today Fismes is controlled by American troops.

Yesterday afternoon we reached the outskirts, and today co-operation of our infantry and artillery has placed us in a position commanding not only that town, but the roads stretching out from it for considerable distances, and our guns are pounding the northward trek of the Crown Prince's army.

It is a bright day for civilization, this day beginning the fifth year of the world war. France, the savior of civilization, has full right to rejoice. The hated Hun, his back turned on Paris, is being driven toward where he belongs. Many more villages have been liberated in the last twenty-four hours, and today France and all the Allies can celebrate the fact that the foe's salient, which fifteen days ago stuck out like one tentacle of an ugly octopus, is now only an unimportant stub. The tentacle has been cut off. Other tentacles remain to be cut off, and then yet more work is to be done to kill the octopus.

WHAT AMERICANS DID

The story of the Americans' part in the great allied victory is a glorious story. One has but to look at the map to see that the distance traversed by the Americans since July 18 is the furthest distance covered by any soldiers except the retreating Germans. On the morning of the 18th the Americans started from their trenches northwest of Château-Thierry, south of Château-Thierry, and east of the Marne city. From the vicinity of Belleau to Fismes, where our men stand today, the distance

is about forty kilometers, gained in fifteen days. Fourteen kilometers of that distance have been gained in the last two days.

Our progress in the last forty-eight hours has been accomplished with almost no losses, coming as a sweet reward for the hard weeks of fighting preceding. Not only the Americans, but the French, British, and Italians, under the plans of General Foch, have been hammering steadily at the line, which caved in all its length on Friday, when our troops started on the journey which kept up yesterday and is still continuing. The Germans were crossing the Vesle in large numbers yesterday by noon, and by nightfall the south bank of the river had been cleared of them from Soissons to Fismes, and to the east of Fismes only a narrow strip of Huns was left.

It should be borne in mind that the majority of all the troops in this battle have been French. At the same time, Americans may know that had their troops not been able to break the Germans' hold on the Bois de Nesle and Bois de Meunière the whole advance would have been made much more difficult.

A few weeks ago Hun officers were telling their men sent into battle that the Americans could not or would not fight. A trip over some territory reconquered by our troops shows that many Germans have found this wrong. Along the line extending from the southern edge of the Bois de Nesle across through Bellevue Farm and on to Meunière Woods seemingly countless German dead lie. Most of them are Prussians, and where they died showed how they fought.

Their bodies lie beside and in machine-gun emplacements. In one place on Bellevue Farm are twenty bodies in a gun emplacement. Nearly every one of the men died from a bullet wound. Some who had fired on the Americans had been caught by bayonets. In front of many of these machine guns—and there are hundreds—were the bodies of some Americans who had fallen, but whose comrades went on to finish the job.

HOLDING ON TO FISMES

Aug. 5.—While the Americans met

little real resistance in their advance to the outskirts of Fismes, there was a bitter fight yesterday for the possession of that centre of traffic. This opposition was somewhat stronger than the German retreat at other points might have led our men to expect.

The battle for Fismes went on with varying intensity for seven hours. The German guns, which had just been put into position, got the range and shelled our advance as well as our rear areas for five kilometers back. Our guns opened up on the enemy gun positions and the artillery fighting, of which there had been none for the three preceding days, became intense.

While the fighting for Fismes was going on our patrols crossed the Vesle on a footbridge to the west of the town, and, working eastward, broke up much German resistance. Late in the afternoon it was announced officially that Fismes had been taken by the Americans.

Tribute should be paid to the work of our engineers in throwing bridges over the Vesle under heavy artillery fire and that of many machine guns. While the infantry fighting was going on almost at their backs our engineers did their bridge work, laboring on both banks of the river. Shellfire would destroy a half-constructed bridge and they would go at it again.

One detachment of twenty was reduced to fifteen, and then to ten, and when relief came up the five remaining men were working industriously to finish the bridge over the stream. The Vesle is about fifty feet wide and from five to eight feet deep, which makes fording impossible, and the bridge construction was effected under the greatest difficulties.

GERMANS' VAST LOSSES

A trip made yesterday through the territory between Fère-en-Tardenois and Fismes showed something of what the retreat had cost the Germans in lost material. North of Fère-en-Tardenois one passed mile after mile of ashes and débris where they had burned the stores they could not remove. The ruins

showed the destruction of every conceivable kind of war material except food, which the Germans seemed to have placed first in their salvage work. There were great piles of ammunition partly burned, clothing, wagon and truck parts, tons of machine-gun ammunition, airplane parts, and all sorts of stores. The Germans had built a narrow-gauge railroad of their own into the salient, and stored on cars and along the tracks were enough rails to extend the line to Bordeaux. They had evidently planned to build an elaborate system of tracks to Paris.

The number of German graves south of the Vesle indicated greater casualties than had been estimated. It had been believed that the Germans had got away with relatively small losses of men and material outside of ammunition, but the numerous graves and unburied bodies showed a considerable loss of men; and as for the loss of material, while most of it was burned, it may be said that the Allies have salvaged useful supplies worth more than \$5,000,000.

HORRORS OF THE BATTLEFIELD

Aug. 6.—The retreat, in which they left such large quantities of munitions behind, gave the enemy a chance they did not overlook to play one of their favorite kinds of warfare on the Americans. All through the villages and farmhouses he left infernal machines.

One of his especially devilish arrangements was placing an amount of high explosives in a conspicuous spot, connected with an ordinary telephone wire, reaching ahead into his line. When he believed Americans were near the trap, he would set off the explosive by electricity.

Numerous infernal machines were arranged in dugouts so that any one stepping inside set them off. Yesterday a pile of ammunition exploded two days after the enemy had left the spot. It is believed it was set off by a time bomb arrangement. Such man traps were found in many places yesterday, and warnings against them were issued to all our troops.

The Americans yesterday made prompt use of some of the captured boche material. Because of our rapid advance we

had need of extra engineers to work on the badly shelled roads. A whole regiment of pioneers was equipped out of a stock of tools left behind by the Germans. Incidentally, in the German materials left 1,000,000 good 77 shells have been counted.

Some of the fields are bloody fields. One I saw yesterday I can never forget. To east, to west, and north of the road lay a wheatfield from which the enemy had harvested the grain before the battle came. To the south of the road a hundred yards away lay a stretch of woods. North of the wheatfield was a large wood. In a small field south of the road lay a row of bodies of Americans where German machine guns on the south side of the road had opened on them. What could cause a greater thrill than to walk forward to the road and see the bodies of the German machine gunners in their nests dead from bayonet wounds?

LOOTING BY GERMANS

Aug. 7.—In his withdrawal from the towns south of the Vesle the boche made one of the most complete jobs of looting the world ever saw. It appears that permission to do personal looting was given to the soldiers, who were not only allowed to send their loot to their families, but were provided with military transport for that purpose.

Every store in every town was stripped absolutely. Of food not one can or pound was left behind. The shelves of the stores were swept clean. Clothing and shoes were also taken. The Americans have captured many packages of loot addressed to German soldiers' families which were left behind in the army's flight.

A very interesting light on the German civilian situation is furnished by the fact that the wheat harvested south of the Vesle was shipped back to the soldiers' families in little cotton sacks holding about four and a half pounds. Large numbers of these sacks, all addressed, were found by our men.

Every day of cleaning up after the boche shows evidences of a systematic attempt to terrorize Americans by the use of infernal machines. In a previous dispatch I told how bombs were set in

FRENCH COMMANDERS IN THE MARNE DRIVE



General Joseph Mangin
(Underwood)



General Henri Berthelot
(© Harris & Ewing)



General Humbert



General Gouraud

ADMIRAL PAUL VON HINTZE



The new German Foreign Secretary in succession to Herr von
Kühlmann

(Press Illustrating Service)

dugouts and houses, how ammunition dumps exploded two days after the Germans had left, and how telephone wires were strung to hidden piles of explosives to be set off from a distance, but yesterday the largest single instance was revealed.

ELABORATE INFERNAL MACHINES

North of Fère-en-Tardenois lies the Château de Fère. It is a large château dating from the fifteenth century, and by its side are the ruins of one dating back to the thirteenth century. The newer château had been used by the Germans for division headquarters, and as it offered some advantages they evidently thought the Americans might make the same use of it.

American engineers going there yesterday, bearing in mind the official warning against infernal machines and to be careful of all wires, noticed the too systematic lying about of wires along the ground and into the château. Examination of this system of wires showed that it ran all through the château and also into the adjacent ruins, among which stands a magnificent arch about ninety feet high. Our engineers traced the wires with great care and found them leading to high explosives concealed in all parts of the château and in the ruins. There were more than three tons of these explosives, which, if touched off, would have wrecked the château and killed every one in it. The infernal machine was laid so that the cutting of any wire would set it off. Of course, the first step in clearing up enemy wires is to cut them.

Another château was destroyed yesterday when a similar but smaller infernal machine was set off. Fortunately no one was killed, as the place had not been occupied by Americans as an important post. In one château equipped with electric lights these had been arranged so that the turning on of a lamp switch would have blown up the place. No fewer than 150 of these infernal machines have been found.

As our engineers clean up the territory from which the Germans have retreated they continue to find hundreds

of infernal machines of all sorts. A favorite brand was to arrange the branches of trees to look like the camouflage of a door of a dugout; when brushed aside they would set off mines.

Bombs of great strength have been found in foul rubbish piles, which would naturally be burned. Loose boards were arranged on stairways so that the step of a man would detonate a charge. In a number of instances a large number of big shells have been placed in pockets under roads, arranged so that the weight of a passing camion would explode them. The most novel infernal device was to arrange barbed wire entanglements so that attacking troops would explode mines. Not only did the Germans leave their infernal machines behind, but poisoned food and water also marked their backward trail.

These methods of warfare fortunately were discovered early, thanks largely to the previous experience of the French fighters, and such effective means have been taken against them that few losses have been caused to the Americans.

THE CAPTURE OF FISMES

Aug. 17.—The achievement of the American division which, after driving the Germans back twelve miles, captured Fismes, has been made the subject of a report to the French Quartier General by the French Army in which the Americans fought. The report said:

"Compelled to make a general retreat as a result of our counteroffensive on July 18, the Germans attempted to take positions on the Ourcq, and fought stubbornly on the heights dominating this river. They were compelled, however, to give way under the repeated blows of the Allies, and then, from July 30 on, the enemy commenced a new retreat in the direction of the Vesle. Definitely dislodged from the heights of Seringes and Hill 220, northeast of Sergy, he had met a strong advance on the part of the American units, who were fresh and energetic and who were prepared to descend the slopes of Ronchères, while on their right the French were advancing through Meunière Woods.

"It was the movement of the Amer-

ican division, which advanced from Ronchères to Fismes, progressing nearly paralalled to the route which runs through Coloungnes, Cohans, Longueville Farm, and Saint Gilles, that we will follow, beginning July 30, the date of this division's entry into the sector, until Aug. 5, when it entered Fismes.

"An interesting point is that this division was made up of a great many men of German origin, who, thus shedding their blood for the United States, gloriously showed their loyalty.

"On July 30 the Americans attacked Grimpeos Woods after a short artillery preparation and reached the southeastern corner of the wood, but the German resistance at this point was very strong. They counterattacked and threw back the advance troops of the division. The fighting was extremely severe, and there were many hand-to-hand combats.

PUT ENEMY TO FLIGHT

"On the next day, July 31, the entire woods fell into the hands of the Americans. Machine-gun nests, which held up their advance on Cièrges, had been crushed or captured, and the way was clear. Intrenched now in Jomblets Woods, the enemy, by a strong fire, attempted holding up the American advance. Cièrges is situated in a hollow, so that the Germans, after having evacuated the village under the American pressure, bombarded it heavily with gas. The Americans did not stop in Cièrges itself. They went around it in a magnificent dash, and stormed the northern slopes. Then, after a short rest, they captured part of Jomblets Woods.

"During this time the French had advanced on the right and debouched from Meunière Wood, which had been cleared out thoroughly.

"On Aug. 1 the Americans had a new series of obstacles ahead of them, the most important being Reddy Farm and Hill 230. During the previous day's fighting they already had shown a keen sense for infantry manoeuvring, employing tactically the gains which were most sure of accomplishing their purpose, and giving evidence of fine qualities of initiative and imagination. In addition they showed excellent knowledge of the

use of the machine gun, automatic rifles, and light mortars. They were able again to reduce the German positions. Hill 230 was taken in a superb manner, and seventy prisoners were counted.

"From that moment the enemy fled, and only weak rearguards were left to oppose the advance of the Americans, who swept these obstacles before them on their route and took without much difficulty Chamery, Moncel, and Villome. At Cohans the Germans hung on several hours, but had to give it up, and at the end of the day United States troops had attained the heights north of Dravegny. Consequently, progress of six or seven kilometers was made on the day of Aug. 2. For seventy-two hours straight the infantry had fought, despite the difficulty of procuring food, caused by the fact that only a narrow road afforded the convoys an opportunity of coming up, and the hard rains had soaked the road.

"In spite of fatigue and privations the advanced unit's pursuit was taken up again at dawn on Aug. 3. The line which runs by Les Bourleaux was reached easily enough, but then the enemy turned and faced the Americans with many sections of machine guns and a strong artillery fire which rained down on the villages of the valley, on the crossroads and ravines.

"It became necessary to retire methodically and manoeuvre on the strong points of the adversary. This permitted the United States troops to reach the slopes north of Mont St. Martin and St. Gilles. The division had thus added to its gains seven kilometers. One last supreme effort would permit it to attain Fismes and the Vesle.

REACHING THE VESLE

"On Aug. 4 the infantry combats were localized with terrible fury. The outskirts of Fismes were solidly held by the Germans, where their advanced groups were difficult to take. The Americans stormed them and reduced them with light mortars and 37s. They succeeded, though not without loss, and at the end of the day, thanks to this slow but sure tenacity, they were within one kilometer of Fismes and masters of Villes Savoye

and Chezelle Farm. All night long rains hindered their movements and rendered their following day's task more arduous. On their right the French had, by similar stages, conquered a series of woods and swamps of Meunière Woods, to the east of St. Gilles, and were on the Plateau of Bonne Maison Farm. To the left another American unit had been able to advance upon the Vesle to the east of St. Thibaut.

"On Aug. 5 the artillery prepared for the attack on Fismes by a bombardment, well regulated, and the final assault was launched. The Americans penetrated into the village and then began the mean task of clearing the last point of resistance. That evening this task

was almost completed. We held all the southern part of the village as far as Rheims road, and patrols were sent into the northern end of the village. Some even succeeded in crossing the Vesle, but were satisfied with making a reconnoissance, as the Germans still occupied the right bank of the river in great strength. All that was left to be accomplished was to complete the mopping up of Fismes and the strengthening of our positions to withstand an enemy counterattack.

"Such was the advance of one American division, which pushed the enemy forward from Ronchères on July 30 a distance of eighteen kilometers and crowned its successful advance with the capture of Fismes on Aug. 5."

The Americans Congratulated

The Americans were warmly congratulated by all the Allies upon their brilliant successes in France during July and August. General Mangin on Aug. 7 issued the following order of the day:

Officers, Noncommissioned Officers, and Soldiers of the American Army:

Shoulder to shoulder with your French comrades, you threw yourselves into the counteroffensive begun on July 18. You ran to it as if going to a feast. Your magnificent dash upset and surprised the enemy, and your indomitable tenacity stopped counterattacks by his fresh divisions. You have shown yourselves to be worthy sons of your great country and have gained the admiration of your brothers in arms.

Ninety-one cannon, 7,200 prisoners, immense booty, and ten kilometers of reconquered territory are your share of the trophies of this victory. Besides this, you have acquired a feeling of your superiority over the barbarian enemy against whom the children of liberty are fighting. To attack him is to vanquish him.

American comrades, I am grateful to you for the blood you generously spilled on the soil of my country. I am proud of having commanded you during such splendid days and to have fought with you for the deliverance of the world.

The Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred on General Pershing by President Poincaré at American Headquarters in France on Aug. 6. In making the presentation President Poincaré said that he was delighted to

have the honor to present the Grand Cross to the organizer and leader of France's valiant ally, and especially glad to seize this opportunity to thank General Pershing and the brave army under his command for the gallant work done in recent weeks on the battlefield. The President then stood on tiptoes and kissed the General on both cheeks, in accordance with the time-honored custom.

In acknowledging the decoration General Pershing wrote to the French Premier:

I am profoundly touched by the high distinction the French Government has conferred in according me the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. I accept this honor with a feeling of deep gratitude and as a tribute paid by the French Government to the qualities of the American soldier. They are qualities possessed to an eminent degree by our French comrades. In the name of the troops which I have the privilege to command, and in my own name, I thank you.

King George of England, the King of Italy, and the Premiers of France, Great Britain, and of Italy also warmly congratulated the American Government. Baron Yuehara, Chief of Staff of the Imperial Japanese Army, sent a special message to General March, American Chief of Staff, congratulating the nation on "the recent brilliant success won

by your gallant army on the French battlefield." King George on Aug. 13 met Generals Pershing and Bliss and privately conferred on them the Order of

the Bath and the Order of St. Michael and St. George, respectively. The same day the King conferred decorations on a number of American officers and men.

French Armies at Close Range

An Account of the Strategical Plan That Won the Second Battle of the Marne

By GEORGE H. PERRIS

[OFFICIAL ENGLISH CORRESPONDENT WITH THE FRENCH ARMIES]

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JULY, 25, 1918.—When we consider that on setting out at the beginning of last week to finish off the French Army, the Germans had the unquestioned initiative and a distinct total superiority of forces, the transformation which General Foch has produced by a single blow, following upon his splendid defense, is very remarkable.

It has been for Ludendorff a disastrous week. On July 17 he had engaged between Château-Thierry and the Argonne in his offensive over thirty divisions in the first line and immediate reserve. On July 23, between Vic, on the Aisne, and the Argonne the number had risen to nearly sixty, and on an average these had lost over a quarter of their effectives.

If we regard the field of the allied counteroffensive from Soissons to Rheims, the number of German divisions engaged had risen from twenty-eight on July 17 to over forty on July 23. The total of German divisions in the west is between 200 and 210.

A calculation lying before me shows that the engagements of divisions have been twice as numerous this year as last, yet last year, with the battles of Flanders and the Aisne, Verdun, the Somme, and Cambrai, was not exactly an easy time. This pace cannot be long maintained.

SUPERIOR FRENCH STRATEGY

July 26.—The more one considers the development of events in the last critical weeks the more clear it is that the allied victory is due to the superior planning

by the French command, based upon sober estimates of the forces and possibilities at the present moment.

There is a very marked difference of morale between the allied and the German armies. German officers captured yesterday at Villemontoire, who, by the way, say Ludendorff has prepared a great offensive either in Flanders or Alsace, make no attempt to hide the discouragement of their men. At the beginning of last week, on the other hand, they were pretty confident as to the results of the attack they were about to make. They were mostly picked troops, prepared in every way, and until their case was hopeless they fought with the utmost courage. This was not a decisive factor, nor was there a decisive difference in the numbers and armament. On the whole, though not in every part, the enemy had the advantage in that regard, but there was a difference in staff work markedly in our favor, which, when supported by the rising morale among the allied troops and falling morale on the other side, became decisive.

From the beginning of the war the work of the Grand Staff in Berlin, often of the most evident excellence, has been vitiated by the tendency to depreciate its adversary, and to trust too much to a single, big blow. From time to time this tendency degenerates into sheer infatuation. The crucial error of the German offensive of July 15 was almost an exact repetition of that which von Kluck made near the same ground at the beginning of the war—an error which gave us the first victory of the

Marne—that of dashing forward without adequate flank protection; but in both cases the error was not that of the army commander, only or chiefly, but also of the high command, which designed the whole operation.

Before the offensive of May 27, which swamped the Chemin des Dames and the Aisne front, but still more after that victory, the German command persuaded itself that the French Army was on its last legs. They were so sure of it that no serious effort was made to secure the advantage of surprise for the next attack—that of June 9—from Lassigny toward Compiègne.

The French knew of it a week beforehand. It was virtually stopped on the third day by the counterattack of General Mangin, who then was acting under the command of General Humbert. Still it had not an inconsiderable success, and the French armies concerned, which had been fighting continuously for ten weeks, often against very heavy odds and in the gravest difficulties, were undoubtedly tired.

The German Staff exaggerated to itself this weariness, and at the same time shut its eyes to the fact that its own armies were tired also, and that after four offensives in less than as many months they had lost their best fighting quality. There were hesitations at the last moment when it was too late.

General Gouraud had indications that the attack in Champagne was to fall on July 7. Then it was expected for July 14, the day of the French national fête. That evening precise information was obtained by the most timely of raids, and the French guns let loose half an hour before the German bombardment began.

RASH GERMAN PLAN

The German plan for this offensive was so grandiose that, in view of the forces available to execute it, it could not have been justified except on the aforesaid supposition that the French Army was nearly exhausted.

This plan was to break through on the left to Châlons and Revigny, on the right to Epernay and Montmirail, and the French armies, having been thus cut

asunder, to turn either against Paris on the west or against the armies of the eastern frontier from Verdun to Belfort, which, taken in the rear, would yield in a vastly larger surrender of Sedan.

It was in substance a return to the plan of the original invasion of Belgium and France, and it failed in the same way, for the French command had seized the characteristics of the situation with sobriety and acumen equal to Joffre's in the earlier crisis. It decided that its plan of retort must have a defensive and offensive part. Every soldier would like to be always on the defensive, but sobriety says one must cut one's coat according to one's cloth.

In 1914 the battle of the Marne was covered by the defense of the eastern frontier by Castelnau and Dubail. This month's offensive on each side of the Ourcq has been covered by the defense of the Champagne front—the elastic defense which has been described in earlier dispatches.

General Gouraud's success was the condition of success of the whole plan, but from the first, before the German attack launched on Monday of last week, the French command saw the opportunity for a counteroffensive stroke, and without exaggerating what was possible for it at this stage of the war, prepared to deliver it.

Gouraud's army consisted entirely of French, except one American Reserve Division, (27,500 men.) General Bertholet's army, besides the French, had one Italian corps and two American divisions—one in the line and one in reserve.

PETAIN'S PLAN ACCEPTED

Lest I be suspected even by German readers of making a case, I will support this little revelation with precise dates. The army of von Boehn had hardly got settled down on the Marne when the possibility of delivering a blow at its west flank was realized by French General Headquarters. A series of French attacks from the edge of the Villers-Cotterets Forest toward the open plateaux from the middle of June to the beginning of this month were the preliminaries to this.

Indications of the approach of the German offensive of July 15 stimulated the plan and preparations. The necessary divisions were concentrated between Montdidier and Villers-Cotterets.

After consultation with Generals Fayolle, Mangin, and Degoutte, General Pétain presented his plan to General Foch on July 12. On July 13 it was returned approved. Like General Gouraud's gunners, the French command had begun its retort before it could be called a retort.

On July 17 and 18 all troops were brought into the leafy shelter of the Villers-Cotterets region, and the artillery into its emplacements, which had been made ready two days before. Von Boehn had not the faintest notion of what was going on. He was too sure of

himself and his masters, too sure that the French were done for, and that the Americans were good for nothing, to suspect. We know what followed.

Stopped dead in Champagne the enemy crossed the Marne from Château-Thierry to Dormans. Foch and Pétain, with cool heads, let them get in a little deeper. Then, on July 19, Mangin and Degoutte were unleashed against the feeble west flank of the advance. Its first positions were carried with a rush. At 4 P. M., after renewed artillery preparation, the second and stronger positions were attacked, and they were quickly mastered. The enemy command for the moment lost its head, and there is even reason to believe that a general retreat to the Aisne was ordered.

How Foch Outgeneraled the Germans

By WALTER DURANTY

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WITH THE FRENCH ARMIES,

July 22, 1918.

THE Germans are devoting their whole energies to the protection of the retreat. They are resisting furiously on the banks of the salient with incessant counterattacks to permit the withdrawal of the centre. Under the pressure of the three allied armies the whole position is untenable owing to the large numbers herded in the confined space with a limited and hourly more confused transport.

When the Crown Prince's drive was checked the strategy of Pétain found a chink in the German armor, and Foch was swift to seize the advantage, and by throwing in strong forces convert a successful diversion into a victorious counteroffensive.

The Allies are now reaping the results of the sole command, which permits the indiscriminate utilization of forces of all nations at any point, and no less of fourteen months of tireless patience on the part of Pétain, who despite all criticism refused to waste his energies in vain offensives and carefully built up a mass of reserves—forewarned by the

collapse of Russia—which enabled the Allies to weather the anxious months since March 21, and has now upset the enemy's plans with a stroke of unexpected vigor.

Credit for the triumph should go equally to the prudence of Pétain and the daring strategy of General Foch, whose name will be ranked in history as a victor beside that of Marshal Joffre.

The German abandonment of the Marne line along the base of the salient and the rapid retreat from the southwestern corner mark a definite stage in the battle. Hindenburg's sole object now is to extricate his great force of men, guns, and materials, amassed north of the river with such ambitious hopes, from the hazardous position in which it is placed by Foch's riposte.

DESOLATE VALLEY

July 28.—I spent all day on the Marne battlefield in the region of Dormans and the villages across the Marne, which the Germans were still occupying yesterday morning.

It was a vision of war in all its horrors.

Already in a four-mile belt south of the river houses were shattered, roads shell-pocked, and woods torn as if by lightning. In wide patches trees and brushwood stood brown and lifeless, blasted by poison gas. The roadside was littered with German ammunition cases and an occasional fire-twisted skeleton of an automobile truck.

More than one blackened crater, its lip still strewn with live shells, showed where a German munition dump had exploded.

Nor did it need the French wagons, laden with plain white pinewood crosses that mark soldiers' graves, to tell what else lay hid in the trampled cornfields and devastated woods. The taint of pestilence hung heavy upon the air and carrion crows flapped sluggishly across the intervals of forest.

But all one had seen before seemed trivial beside Dormans and the Marne Valley. It is a typical country town, straggling along at the foot of a steep hill closely parallel with the river, from which it is separated by the railroad.

Eastward stretches an alluvial plain, two miles wide, narrowing to half a mile opposite the town itself, and surmounted on the north by a gradually rising hill, the crest of which bears the southern fringe of the Riza forest.

There had been little attempt by either side to cross the river in the open country to the eastward. It was on the Dormans waterfront that the German bridges were most numerous after the enemy's bombardment had momentarily paralyzed the defense on the slopes above.

Here, too, the French had first crossed on a footbridge, hurriedly constructed from German material, when a week's heroic resistance had forced the Kaiser's best troops to swift retreat.

I walked along the bank of the river, which is here not more than forty-five yards wide. In a quarter mile I counted the débris of seven German bridges, three mere footrails, one of which was repaired by the French; two strong enough for light carts, minenwerfer or machine guns, and two solidly constructed on pontoons, with graded approaches cut from the bank on either side.

At the approaches to the two main bridges across the Marne at Dormans the picture of war's destruction reaches the acme of horror. Words cannot describe the confusion of twisted iron, splintered wood, hundreds of stricken horses stiffened in the incredible postures of their death agonies, and the still ghastlier remains of what had once been men.

"I must admit that the boche is a tenacious brute," said a French Lieutenant just back from the firing line. "This Guard division has been smashed to pieces, yet the remnant fights just as hard. Cornered rats, I suppose. Anyway, it shows that their discipline is still strong, that men will sell their lives thus without hope.

"Again and again we are delayed by a lone mitrailleuse in some unexpected place—the middle of a cornfield, for instance—and have to wait until it is ousted by crossfire or grenades before the advance can proceed. Sometimes there are groups of them, and then we usually call on the artillery."

We were standing amid the ruins of Vincelles, over which alone in the whole region German shells still screamed from time to time. Here death and devastation had reached their climax. Houses were smitten as by an earthquake, and the roadway was blocked with débris. Every few yards stones were yellowed by mustard gas, and from each room or courtyard that remained intact dense swarms of flies rose at our approach in warning of sights it were better not to see.

"There are 400 or 500 dead boches here," said the Lieutenant calmly. "At least that. They were mostly killed by our shells, as there was little street fighting. We shall never be able to get them out of this rubbish for burial. To my mind the best thing would be to blot the whole place off the map with dynamite. Just look at that!"

"That" consisted of five blackened fingers of a German hand outstretched from a huge stone heap as if in final supplication.

GENERAL MANGIN'S ACCOUNT

Aug. 6.—General Mangin made this statement to me regarding the battle:

"It was a regular classic battle of manoeuvre. The battle opened with the driving back of the enemy's line ten kilometers in the first two days under the shock of a sudden attack. Then he brought up reserves and rallied. After that the objective was clear and definite. It was the eastern end of the long ledge that runs unbroken save by the Savière Valley from west of Villers-Cotterets Forest to the region of Grand Rozoy and Arcy.

"That was the key position of the struggle, as it dominated the northwestern plateau toward Soissons, which was the bastion of the enemy's resistance. Once the master of that on Aug. 2, the enemy's retreat was inevitable. He knew it, too, and the battle was won."

Before discussing the details of the action the general situation previous to July 15 can be stated as follows: It is hardly doubtful that the Chemin des Dames drive of May 27 was not originally intended to carry the Germans beyond the Aisne.

Their purpose was to get a strong defensive position in view of a possible flank attack during later operations against the centre of the French-British line in pursuance of the plan carried out in the March battle.

Rightly enough, finding the resistance less than they expected, they exploited their success to the utmost, and finally reached the Marne. That formed a deep and comparatively narrow pocket, the essential weakness of which (exposure to an attack from the western flank) no soldier could ignore.

They accordingly attempted to widen it westward, without much success, save in the north, where the occupation of Soissons gave them direct railroad communication from Laon to the lines along the Aisne and Vesle and to Fère-en-Tardenois, and a broad, high road to Château-Thierry.

The drive toward Compiègne about ten days later was a pendent to the former operation, the object being to flatten out the salient by a turning movement round the forests of Compiègne and Villers-Cotterets. Checked there by the June counterattack which Mangin commanded

on the left of the battlefield, they launched a new blow.

This was made on the following day against the northeast corner of the Villers-Cotterets Forest, but again the advance was strictly limited, and the angle of the pocket remained acute.

Soon afterward Mangin took command of the army, holding the front from the Aisne to the Ourcq, and proceeded vigorously with preliminary operations, in view of a counterstroke against the flank of the salient, which the French high command had already decided to make at the first favorable opportunity.

WORK OF PREPARATION

The work of preparation consisted in gradually driving the enemy back from the line of Amblény, Coeuvres, and Montgobert and the eastern fringe of the forest of Villers-Cotterets in a series of successful local actions, and finally in getting a footing across the Savière Valley, which afforded an admirable "jumping-off place." Attacking from the vantage point of heights broken by ravines, where the concentration of troops can be hidden, is a very different thing from being forced to conquer the same positions before the assaulting force can be properly launched.

The month preceding July 15 was thus occupied, and care was taken to vary operations by local strokes further north, toward the Aisne, in order to lull the enemy's suspicions.

At the same time the general nature of the allied movements could not fail to be remarked, and, indeed, it is known from seized German papers that the enemy thought it likely that a stroke would be attempted either on the 4th or 14th of July. He strengthened his line considerably against such an eventuality, no less than eight divisions, with six in reserve, being assembled facing Mangin's army.

But the Germans never expected a blow of such magnitude, and their high command especially seems to have utterly underestimated the allied strength and aggressiveness.

What followed is already history. On

July 15 the storm broke east and west of Rheims, and, thanks to Gouraud's magnificent defense, the principal strategic result of the first three days was just the deepening to a suicidal extent of the already dangerous and overnarrow pocket. Foch realized that the moment was ripe for the execution of the plan for which Mangin and Degoutte had prepared under the direction of Fayolle and Pétain. The credit belongs not to any one man, but to the whole French organization, from the troops and local commanders who carried out the preliminary spadework and the corps commanders and army Generals who laid down the lines on which the plan was executed to the Headquarters Staff and the allied Generalissimo, who was responsible for its inception. By noon of July 15 Foch's decision had been taken and the hour of the counteroffensive had been appointed.

To resume, those three days were employed in putting finishing touches on the preparations by the assemblage of a mass of troops, guns, tanks, and material behind the screen of the Villers-Cotterets Forest.

The blow took the Germans completely by surprise, not so much by its coming when and where it did, but by its extent, and, above all, its character. Never did they think the Allies would dare assault without artillery preparation, with infantry solely supported by tanks and a creeping barrage.

The first day the allied success was greatest in the northern sector, where the Franco-Americans, debouching from vantage points in the region of Coevures, swept forward eight full kilometers, gathering rich booty in guns and prisoners in the ravines around Pernant, Missy-aux-Bois, and Longpont.

The right wing made slower progress against the strong positions of Haut-wison and Troesnes Woods, but once those were passed by the first evening, it, too, advanced rapidly, and by the end of the second day the whole line had gone forward to an average depth of ten kilometers. You may judge the dismay of the enemy from the fact that a captured Bavarian officer of the 11th Division, which fought bravely, said bit-

terly of two Colonels belonging to the 281st Saxons, whom the Allies took in their beds near Missy:

"They were lucky to be prisoners, for they would certainly have been shot by a court-martial. The showing of the whole Saxon division was disgraceful."

Meanwhile Mangin had safeguarded his left flank by a limited push northward, and at the same time Degoutte had kept pace with the advance on the right. That ended the first phase of the battle.

Its effects were immediate. The enemy, realizing the danger, at once began evacuating the pocket from the bottom, and the movement of withdrawal was accentuated rapidly in the left-hand corner as the allied menace developed against the Château-Thierry highway and the Fère railroad.

VITAL PIVOT POINT

From the night of the 19th the Germans began the retreat, of which the Soissons positions opposite the allied left and centre, were the pivot. That facilitated the task of Degoutte, but rendered Mangin's harder, as the enemy poured in reserves to strengthen the vital pivot point. These reserves came from three directions: from the northwest and east—by rail and camion in hot haste, without their artillery, whose work was done by the guns already in position north of the Aisne—and from the south, with a full complement of guns, as the shock divisions were diverted by the Crown Prince from the original purpose of the Marne offensive.

Between the 18th and 31st of July twenty-eight enemy divisions, including two from Crown Prince Rupprecht, were identified on the front of this army; but the Allies pushed on despite them. On the morning of the 28th Mangin was in position to deliver the first attack on the dominant ridge of which I spoke at the beginning. The resistance and counterattacks were desperate, but the dogged fury of the French and British wore them down.

At dawn on Aug. 1 the Allies struck again, and this time got right up on the crest of the ridge that was the vital

"Cemetery Hill" of the battle. Between 9 and 11 the enemy countered with the utmost determination, but Mangin held his ground. Then came a lull, and at 4 a resumption of the struggle, as the last German reserves, the fresh 18th Shock Division from Rupprecht's front, near Arras, was thrown in.

But already the enemy felt his grip slipping. Hardly were the advance guards of the 18th signaled debouching for a mass attack from Laundry Wood when they were seen to move hurriedly back again, and when at length the counterattack came it was broken up into small assaults which made no impression. The enemy's reaction ended, and again the Allies got a firm hold on the south-east corner of the Soissons Plateau.

Then the Germans threw up the sponge. All next day they retreated at full speed, and at midnight the French were in Soissons. By the evening of the 3d they reached the Vesle, and the battle was won.

SURPRISE ATTACK

Aug. 7.—Visits to the Headquarters Staff of Degoutte and Berthelot elicit facts which emphasize the skill with which the high command prepared the victorious counteroffensive and the tactical ability of the leaders conducting the operations.

I am informed by a staff officer that the General received orders on July 14—the day before the German drive—to undertake an offensive on July 17, in conjunction with and to a large extent as a pendant to a simultaneous move by Mangin. Degoutte did not receive a single extra man or gun, and carried out the operation with only the troops in his sector. He did, however, receive a force of more than 100 large and small tanks, which played an important part in the operations.

The secret was so well kept that it was only at 9 P. M. on July 17 that the orders were communicated to Degoutte's subordinates that the attack would take place at dawn of the following day. By that time the General and the heads of departments had completed their plans, which only remained to be put into execution.

This was done without a hitch during the night, and the enemy was taken wholly by surprise.

Contrary to what occurred in Mangin's sector, the Germans facing Degoutte had not the remotest suspicion that an attack was probable, and their divisions holding the line were of poor quality. Some units were reduced to less than a third of their effectives by the successful Franco-American local actions of the last month and by the ravages of the Spanish grip.

On July 15 Degoutte's front ran from Faverolles, north of the Oureq, to a point opposite Dormans.

As the world knows, the Germans made initial gains across the Marne under cover of a terrific bombardment, but on the following day were checked by counterattacks in which a newly brought up American division had a gallant share.

On the 17th Degoutte concentrated attention on his own offensive, and the army of de Mitry took over the charge of the Marne region.

DEGOUTTE'S PLAN

Degoutte then faced the problem of getting the most effective results from the action of the comparatively weak forces at his disposal, most of whom had been engaged for two or three weeks in continuous fighting. He adopted the following plan:

On the front between the Oureq and the Ru de Lua, a rivulet four miles further south, he concentrated his best divisions as a striking force, supported by tanks and a large part of his available artillery.

The place formerly occupied by the most northerly French troops across the Oureq was taken by a brigade of the American division that had been training with one of his units, of which scarcely a single man had seen a shot or shell fired in anger.

Their mission was primarily to act as cover for the blow on their right, and not to undertake one on their own part; but, in point of fact, they performed an extremely useful service in clearing Fresnes Wood, where the French for a time were held up by machine guns.

Another brigade had similar duty of cover on the right flank of the striking force, which was thus able to operate without fear of being turned on the wings. South of it was another French division, and then a Franco-American force in charge of an American corps commander, whose first day's instructions were to act as a pendant to the striking force in exactly the same way as Degoutte himself was a pendant to Mangin, and not to attempt anything but the attainment of limited objectives.

Mangin had informed Degoutte that he intended to attack at 4:50 without artillery preparation, but the latter felt that in his case he could hardly take the risk with his more limited forces, and decided on a middle course. That is, he ordered an hour and a half of artillery preparation, beginning at 3:20, against the zone behind the enemy's outpost positions, which zone was some 1,500 yards deep, and directed that light forces should go forward during the preparation and occupy as much of this zone as possible. At 4:50 the main attack was to be delivered against the principal zone of resistance.

SUCCESS OF PLAN

The plan succeeded admirably. The advance guard did its work so well that the main body was able to launch an attack when the moment came from a line more than a kilometer inside the outpost zone, which gave it a considerable advantage.

The enemy resistance was feebly unexciting. The Germans had constructed only a fragmentary defensive organization, and the four divisions opposite the striking force were thrown back in confusion on the 45th Division, which was in reserve.

Remarkably enough, the French-American forces south of the striking force were able to make progress to an almost equal extent. They, too, drove four enemy divisions before them, who were supported by the 5th Division of the Prussian Guard, the enemy thus engaging ten divisions on the first day.

During the first two days the advance was somewhat hampered by German resistance north of the Ourcq, where, as

I was told, Mangin's right encountered strong opposition in the region of Haut-wison Wood.

Degoutte's striking force dared not go far in its push ahead lest its left flank be exposed, but by the night of the 19th the obstacles in its way had been removed.

On the following days the progress of Mangin's left forced the enemy to withdraw from south of the Marne and begin the evacuation of the left-hand corner of the pocket, where the American advance was particularly rapid, despite the obstinate machine-gun resistance.

The rest of the battle was a series of bounds forward, followed by a period of hard fighting as the enemy threw in reserves, including Guards, Jaegers, and other first-class divisions assigned by the Crown Prince.

Thus the battle fell into three periods: The first on July 18-20, which the officer called the battle of Neuilly-St. Front to Châtillon; the second—after the advance—the battle of the Epieds region, from the 21st to the 27th, and the third—after another forward move—the battle of the Ourcq, from July 29 to Aug. 1. This, in turn, was followed by progress to the line of the Vesle.

How desperately the enemy strove to avert retreat may be judged from the fact that no less than twenty-two divisions were engaged against Degoutte, of which four were wholly fresh, from the reserves of Crown Prince Rupprecht. By July 27 more than 6,000 prisoners, 110 guns, 600 mitrailleuses and fifty minenwerfer had already passed through the Franco-American depots, besides vast stores of shells. Nearly an equal amount of artillery was yet to be counted, and further large captures of prisoners and material.

BERTHELOT'S TASK

Aug. 7.—At the headquarters of General Berthelot's army, I have been made acquainted with the steps by which the attack on the German left was pressed vigorously in the recent Aisne-Marne drive by the Allies.

On July 15 this army was holding the front from the region of Dormans to Prunay, where it was joined by General

Gouraud's forces. The Germans did not cross the river opposite Berthelot's troops, but they were engaged south of the river on the first day in consequence of other enemy progress.

From aerial observation and other indications they were aware that an attack was imminent, and a defensive organization had been prepared, on the same lines as Gouraud's, with the outpost zone thinly held save for three strong points on the right, left, and centre. At one of these points the right maintained its position on the extreme limit of attack toward Rheims, and the two others held out until evening, greatly hampering the enemy. The zone of combat was backed by the position of final resistance, which the enemy penetrated.

Berthelot had no prior information regarding a counteroffensive, and his officers had, indeed, felt that they were placed in rather a difficult position, with no extra reserves at their disposal to resist such violent attacks. An officer paid a high tribute to the courage and decision of the high command, which refused to be distracted by the German move, and kept its reserves for its own counterstroke, entrusting the defense to the armies on the spot, with laconic orders to resist "Jusqu'au bout."

On July 18 they learned of Mangin's and Degoutte's victory, and on the same day received a couple of British divisions, who took the place of their Italian units, and a French division of dismounted cavalry, which entered the left part of their line. The arrival of the fresh army of de Mitry on their left further facilitated the task of pressing back the enemy across the Marne and allowed them to concentrate on what thenceforth was the principal operation of attacking the enemy toward the Aisne Valley, in order to exercise the same pressure on the right-hand top of the salient as Mangin on the left.

The Germans, no whit slower to grasp the situation, spared no effort of men and guns to avert the danger, and, favored here by good communications, flung in fresh division after division with utter disregard of the cost. Whatever happened, the enemy dared not al-

low the Allies to advance on this sector, but there can be no doubt that the furious attacks of the French and British, despite all losses—Berthelot commemorated the gallantry of the latter in an order of the day, which was one of the most enthusiastic ever issued by a French General—contributed enormously to the success of the operations elsewhere by forcing the enemy to divert very large forces against them.

Twenty-eight divisions, over a quarter of a million men, were engaged against Berthelot's army, and, when one realizes that in such circumstances the enemy did not retire a division until it had lost fully 40 per cent., the total loss inflicted on the enemy can be imagined.

Finally, as before Mangin, the Germans abandoned the struggle on Aug. 2, and the army advanced rapidly to the Vesle, throwing forward cavalry outposts on the north bank at various points. During the advance they got abundant evidence of the determination of the German resistance. Not only was the ground covered with dead, but prodigious stores of material fell into the hands of the Allies. For instance, in one small wood more than 300,000 unused heavy shells were captured, and the quantity of lighter munitions taken was incalculable.

RUIN OF MONTDIDIER

The day when Mangin and Degoutte broke the boche forces in the line against them revealed that chink in Germania's armor whereof Foch is now taking such an advantage. I had personal evidence of the danger of not organizing the defense in a visit this morning to Montdidier, which was entered less than twenty-four hours previously by the French.

Montdidier is a ruin incredible. At first sight of the hill, 100 feet above the Avre, which formerly crowned the prosperous township of several thousand inhabitants, one would have thought it merely a chalk slope, unusually scarred by shellfire. Whitish stones lay piled in heaps from the crest down to the river, but never was there a wall or roof that might indicate a human dwelling. A closer view showed individual mounds of rubbish that once had been houses.

Third Battle of the Somme

The British Offensive in Picardy That Added 36,000 Prisoners and Much Territory to the Allied Victory

THE British under Field Marshal Haig, in conjunction with French troops on their left, struck a heavy blow in Picardy on Aug. 8, 1918, along a front of twenty-five miles. They broke the German lines from near Albert to the River Avre, above Montdidier. The attack was a complete surprise and proved to be one of the most successful the British had made in the whole war. In two days they made a sweeping advance that penetrated enemy territory to a depth of fifteen miles in some places. The number of German prisoners taken in three days in this battle exceeded 36,000, and immense quantities of ammunition and many guns were captured.

The low visibility favored the Allies. The artillery followed up the storm troops closely and poured a hurricane of shells upon the retreating enemy. Where the tanks and the armored car batteries pressed far forward in the rolling country there was much agitation among the enemy. A report came back that a British tank, probably one of the fast little whippets, had been seen chasing a frightened German General up the road. Further south, the tanks likewise did excellent work.

Slightly to the north the British batteries moved forward so rapidly that they were up and firing in their new positions thirty minutes after midnight when the infantry went over the top, followed at first, in this particular case, by the tanks 1,000 yards to the rear.

At 6 o'clock the weather was so thick that objects twenty yards away hardly were visible and the British were not slow to take the opportunity to plunge through under its protection. About 6:45 the first prisoners began coming back. They were unwounded and looked clean, as if they had just come off parade, showing how complete had been the surprise. The British pounced on them before they had the slightest chance to give battle. The 27th, 43d, and 108th Di-

visions of Crown Prince Rupprecht's army suffered heavily, while the 117th Division, which only came into the line the night before, was badly cut up.

The pressure continued the second day, no determined stand being made by the enemy until a line was established running through Albert, Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny.

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The Associated Press correspondent, in a telegram dated Aug. 9, thus described the battle scenes:

"All along the line this afternoon German snipers and isolated machine-gun billets were extremely busy, but these were being silenced one by one as the advance proceeded. Since daybreak the Germans have been making an extraordinary effort to blow up with field-gun fire ammunition and other dumps which they had to leave so hastily yesterday. They have abandoned an enormous quantity of stores and ammunition. Allied cavalymen have been operating for more than twenty-four hours. They rode through great holes torn in the German line by the infantry.

"Allied airmen have blown up many of the bridges over the Somme River, and the enemy's retreat is seriously embarrassed. The British cavalry has rounded up many prisoners, but the most of those so far taken were captured by Australians and Canadians.

"The scene at Bayonvillers today is typical of the rest of the battle area, broad fields of crops or brown grass fringe the town and spread for miles over the flat surrounding country. Abandoned German field guns are here with little piles of empty shell cases, and the bodies of Germans are lying here and there, telling the story of what happened. Lying off on the side of the road are enemy motor trucks, one of them with a trailer filled with artillery

maps—some the headquarters Staff could not save.

"The guns abandoned here, as elsewhere, are in shallow pits three feet deep. Little holes near by, covered with curved iron slabs, show where the German gunners lived before they were killed or ran to save themselves.

"Harbonnières was shelled to pieces. The gaunt walls show the accuracy of the British artillery fire. Débris lies all over the streets, which bear little signs upon which German names had been written. Here the allied forces found the house which the German Mayor of the town had occupied. The whole top had been knocked off, and several shells had hit the walls, but there were evidences that the Mayor had stayed until the last moment in a room on the ground floor.

MANY GERMAN DEAD

Further southward the ground here and there had been plowed by the shells, and the bodies of men and horses were lying where they fell. In some places machine-gun nests were found which had been put out of action either by the artillery, tanks, infantry, or armored cars. In one a machine gun which had been put out of business was lying over on its side, while scattered around were the bodies of the Germans who attended it. Apparently they had tried to escape, but were prevented by a tank.

"In the wheatfields, of course, the bodies of the dead could not be seen, but in many open places the ground was literally dotted with German corpses.

"The Allies inflicted severe punishment as they advanced. In some sections burial parties had already passed through, but in others the dead are yet untouched. The allied casualties, according to the reports which have come in, were extremely light.

"The German trenches throughout the whole length of the front were extremely narrow and poorly constructed. This certainly was not caused by lack of material, all kinds of which are being discovered and used by the advancing French and British forces. Aside from the loss of ground and men, this large abandonment of material is certainly most serious to the enemy."

Montdidier, an important supply centre for the Germans, was captured Aug. 10. When the French troops entered, the Germans had not yet completely evacuated the town, clinging to the outskirts of the place with the help of machine guns. Some of these were being served by officers of the detachments, all the men having been killed or wounded. Following up this victory, the French cavalry, pushing far ahead, threw the Germans into disorder as they sought to fall back. In the wake of the cavalry came the armored cars with automatic guns, which scattered terror and destruction among the retreating foe. The highways were crowded with masses of German troops and material.

ALLIES' ASCENDENCY

The following cablegram, dated Aug. 11, was sent by a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"The Somme battle, despite the short period during which it has been in progress, marks a definite fresh phase in the ascendancy the Allies are establishing over the Germans. For the first time this year, and, indeed, for the first time since the battle of the Marne, well-informed circles are using such terms as 'grand désarroi' (great confusion) to describe the character of the German retreat. Ammunition, guns, and rifles have been left on the ground in enormous quantities, and not only the cavalry, but the infantry, had the comfortable satisfaction of seeing the enemy flying in confusion before them.

"I visited yesterday the ground in the neighborhood of Moreuil and Morizel and was able to see the devastation wrought by the French artillery. Shell holes pitted the ground everywhere near. The roads to Moreuil and Morizel are mere heaps of ruins, while a château in the neighborhood in which a German Colonel has been taken was a splendid tribute to the accuracy and intensity of the French gunfire.

"The château itself had been thoroughly and conscientiously shelled, and there were great shell holes some fifty yards all around it; but then the shell holes virtually ceased, proving, as an officer who had been carefully studying

the ground said to me, how deadly accurate had been the French artillery practice.

"French collaboration with the British effort has been more comprehensive than had at first been expected would be the case, and now both the First and Third armies are engaged. It will be remembered how General Debeney's army co-operated with the British in delivering the hammer blow on the enemy. Once the disturbance of his line was achieved,

the right of Debeney's army came into action, delivering its offensive at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th.

"By evening of that day it had met with very strong German resistance at Arrillers, where reserves had been brought up to reinforce the men in the line. After a violent struggle these reserves were defeated and thrown back and the village was taken, the French also capturing Davenescourt and the park to the west of Contoire."

German Claims and Explanations

Their Spring Offensive Said to Have Gained 6,566 Square Kilometers and 208,000 Prisoners

THE *Kölnische Zeitung* of June 13, 1918, contained the following semi-official report:

The territory won by the Germans since March 21 amounts to 6,566 square kilometers. The ground won in the attack between Montdidier and Noyon is not included in these figures. The Entente, on the other hand, in all its great battles on the Somme, at Arras, and in Flanders, was only able to win 561 square kilometers in numerous struggles lasting months. Through the latest victories on the Matz the number of prisoners made since March 21 has been brought up to 208,000.

On July 1 a Berlin report, coming via London, put the official number of prisoners made since March 21 at 191,454, "not including the wounded passed back to the hospitals."

Dr. Georg Wegener, a leading war writer, asserted on July 31 that the German offensive of July 15 "was stopped because the element of surprise was lacking." He then proceeded to explain the surprise counterattack of the French as follows:

The wooded country on their front of attack gave our enemies the best opportunities to assemble masses of artillery and other necessities of attack, together with their storm troops, and to keep them concealed.

These preparations were hidden even from the most careful aerial observation. The enemy has brought the art of camouflage to the very highest development. In that he was materially helped by the fact that he possessed greater supplies of

necessary materials and of labor. In this respect, as in so many others, matters are much more difficult for us.

In order to deceive us, too, he worked arduously at making defensive positions and carried out visible movements which looked like a withdrawing of troops. Despite that, we were not deceived regarding his intentions. We knew he was preparing to attack and that every wood and gully was full of troops and materials. Only regarding the exact time of the attack we had no knowledge. We could accept the belief, however, that as our offensive was to take place further to the east its effect would be to make the enemy renounce the execution of his plans for an offensive.

That hope, however, on account of the fact that our offensive did not reach our expectations, was not realized, and the enemy could, therefore, carry out his plans at a favorable moment. The moment of attack at dawn on July 18 was psychologically a good choice. It is only human that, with the coming of daylight, the tension which darkness produces should have been relaxed, a feeling of greater security should have taken its place, and the strained attention demanded during the night should have been involuntarily decreased. Fatigue comes over the watching troops.

Wegener then deals with the great novelty of the attack—the use of an utterly unprecedented number of tanks. He says:

The enemy had in secret built a large number of tanks of a surprisingly small type, which had the advantage of greater mobility and were easily manoeuvred. These tanks led the way, and between and behind them, morally strengthened

by their presence and protection, came storm troops.

To low visibility in the early morning was added the difficulty of a complete view of the territory on which the attack took place, on account of the broken nature of the ground; the high standing corn concealed the advancing infantry masses and hid the low-built tanks. Thus our artillery could not be effective. Such were the circumstances and the nature of the French attack.

General Ludendorff, First Quartermaster General of the German Army, made the following statement on Aug. 4:

The enemy evaded us on July 15, and we thereupon, as early as the evening of the 16th, broke off operations. It is always our endeavor to stop an undertaking as soon as the stake is not worth the cost. I consider it one of my principal duties to spare the blood and strength of our soldiers.

Referring to General Foch, General Ludendorff continued:

His plan was undoubtedly to cut off the entire arc of our front south of the Aisne by a break-through on the flank. But with the proved leadership of our 7th and 9th Armies that was quite impossible.

We figured with an attack on July 18 and were prepared for it. The enemy experienced very heavy losses, and the Americans and African auxiliary troops, which we do not underestimate, suffered severely.

By the afternoon of the 19th we already were fully masters of the situation and shall remain so. We left the abandoned ground to the enemy according to our regular plan. "Gain of ground" and "Marne" are only catchwords without importance for the issue of the war. We are now, as before, confident.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg also dilated on how economically the troops of Germany had been used. He said:

This circumstance and the supply considerations decided our measures, and we transferred the fighting to favorable ground where the troops could easily be supplied. We all want peace, but it must be peace with honor.

On July 31 Emperor William issued the following proclamation:

Serious years of war lie behind you. The German people, convinced of its just cause, resting on its hard sword and trusting in God's gracious help, has, with its faithful allies, confronted a world of enemies. Your victorious fighting spirit carried the war in the first year into the enemy's country and preserved the home-

land from the horrors and devastation of war.

In the second and third years of the war you, by your destructive blows, broke the strength of the enemy in the east. Meanwhile, your comrades in the west offered a brave and victorious front to enormously superior forces.

As the fruit of these victories, the fourth year of the war has brought us peace in the east. In the west the enemy was heavily hit by the force of your assault. The battles won in recent months count among the highest deeds of fame in German history.

You are in the midst of the hardest struggle. The desperate efforts of the enemy will, as hitherto, be foiled by your bravery. Of that I am certain, and, with me, the entire Fatherland.

THE GERMAN PRESS

The Pan-German *Deutsche Zeitung* on Aug. 12 declared the offensive of the Allies "the most serious reverse of the war." It declared, further:

"The British and French succeeded in effecting a surprise which threw the German forces into disorder, though the strength on both sides was about equal; the losses in prisoners and artillery are not inconsiderable."

Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, on Aug. 12 headed its leading editorial "A Critical Point," and asked if any one would dispute that in the first months of the fifth year of the war the German people were experiencing heavy sorrows. It continued: "Neither in the east, where a further worsening of the boundless confusion is to be expected, nor in the west have the radiant promises been fulfilled of those who would lead the German people through the war like an unsuspecting child, comforted by the stereotyped assurance that everything is going excellently." It pleaded for the facts because it believed that knowledge of the colossal danger in which the German people stood would rouse their moral strength, the weakening of which since August, 1914, was "rightly complained of," not that it would have peace at any price.

The German press generally commented on the reverse with ill-concealed bitterness and regret, acknowledging that a feeling of depression pervaded the nation.

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF



Former Czar of Russia, who was executed on July 16, 1918, by order
of the Ural Regional Soviet

(Bain News Service)



Count von Mirbach
*Ambassador at Moscow, killed by Social Revolutionaries on
July 6, 1918*



GERMAN LEADERS ASSASSINATED IN RUSSIA

Field Marshal von Eichhorn
*Commander in the Ukraine, killed by a bomb at Kiev on
July 30*

Theodoric and Attila on the Marne

The Earliest Battle of the Marne Turned Back Barbarian Hordes of Ancient Huns

The battles of the Marne are milestones in history. The first and second battles fought there in the present war were the critical conflicts of the world war to date; the latter is believed to be the turning of the tide against the German invaders in France. The first great battle of the Marne which history records, following the campaigns of Julius Caesar in this historic region, was the defeat of Attila the Hun and his barbarian hordes by Theodoric in 451 A. D. It was a decisive battle which freed the centres of civilization from barbarian conquest. A writer in The London Post recalls this curious repetition of historic episodes as follows:

FAR back in the blue distance of time—in 451, when France was in the making—Attila and his bestial hordes were defeated in the first battle of the Marne which history records. There are names on the little newspaper maps on which we follow the fluctuating battle of today which recall the defeat of the first Attila, one of the decisive battles of the world's history. Château-Thierry, for example; for Thierry is the modern form of Theodoric, though in this case it perpetuates the memory of a later and lesser Theodoric than the Gothic King of Toulouse, who fell at Châlons, in the "Catalaunian fields" where there was space for the evolutions of the vast masses of Hunnish cavalry.

We really know very little about the successive waves of barbarian invasion which swept over Europe before and after the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth. It is impossible to be sure of the native land and racial origin of these hordes of warriors who lived on the road, ate and even slept on horseback, conveyed their wives and all their wealth in rude wagons, which could be formed into a "tabor" or fortress on wheels, and were constantly trekking from Finland to Constantinople, from the Vistula to the rivers of Gaul. But this at least is clear—it was the conquests of a mighty Hunnish empire, seated in Eastern Europe and Asia, which set the earlier waves of armed immigration foaming across the Roman frontiers.

The hordes that first ravaged the realms of an exhausted and decadent

Rome, dying of its cosmopolitanism, were themselves flying from a more terrible and ruthless enemy. The modern theory of the Huns, based on evidence unknown to Gibbon, is that they were an amalgamation of Mongol, Tungus, Turki, and even Finnish hordes under a Mongol military caste. In Attila they found a leader of military genius with the world conqueror's instinct who forced weaker tribes into his great alliance and occupied practically the whole of Central Europe. The horror of their appearance in the West amounted to a nightmare. They were little men, like the inhabitants of a bad dream, with fat, flat faces, pig eyes, scanty beards, and squat square shoulders—"more like two-legged animals than men," says Jornandès, one of the chroniclers who saw them. Unlike the previous invaders of Gaul they were incapable of civilization; they spared nobody, nothing, and the cities they took vanished from the face of the earth. They were as utterly lacking in bowels of mercy as the Mongol hordes of Tamerlane and Jenghiz Khan, (of whom Attila was a prototype,) who built towers and pyramids of skulls or even of living men, women, and children, laid in tiers, and fastened down with rubble and mortar. A cry of terror went up from all the cities of Gaul as the Hunnish thundercloud loomed up beyond the Rhine, and the usurpers in the pleasant Latinized land—Goths, Burgunds, Saxons, Herules, and the rest—rose as one man to stop their onward march.

It was a little Christian shepherdess from Nanterre, near Paris, who put heart

into the people of Gaul and their Gothic overlords for the battle which was to decide whether men or Huns were to hold the fair fields of France. She was a Gallo-Roman girl, named Genovefa, who was inspired by that singular mixture of shrewd political sense with an ecstatic faith in the unseen, which has more than once illuminated the womanhood of France at some great crisis of its national history. She was a younger sister of the Blandina martyred in the red-hot throne at Lyons when Gaul was still pagan—and an elder sister of the Joan of Arc, who died at the flaming stake of Rouen. She declared that Attila was doomed, that the Huns would never take Lutetia, as Paris was then called. Her prophecy spread far and wide, heartening the distraught inhabitants of town and countryside. And her reward was the everlasting gratitude of Paris, which to this day honors her as St. Geneviève.

But it was Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, and the Roman Aetius who broke the invasion, defeating a vast army which owed its victories to the right use of archery even more than to its clouds of cavalry. The Court of Theodoric at Toulouse was actually a focus of civilization, the centre of Occidental politics and a link between the imperial power and the half-savage Franks and Burgunds. Sidonius Apollinaris, the Roman Secretary of a Gothic King, has left us a vivid description of Toulouse in this dimly seen age of confusion. The Visigoths, however, left no vestige behind them, save and except a single word—"bigot," which is a contraction of "Bisigot," the flat, almost Spanish pronunciation of Visigoth common in Aquitaine. Yet Theodoric, by his determination and self-devotion, earned the undying gratitude of the France to come. In the great battle he exposed himself like a common soldier and was mortally wounded by the spear of Andages, an Ostrogoth, as he rode along the lines to encourage his troops. He is one of the famous warriors who won battles as they lay dead;

like the Douglas victorious at Otterbourne, who saw his fate beforehand:

But I have dreamed a wearie dream;
Beyond the Isle of Skye,
I saw a dead man win a fight,
And I think that man was I.

It was Gothic daring and endurance which won a "fierce, various, obstinate, "and bloody contest; such as could not be "paralleled either in the present or past "ages," (so Cassiodorus describes it, having talked with Gothic fighters who had fought at Châlons.) Attila lost 162,000 men, and had to retreat, fighting at bay like a wounded lion, as the Gothic historian says. France was freed for ever from the dwarfish, bestial presence of the Mongol. It is possible that we know the grave of Theodoric, his victorious opposer. In 1842 a skeleton was found in Pouan, about ten miles from Mery-on-Seine, which had been buried with a two-edged sword and a cutlass, both adorned with gold, and a number of gold ornaments, including a ring with the inscription Heva. Some authorities believe the tomb and mortal remains of Theodoric were then discovered. But the truth of this matter is as obscure as the details of the first decisive battle of the Marne.

Soon, let us hope, the modern Huns will be again in retreat. It is once more a question of civilized men against barbarians, and all the science of the Germans cannot hide the essential savagery, which Caesar noted so many centuries ago. The Prussians, moreover, are a non-European stock; the pointed ear and square head show they are interlopers in the West, being perhaps the survivals of some Finnish horde which descended ages ago on the Baltic shores. The German Empire, the creation of a Prussian war caste, is curiously like the long-vanished war polity of the original Huns. But they lack an Attila—the great military genius, scorning luxury and the Byzantine genuflections in which the Kaiser delights and quite free from hypocrisy, who passed like a meteor through the Eurasian firmament.

America's First Field Army

First Step Toward Co-ordinating All United States Forces in France Into One Distinct Command

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 16, 1918]

FROM division to army corps, from army corps to field army, the American forces in France have in the last few weeks so rapidly passed through the stages of development toward the creation of larger units that Pershing's army has now reached the stage where it is practically as independent an organization as the armies under Haig and Pétain; alongside them it is a separate fighting force under the direction of the allied Generalissimo alone.

The announcement of the organization of the first American field army was contained in the following dispatch from France, dated Aug. 11, 1918:

The first American field army has been organized. It is under the direct command of General John J. Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American forces. The corps commanders thus far announced are Major Gens. Liggett, Bullard, Bundy, Read, and Wright.

The creation of the first field army is the first step toward the co-ordination of all the American forces in France. This does not mean the immediate withdrawal from the British and French commands of all American units, and it is probable that divisions will be used on the French and British fronts for weeks yet. It is understood, however, that the policy of organizing other armies will be carried out steadily.

This announcement marked a milestone in the military effort of the United States. When the American troops first arrived in France, they were associated in small units with the French to get a primary training. Gradually regiments began to function under French division commanders. Then American divisions were formed and trained under French corps commanders. Next, and only recently, American corps began to operate under French army commanders. Finally the first American army was created, because enough divisions and corps had been graduated from the school of experience.

An American division numbers 30,000 men, and a corps consists of six divisions, two of which play the part of reserves. With auxiliary troops, air squadrons, tank sections, heavy artillery, and other branches, a corps numbers from 225,000 to 250,000 men. The composition of the first three corps has already been described, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, August, 1918, Pages 227-228.) The organization of the fourth and fifth corps was announced on July 27 as follows:

FOURTH ARMY CORPS

Eighty-third (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. E. F. Glenn.

Eighty-ninth (National Army) Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. F. L. Winn.

Thirty-seventh (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth.

Twenty-ninth (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. G. Morton.

Ninetieth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Henry T. Allen.

Ninety-second (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles C. Ballou.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS

Sixth (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. James B. Irwin.

Thirty-sixth (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. W. R. Smith.

Seventy-sixth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Harry F. Hodges.

Seventy-ninth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Joseph E. Kuhn.

Eighty-fifth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. W. Kenned.

Ninety-first (National Army) Division, temporarily commanded by Brig. Gen. Fred B. Foltz.

The following were the general officers temporarily assigned to command the first five corps:

First Corps—Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.

Second Corps—Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.

Third Corps—Major Gen. William M. Wright.

Fourth Corps—Major Gen. George W. Read.

Fifth Corps—Major Gen. Omar Bundy.

DIVISIONS IN BATTLE

Seven divisions and one separate regiment of American troops participated in

the counteroffensive between Château-Thierry and Soissons and in resisting the German attack in the Champagne, it was officially stated on July 20. The 42d, or Rainbow, Division, composed of National Guard troops from twenty-six States and the District of Columbia, including the New York 69th Infantry, now designated as the 165th Infantry, took part in the fighting in the Champagne east of Rheims. The six other divisions were associated with the French in the counteroffensive between Château-Thierry and Soissons. These divisions were the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of the Regular Army, the 26th National Guard Division, composed of troops from the six New England States, and the 28th, composed of the Pennsylvania National Guard. Marines were included in this number. The separate regiment that fought in the Champagne was a negro unit attached to the new 93d Division, composed entirely of negro troops. It was also announced that the 77th Division was "in the line near Lunéville" and was "operating as a division, complete under its own commander."

The 42d Division had the distinction, General March announced on Aug. 3, of defeating the 4th Division of the crack Prussian Guards, professional soldiers of the German standing army, who had never before failed. General March also disclosed the fact that another American division had been sent into that part of the Rheims salient where the Germans showed resistance. This was the 32d Division. "The American divisions in the Rheims salient," General March said, "have now been put in contiguously and are actually getting together as an American force. Southeast of Fère-en-Tardenois our 1st Corps is operating, with General Liggett in actual command."

The organization of twelve new divisions was announced by General March, Chief of Staff, in statements made on July 24 and July 31. These divisions were numerically designated from 9 to 20, and organized at Camps Devens, Meade, Sheridan, Custer, Funston, Lewis, Logan, Kearny, Beauregard, Travis, Dodge, and Sevier. Each division had two infantry regiments of the regular

army as nucleus, the other elements being made up of drafted men. The new divisions moved into the designated camps as the divisions already trained there moved out.

The composition of an American division is as follows:

Two brigades of infantry, each consisting of two regiments of infantry and one machine-gun battalion.

One brigade of artillery, consisting of three regiments of field artillery and one trench mortar battery.

One regiment of engineers.

One field signal battalion.

The following trains: Headquarters and military police, sanitary, supply, engineer, and ammunition.

The following division units: Headquarters troop and one machine-gun battalion.

ALL ONE ARMY NOW

A general order of the War Department providing for the consolidation of all branches of the army into one army to be known as the "United States Army" was promulgated by General March on Aug. 7. The text of the order read:

1. This country has but one army—the United States Army. It includes all the land forces in the service of the United States. Those forces, however raised, lose their identity in that of the United States Army. Distinctive appellations, such as the Regular Army, Reserve Corps, National Army, and National Guard, heretofore employed in administration command, will be discontinued, and the single term, the United States Army, will be exclusively used.

2. Orders having reference to the United States Army as divided in separate and component forces of distinct origin, or assuming or contemplating such a division, are to that extent revoked.

3. The insignia now prescribed for the Regular Army shall hereafter be worn by the United States Army.

4. All effective commissions purporting to be, and described therein, as commissions in the Regular Army, National Guard, National Army, or the Reserve Corps, shall hereafter be held to be, and regarded as, commissions in the United States Army—permanent, provisional, or temporary, as fixed by the conditions of their issue; and all such commissions are hereby amended accordingly. Hereafter during the period of the existing emergency all commissions of officers shall be in the United States Army and in staff corps, departments, and arms of the service thereof, and shall, as the law may pro-

vide, be permanent, for a term or for the period of the emergency. And hereafter during the period of the existing emergency provisional and temporary appointments in the grade of Second Lieutenant and temporary promotions in the Regular Army and appointments in the Reserve Corps will be discontinued.

5. While the number of commissions in each grade and each staff corps, department, and arm of the service shall be kept within the limits fixed by law, officers shall be assigned without reference to the term of their commissions solely in the interest of the service; and officers and enlisted men will be transferred from one organization to another as the interests of the service may require.

6. Except as otherwise provided by law, promotion in the United States Army shall be by selection. Permanent promotions in the Regular Army will continue to be made as prescribed by law.

THE ARMY IN FRANCE

Over 300,000 American troops left the United States for France in July, and half as many more in the first half of August, thus raising the total sent across the Atlantic to over 1,450,000. In giving out a part of this information on Aug. 3, General March said:

In connection with the American forces abroad there has been some discussion about the proportion of the forces which is brigaded with the British, and I will say that General Pershing has in his own area, as his own force, not brigaded with the British, over 1,000,000.

This meant that 300,000 American soldiers or thereabout were with the British forces or in Italy.

The following is a summary of casualties up to and including those reported on Aug. 16:

ARMY CASUALTIES

Killed in action.....	3,501
Lost at sea	291
Died of wounds	1,169
Died of accident or other causes.....	676
Died of disease	1,546

Total deaths	7,183
Wounded	9,577
Missing, including prisoners.....	1,481

Total18,241

MARINE CORPS CASUALTIES

	Officers.	Men.
Deaths	31	817
Wounded	55	1,792
In hands of enemy.....	..	5
Missing	1	87
	87	2,701

Total	2,788
Grand total of Army and Marine Corps casualties	21,019

Edward R. Stettinius, Second Assistant Secretary of War, accompanied by a numerous staff, arrived in Europe on July 23 to make a general survey of the American supply services and to represent the United States at the conferences of the Interallied Munitions Council. Major Gen. James G. Harbord, former Chief of Staff to General Pershing and commander of the Marines in the first battle of Château-Thierry, was on July 30 appointed head of the supply services of the American Expeditionary Forces. The presence of Mr. Stettinius in Europe and General Harbord's appointment arose from the necessity of more thorough organization to handle the vastly increased supplies required for the army in France.

Largest Naval Appropriation Ever Passed

A Total of \$3,250,000,000 Voted in One Year, and
Personnel Increased 50 Per Cent.

WHEN President Wilson on July 1, 1918, signed the Naval Appropriation bill, carrying \$1,573,468,415, the largest credit ever placed to the United States Navy in a single measure became available. Added to the sums voted in five other separate measures during the previous twelve months, the

total amount appropriated by Congress in the year reached \$3,250,000,000.

"The many legislative provisions in this bill are entirely satisfactory and sufficient," said Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in the course of a statement after the President had signed the measure. "Of those latter, I am per-

sonally greatly interested in the provision applying promotion by selection to the staff. The law of 1916 dealt with the line alone, but the seniority rule is as objectionable in one case as in another, and I am glad that Congress has seen fit to dispense generally with a practice which put a premium on mediocrity.

"The bill abolishes the National Naval Volunteers, or, in other words, the Federal Naval Militia, and empowers the President to transfer the members thereof to the Naval Reserve. This legislation was needed for administrative reasons, and a better and more efficient organization is bound to result.

"Perhaps the outstanding feature of the bill is the permanent increase in the enlisted strength of the navy from 87,000 to 131,485 men. Many new ships have been permanently added to the fleet, and many more will be commissioned in 1919, and this increase in personnel is to provide the officers and crews for these permanent additions as they are completed and placed in commission.

"The officers come automatically with the increase of ships and the men to man them. That is to say, the existing law fixes the permanent commissioned personnel at 4 per cent. of the enlisted strength, but, of course, our officers come from Annapolis, and the authorized number will be made up of graduates from the Academy, so it will be several years before the full authorized number of permanent officers needed for the 131,485 increased permanent strength will be commissioned. In the end the new law will give 18 additional Rear Admirals, 72 Captains, 125 Commanders, and over 1,600 in lower grades for service.

"The bill authorizes an increase to 75,000 in the Marine Corps from 30,000, and carries also one new permanent Major General and one temporary Major General, who, with the Major General Commandant, give three officers of this rank to the Marine Corps. It also authorizes, for the duration of the war, six Brigadier Generals, twenty-two Colonels, and twenty-two Lieutenant Colonels."

Reviewing the vast sums appropriated for the navy during the year, Mr. Daniels continued:

"These figures show that during the last twelve months Congress has appropriated, in round numbers, \$3,250,000,000 for the support and increase of the navy. These figures recall a statement made something like a dozen years ago by the late Senator Eugene E. Hale, then Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee. In that year the appropriations for the navy had been increased to nearly \$100,000,000, and there was some comment upon the large increase. Turning to Mr. Padgett, now Chairman of the House Committee and then a new member, Senator Hale said: 'Mr. Padgett, you may not now believe it, but you will live to see the day when Congress will in one year appropriate as much as \$150,000,000 for the navy.' This year Mr. Padgett reported one bill for more than a billion and a half dollars, and in one year Congress has appropriated more than three billion dollars for the navy. Senator Hale had what was called a large vision for his day, but his prediction fell short over three billion dollars.

"Over \$220,000,000 is provided for aviation—every penny asked. Further large appropriations for ordnance are made, including provisions for a naval nitrate plant and a large isolated plant for the storage of high explosives. The bill also provides for railroad communication with the powder factory at Indian Head, which is being enlarged. * * *

"At present there is no dry dock south of Norfolk on the Atlantic coast for ships of the latest dreadnought type. The bill directs the construction of such a modern dry dock at Charleston, S. C., the River and Harbor bill having authorized a forty-foot channel to the Charleston Navy Yard. Money is not only provided for completing the big three-year program, but an additional \$100,000,000 is made available for additional torpedo boat destroyers, submarine chasers, and other naval craft, as the exigencies of the war may make necessary."

The American Invasion of England

By RUDYARD KIPLING

[AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE AMERICAN TROOPS AT WINCHESTER, ENGLAND, JULY 21, 1918]

SEVERAL years have passed since England was permanently occupied by the armed forces of a foreign nation. On the last occasion—eight hundred years ago—our people did not take kindly to the invaders. I know they did not, because I live a few miles from where the Battle of Hastings was fought, where all the trouble began; and I assure you we are still talking about it. But don't let me take up your time by retailing the local gossip of these parts. Besides, conditions have changed. They will after 853 years—even in England. You may have noticed that we natives do not resent either the presence of your armed forces on our soil, or your buildings such as these—huts, which are one of the visible signs of your occupation. As far as you are concerned, we are a placid, not to say pacifist, community. Why, gentlemen, you could not annoy us if you started in to build pyramids. On the contrary, we should be pleased. We should say: "This looks like business; this looks as if 'the United States meant to stay till 'they had done their share of the job 'thoroughly."

We have been a long time over our present job, and we may be a long time yet. It has been a little bigger than we expected, because this is the first time since the creation that all the world has been obliged to unite for the purpose of fighting the devil. You remember that before the war one of our easy theories was that the devil was almost extinct—that he was only the child of misfortune or accident, and that we should soon abolish him by passing ringing resolutions against him. That has proved an expensive miscalculation. We find now that the devil is very much alive, and very much what he always was—that is to say, immensely industrious, a born organizer, and better at quoting Scripture for his own ends than most honest men. His industry and organization we all can deal with, but more difficult to handle is

his habit of quoting Scripture as soon as he is in difficulties.

When Germany begins to realize her defeat is certain we shall be urged in the name of mercy, toleration, loving kindness, for the sake of the future of mankind, or by similar appeals to the inextinguishable vanity of man, who delights in thinking himself holy and righteous when he is really only lazy or tired—I say, we shall be urged on these high grounds to make some sort of compromise with or to extend some recognition to the power which has for its one object the destruction of man, body and soul. Yet, if we accept these pleas, we shall betray mankind as effectively as though we had turned our backs upon the battle from the first.

But you, gentlemen, have not come 3,000 miles to protect Germany. Your little vanguard is here to help her change her heart, and I read a day or two ago the lines on which you propose to change it: "When we went to war with Germany it was with the resolve to destroy German war power. If that power is inseparable from the German people, then we are resolved upon the destruction of the German people. The alternative is in their hands." That is reasonable and easy to understand. You are going, none too soon, into a world which has been laboriously wrecked by high German philosophy, based on the devil's own creed that there is nothing good or evil in life but thinking makes it so—in other words, that right and wrong are matters of pure fancy.

That belief it will be your privilege to assist in removing from the German's mind. His beliefs are primitive. Except on certain portions of the front, where he has been better educated, he believed that the United States Army does not exist. In the first place, it could not cross the Atlantic; in the second, it was sunk while crossing; in the third, it was no use when it arrived. It

is possible that you may be able to persuade him that he has been misinformed on these points.

Meantime, your invasion of England goes forward according to program day by day. Unlike the other invaders we have known, you bring everything you need with you, and do not live upon the inhabitants. In this you are true to the historical vow of your ancestors, when they said to ours, "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute." At any other time the nations would be lost in amazement at the mere volume and scope of your equipment, at the terrifying completeness of your preparations, at the dread evidence of power that underlies them. But we have lived so among miracles these last four years that, even though the thing accomplished itself before our very eyes, we scarcely realize that we watch the actual bodily transit of the New World moving in arms to aid in redressing the balance of the Old. We

are too close to these vast upheavals and breakings forth to judge of their significance. One falls back on the simpler, the more comprehensible fact that we are all blood-brothers in a common cause, and therefore in that enduring fellowship of loss, toil, peril, and homesickness which must needs be our portion before we come to the victory.

But life is not all gray even under these skies. There is a reasonable amount of fun left in the world still, if you know where to look for it—and I have noticed that the young generally have this knowledge. And there are worse fates in the world than to be made welcome, as you are more than welcome, to the honorable and gallant fraternity of comrades-in-arms the wide world over. Our country and our hearts are at your service, and with these our understanding of the work ahead of you. That understanding we have bought at the price of the lifeblood of a generation.

Progress of the War

Recorded Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events

From July 18 Up to and Including August 16, 1918

UNITED STATES

All wire systems were put under Government control Aug. 1.

American shipbuilding records were broken in July, when 123 ships of 631,944 tons were launched. Launchings since Jan. 1 amounted to 1,719,536 tons.

Ratifications of the military service conventions between the United States and Great Britain were exchanged at London July 30.

Announcement was made on Aug. 11 that the first American field army was organized, under the direct command of General Pershing.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

The United States armored cruiser San Diego was sunk off Fire Island July 19 by a mine laid by the German submarine U-56.

A German submarine attacked the tug Perth Amboy of the Lehigh Valley Railroad and her four barges off the coast of Cape Cod, July 21. The tug was burned, the barges sunk.

The fishing schooner Robert and Richard of Gloucester was sunk sixty miles southeast of Cape Porpoise July 23.

Three incoming transatlantic liners arriving July 29 reported having been attacked by submarines when about 200 miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The O. B. Jennings, an American tanker, was sunk on Aug. 4 off the Virginia coast.

On Aug. 5 the American schooner Stanley L. Seaman, outward bound, was sunk 110 miles east of Cape Hatteras.

The Diamond Shoal Lightship 71, anchored off Cape Hatteras, was sunk on Aug. 7.

On Aug. 8 the small American steamer Merak, unarmed, was sunk near the North Carolina coast. On the same day the Swedish steamship Sydland was sunk off the coast of Nantucket.

A fleet of thirty fishing vessels was attacked on the night of Aug. 10 sixty miles off Nantucket Island. Ten schooners were sunk.

On the afternoon of Aug. 10 a submarine made a mustard gas attack off North Carolina. The crew of the lighthouse on Smith Island was overcome.

The British ship Penistone was sunk and the American schooner Herman Winter was unsuccessfully attacked 100 miles east of Nantucket Aug. 11.

On Aug. 12 the Norwegian freighter *Sommerstad* was torpedoed off Fire Island.

On Aug. 13 the American oil tanker *Frederick R. Kellogg* was sunk ten miles off the New Jersey coast.

The coal schooner *Dorothy Barrett* was sunk twenty miles from Cape May Aug. 14.

On Aug. 16 the American auxiliary schooner *Madrugada*, bound for Brazil, was sunk off the Virginia coast, and a large oil tank steamer was set afire off Capt Hatteras by a U-boat's guns.

The Japanese freight steamer *Tokuyoma Maru* was sunk without warning off the coast of Nova Scotia on Aug. 1.

On Aug. 2 the British lumber schooner *Dornfontein* was held up, looted, and set on fire by a U-boat twenty-five miles southwest of Brier Island, in the Bay of Fundy.

Three American fishing schooners, the *Rob Roy*, the *Annie M. Perry*, and the *Muriel* were sunk off Seal Island, on the Nova Scotia coast. The next day the Nova Scotia schooner *Nelson A.* was sunk.

Standard Oil Company's tanker *Luz Blanca* was sunk forty miles west of Halifax on Aug. 5 and the crew shelled after taking to their small boats.

On Aug. 6 the Canadian schooner *Gladys M. Hallett* was attacked off the Nova Scotia coast, but was towed into port.

The American supply ship *Westover* was sunk in European waters July 11. Ten members of the crew missing.

On Aug. 3 the American steamers *Lake Portage* and *Berwind* were sunk off the French coast.

The Cunard liner *Carthage* was torpedoed off the west coast of Ireland July 17, outward bound. Five members of the crew were killed.

The sinking of the British transport *Barunga*, outward bound for Australia, with unfit Australians on board, was announced by the Admiralty July 19.

On July 20 the White Star liner *Justicia* was sunk off the North Irish coast in a twenty-four-hour fight with U-boats. Fifteen members of the crew were lost.

The British armored cruiser *Marmora* was sunk July 23. Ten members of the crew were reported missing.

On Aug. 4 the British ambulance transport *Warilda*, with about 800 wounded soldiers on board, was torpedoed in the English Channel, with the loss of 123 lives.

Norway lost fourteen vessels, aggregating 15,444 tons through war causes during July. Fifty-five sailors were lost. These losses brought her total losses since the beginning of the war up to 856 vessels, aggregating 1,169,587 tons, with a loss of 1,802 seamen.

France announced on Aug. 13 that the French steamer *Djemnah* was sunk in the Mediterranean on the night of July 14-15 while bound from Bizerta to Alexandria

with troops on board. Four hundred and forty-two lives were lost. Four days later the French steamer *Australian* was sunk in the Mediterranean, with a loss of twenty lives. Another ship was torpedoed but remained afloat.

Losses to British and allied shipping due to enemy action or marine risks for the month of June totaled 278,629 gross tons, this being the lowest record for any month since September, 1916. The British losses totaled 161,062 tons and allied and neutral losses 114,567. The total losses for the quarter ended June 30 amounted to 946,578 tons. Allied and neutral losses during July totaled 270,000 tons. Total new shipping by Allies in July exceeded 500,000 tons.

The Spanish Foreign Minister announced on Aug. 8 that Spain had sent another note to Germany concerning the torpedoing of Spanish ships. On Aug. 17 word was received that Spain had notified Germany of her intention to compensate herself for future outrages by confiscating a corresponding amount of tonnage from German shipping that had found refuge in Spanish ports.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

July 18—French and American troops counterattack on twenty-eight-mile front from the Aisne to the Marne, advance their line to within a mile of Soissons; British advance on a front of more than a mile southwest of Villers-Bretonneux.

July 19—French and Americans continue advance on Aisne-Marne line; Germans pushed back further; French and Italians make advances southwest of Rheims; Meteren retaken by British.

July 20—All Germans pushed back across the Marne; Franco-British troops repulse attacks between the Marne and Rheims; gain ground in Courton Wood; British force Germans to withdraw from Ros-signal Wood.

July 21—Germans evacuate Château-Thierry; French and American forces push across the Marne behind them and sweep them back more than four miles.

July 22—French and Americans resist strong counterattacks between the Marne and the Ourcq and advance, taking Epieds; British increase their gains in the Hebuterne region.

July 23—French advance on both sides of the Ourcq; Franco-American troops south of the Ourcq push Germans back beyond the Soissons-Château-Thierry road; French gain two miles north of Montdidier.

July 24—French and Americans gain two miles north of Château-Thierry; French reach Brecy to the north; Franco-American forces gain toward the southeast; British force German lines back in the Vigny sector.

July 25—Allies bend German salient on the

Marne on both sides; French and Americans push forward, taking about forty square miles of territory; British and French troops narrow the mouth of the salient to twenty-one miles.

July 26—Allies gain on the Marne front.

July 27—Germans, in full retreat from the Marne salient, fall back three miles.

July 28—Allies cross the Ourcq River, enter Fère-en-Tardenois.

July 29—Allies advance in the Soissons-Rhélms salient from two to three miles on a twenty-mile front; Germans abandon the line of the Ourcq; heavy fighting in the Bazancy region; Americans repulse Prussian Guards south of Sergy; Australians strike along the Bray-Corbie road on a two-mile front, advancing 500 yards.

July 30—Americans advance from Sergy nearly two miles, again defeating the Prussian Guards and the Bavarians; French advance northeast of Fère; French capture Romigny; Allies gain ground in the Ardre Valley; Australians clear high ground in front of Amiens.

Aug. 1—Allies strike on ten-mile front northwest of Fère and capture Hill 205 and villages.

Aug. 2—French troops enter Soissons, and with British contingents cross the Crise River, pushing on to a depth of from three to five miles on the whole Marne salient.

Aug. 3—Allies sweep northward on a thirty-mile line behind the retreating Germans, capturing virtually the entire Aisne-Vesle front between Soissons and Rhélms, advancing more than six miles at some points, occupying more than fifty villages; Americans enter Fismes; Germans retire west of the Ancre on a front of three or four miles.

Aug. 4—Americans take Fismes by assault; Allies cross the Vesle; south bank of the river completely cleared of the enemy; Germans retire on a ten-mile line between Montdidier and Moreuil.

Aug. 5—Germans fall back at La Bassée, British occupy abandoned trenches; Germans make a stand on the Vesle; Paris bombarded by long-range gun.

Aug. 6—Germans make vain attempts to recover lost position on the Vesle; French advance north of Montdidier toward the Avre and capture positions along the river bank; long-range bombardment of Paris continued; several women and children killed.

Aug. 7—French and American troops force the passage of the Vesle along a front between Bralsnes and Fismes. Paris again shelled by long-range gun.

Aug. 8—British and French troops break German line on a twenty-five-mile front in attack from near Albert south to Braches; British thrust to the south reaches Framerville.

Aug. 9—Allies advance five miles more east of Amiens; British advance their whole front in the Lys sector between the Lawe and Bourre Rivers to a maximum depth of 2,000 yards, taking possession of Locon and four other villages.

Aug. 10—French take Montdidier and plunge forward six miles on a thirteen-mile front; British and Americans capture Morlancourt and Chipilly Ridge and drive forward on Bray.

Aug. 11—German counterattacks along the Vesle repulsed; Allies advance their line on the front from Albert south to the Oise; French advance four miles.

Aug. 12—Allies push closer to Roye; Americans, co-operating with the British, reach the outskirts of Bray.

Aug. 13—French resume the offensive between the Matz and the Oise Rivers and gain ground east and north of Gury; Austro-Hungarian troops sent to the western front.

Aug. 14—Germans begin the evacuation of a five-mile front north of Albert extending from Beaumont-Hamel northward.

Aug. 15—Canadians advance between Chaulnes and Roye.

Aug. 16—French and Canadians advance on an eight-mile front from a point west of Fransart to the neighborhood of Lancourt; Germans in the Lys salient evacuate Vieux Berquin and retreat one or two miles on a nine-mile front.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 21—Franco-Italians advance in Albania; Point Iozhi, on the crest of Mali Silovez, captured.

July 24—Austrians, reinforced, attack Devoli Bangle and Kuci Arch and are defeated.

Aug. 4—Italians reoccupy the Fieri-Berat line.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 20—Italians recapture Monte Stabel and reoccupy Corno di Caverto.

Aug. 5—Italians win back the edge of Dorso Alto Mountain.

Aug. 10—French troops penetrate deeply into Austrian intrenchments on Monte Sisemol.

Aug. 13—Italians advance near the Swiss border.

AERIAL RECORD

Repairs which the Germans had made to the Zeebrugge mole and locks were destroyed by allied airmen; two torpedo boats were sunk in the harbor and the canal was blocked again.

During the month of July French aviators downed 184 enemy airplanes, drove 154 out of control, and dropped 550 tons of bombs.

German Zeppelins made an unsuccessful attempt to raid the east coast of England on the night of Aug. 5. One machine was brought down forty miles at sea, another

was damaged, and a third driven off. On Aug. 12 British aviators brought down a Zeppelin in flames off the English east coast.

British aviators, accompanying a naval reconnoitring expedition off the coast of Holland, brought down a German airship in flames north of Ameland. Six motor boats engaged in the expedition failed to return.

British aviators on the nights of July 28, 29, and 30 attacked German railway stations at Offenburg, Rastatt, Baden, Stuttgart, and Sollingen. On Aug. 1 tons of bombs were dropped on the Stuttgart and Coblenz stations. Large portions of the buildings were destroyed and traffic seriously interrupted. The Royal Palace at Stuttgart was damaged, and a newly built ammunition factory at Coblenz was partially destroyed. Karlsruhe was attacked on Aug. 11 and an explosion took place in the Karlsruhe station. The chemical and airplane works at Frankfurt were hit on Aug. 12, and twelve persons were killed and five injured.

Sixty-six Austrian airplanes were destroyed and three were brought down out of control by the Allies on the Italian battle-front in July.

A squadron of eight Italian airplanes, commanded by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio, flew across the Alps to Vienna, 621 miles from their base, and dropped manifestoes. All of the machines returned in safety, except one, which had to land near Vienna-Neustadt because of engine trouble.

Constantinople was bombed by the Allies July 27. Five persons were wounded.

General Pershing notified the State Department on Aug. 16 that a complete squadron of eighteen De Havilland Four airplanes, built in the United States and equipped with Liberty motors, successfully carried out the first reconnaissance flight of American-built machines behind the German lines early in August. They returned without loss.

NAVAL RECORD

Two British torpedo boat destroyers were sunk by enemy mines on Aug. 2. Ninety-seven lives were lost.

A German destroyer was sunk eight miles off Zeebrugge, presumably by a mine, Aug. 9.

RUSSIA

Announcement was made on July 20 that Nicholas Romanoff, ex-Czar of Russia, was shot July 16 by order of the Ural Soviet. The message from Russia announced that a counter-revolutionary movement had been discovered with the object of wresting the ex-Emperor from the Soviet Council, and that the approach of Czechoslovak troops led to the fear that they might seize him. All his property, as well as that of all the other mem-

bers of the Imperial house, was forfeited to the Soviet Government.

The fifth National Congress of Turkestan proclaimed Turkestan to be a republic in alliance with Russia, according to information received July 26. A revolt against the Bolshevik Government broke out Aug. 2.

Announcement was made on July 29 that a treaty had been signed by which the Cossack Governments of the Don and the Astrakhan districts mutually recognized their complete autonomy and promised each other mutual assistance in the annexation of other districts whose possession they considered necessary.

Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the German commander in the Ukraine, and his Adjutant, Captain von Dressler, were killed on July 31 by a bomb thrown at them while they were driving in Kiev. Revolts among the peasants continued, and the Germans discovered a plot to overthrow Skoropadski, the Ukrainian Hetman, and make Archduke William, son of the Austrian Archduke Charles Stephen, King or Hetman of the Ukraine. General Count Kirchbach was appointed successor to von Eichhorn.

M. Stelschenks, former Minister of Education in the Ukrainian Cabinet, was assassinated at Poltava.

The Czechoslovak armies continued their operations against the Germans and the Bolsheviks. On July 28 they captured Simbirsk, 600 miles east of Moscow. On July 31 they gained possession of a large railway bridge at Syzram, in the Volga region, thus securing communication with Siberia, and on Aug. 1 word was received that they had taken Yekaterinburg. In Western Siberia they mobilized the classes of 1912 to 1920 at Omsk and the classes of 1917 to 1919 at Kurgan. Several cities in the Caucasus and a Black Sea port were captured, according to a report received July 30. Two Russian warships were seized at the port and a steamer sunk. The warships' guns were turned against the port of Novorossiisk, where they were seized. Thousands of Italians and Rumanians, subjects of Austria-Hungary, and formerly prisoners of war in Russia, joined their armies.

On Aug. 13 the British Government issued a declaration formally recognizing the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and the Czechoslovak armies as an allied force engaged in warfare against the Central Powers.

A revolt against the Bolsheviks and in favor of the Allies occurred at Archangel. The Soviet forces fled and allied forces, including American troops, landed. The final defeat of the Bolsheviks took place Aug. 3, when they were repulsed at Ysaka-Gorka, on the left bank of the Dvina. On Aug. 7 the Government of the "Country of the North" addressed a

proclamation to the people of the district declaring the Bolshevik régime at an end.

A Russian wireless message received at London July 23 gave the text of an agreement between the Allies and the Murman Regional Council for the defense of the Murman region against Germany. General Gurko was placed in command of the Entente allied forces.

Conferences were held between Russian and German delegates for the purpose of constructing the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The result of these conferences was a formal renunciation by the Soviet Government of any claims to the provinces of Esthonia and Livonia.

More than 200 Social Revolutionists of the Left were shot by the Bolsheviks for participation in the assassination of the German Ambassador, Count von Mirbach, and in the counter-revolution. Dr. Karl Helfferich was appointed German Envoy to Moscow to succeed von Mirbach.

The allied embassies left Vologda July 25 in response to a message from M. Tchitcherine, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, declaring that they were in danger from a threatened bombardment of Vologda.

The American Consul at Moscow, De Witt C. Poole, fearful that his consulate would be violated, destroyed his records and turned over American interests to the care of the Swedish Consul General. The arrested Consuls were subsequently released through Swedish offices.

Soviet troops began the evacuation of Moscow on Aug. 14.

An undated dispatch from Vladivostok received at London July 23 said that the Provisional Government of Siberia had submitted to the Allies on July 15 a request for joint military action.

A Provisional Government was established at Omsk. It assumed complete authority in Siberia and proclaimed Siberia's independence, July 23.

On Aug. 3 President Wilson announced his plan to co-operate with the Allies in aiding the Czechoslovak troops and guarding the northern ports from the Germans, and to send a civilian commission to give educational and economic aid.

Aug. 5 Japan announced that troops had been dispatched to Vladivostok.

British troops landed at Vladivostok Aug. 4. Announcement was made on Aug. 7 that Major Gen. William S. Graves had been selected to command the American Expeditionary Force.

General Kikuzo Otani was chosen to command the Japanese section, a position which would make him ranking officer of the allied expedition.

On Aug. 9 British representatives at Vladivostok, Murmansk, and Archangel published a declaration to the Russian people announcing that the Allies were coming as friends and wanted no territory. On

the same day French and Chinese troops landed at Vladivostok.

The Bolsheviks sent an ultimatum to Japan concerning Japanese intervention.

On Aug. 15 Secretary Baker announced that the first contingent of American troops had arrived at Vladivostok. On the same day announcement was made that the allied Archangel expeditionary force had reached Pabereshskaia, 100 miles south of Vologda, and that a British force from Northwestern Persia had reached the Caspian Sea and had taken over part of the defenses of Baku. A British force from India also reached Turkestan, and were in control of the Baku oil fields.

RUMANIA

The Ukrainian Government, July 26, abandoned its claims to Bessarabia, and diplomatic relations between Rumania and the Ukraine were resumed.

The Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 7 voted to prosecute M. Bratiano, former Premier, and four members of his Cabinet for their connection with the entry of Rumania into the war.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Lithuanian German-controlled State Council selected Duke William of Urach as sovereign, under the title of King Medove.

Great Britain, in reply to a note from the Finnish Government, announced that she would not support any party in the Finnish revolution, and would not assist the Russian Army to enter Finland or to support a civil war there.

The von Seidler Cabinet in Austria-Hungary resigned July 21. Baron von Hussarek was appointed Premier.

Turmoil in Bohemia resulted in the execution of seventy-four Czech soldiers and wholesale arrests, according to a dispatch received Aug. 14.

Antwerp was fined 1,000,000 francs and the Burgomaster was deposed by the Germans as punishment for beatings of anti-Belgian propagandists by the Activists on July 11.

Word was received on July 31 that because of a public demonstration over the success of the Entente offensive in the Marne salient the City of Liège was fined and the German Governor ordered the curfew rung at 7 o'clock in the evening for several weeks.

Honduras declared war on Germany July 19. A bill calling up boys of 18 was passed by the French National Assembly and put in operation Aug. 4.

Louis J. Malvy, former French Minister of the Interior, was found guilty of holding communication with the enemy and sentenced to five years' banishment Aug. 6. The sentence did not carry civic degradation. On Aug. 11 he left Paris for Spain.

The War In the Air

Aerial Supremacy Won and Held for the Allies by Means of Daring Raids and Battles

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1918.]

DURING the great battle of the Marne salient the French aviation service once more played a memorable part. On the first day of the German drive—July 15, 1918—forty-four tons of high explosive bombs were dropped on the enemy, and during the night fourteen tons more. In the first eight days and eight nights of the battle the total quantity amounted to 317 tons. In the same period the French airmen destroyed 171 German airplanes and burned twenty-eight observation balloons.

Even more valuable was the observation work, which kept the French commanders well informed of the enemy's movements. For example, it was the aerial observers who informed the staff of the fact that the Germans were placing pontoons across the Marne. In addition to throwing bombs, the French aviators fired more than 1,000,000 bullets from their machine guns. The success of the French troops was due in large measure to the co-operation of the airmen.

Summing up the work of the aviation section for the month of July a French official report announced the following results:

One hundred and eighty-four enemy airplanes were downed. One hundred and fifty-four enemy airplanes were seen falling out of control inside the enemy lines, of which number fifteen had been damaged by the fire of our aircraft guns. Thus 338 enemy machines were destroyed or badly damaged.

In addition, our airplanes set on fire forty-nine enemy captive balloons.

During the same month our bombardment squadrons in the daytime dropped 194 tons of explosives, and in the nighttime more than 356 tons, thus making a total of 550 tons dropped on bridges in the Marne Valley, on enemy troops that had advanced south of the Aisne, and on railroad stations in the region of Laon, Hirson, and Rethel.

The British aerial services did equally

well. During the year ended June 30, 1918, enemy aircraft to the number of 2,150 were destroyed on the western front, while Royal Air Force units working with the navy accounted for 623 more. The complete official table, showing 4,102 enemy machines brought down on all fronts during the year, is as follows:

	Crashed.	Driven Down.	Total.	British Miss'g.
West front...	2,150	1,083	3,233	1,094
Navy	623	....	623	92
Total	2,773	1,083	3,856	1,186
*Italy	165	6	171	13
*Saloniki	21	13	34	4
*Palestine, &c.	26	15	41	10
Total	212	34	246	27
Grand total	2,985	1,117	4,102	1,213
*Italy: April to June. Saloniki; January to June. Palestine and Egypt: March to June.				

In July and August, preceding the British offensive in Picardy, the airmen were still more active, going far behind the German lines in raids on military objectives and still further to the rear to attack German towns. Considerable attention was paid to the German bases on the Belgian Coast.

RAIDS ON GERMAN CITIES

In a series of twenty-five separate raids on German towns the British airmen attacked the railway stations and sidings at Thionville, the poison factory at Mannheim, works and blast furnaces at Urbach, the Benz chemical works and the Gebrüder Giulini munition factory at Mannheim, railway factories at Offenburg, the railway station at Heidelberg, the powder factories at Rottweil and Oberndorf, the furnaces at Wadgassen and Hagendange, and the airdromes at Boulay, Dieuze, and Morhange. Photographs secured during and after the raids showed that these attacks were effective in causing fires and much destruction by explosions.

The constant attacks on Germany had a direct and rapidly growing effect upon the German power of offense and manoeuvre against French sectors of front. The raided area contained, in addition to its vast network of strategic railways, a very considerable number of munition factories. These factories had their full share of attention from the British raiders, but hardly less serious from the German point of view was the damage inflicted, with its consequent dislocation of war traffic, upon the railway connections on which the immense German transport from the Rhine to the western front depended.

On this point the evidence of captured documents and the voluntary testimony of prisoners, repatriated civilians, and others was highly instructive. All went to show that not only was a great and ever increasing amount of German energy, trained man power and war material diverted to the defense of the Rhine towns, but that the interruption of war work caused by the raids became an increasingly serious problem for the German authorities.

According to a report dated Aug. 8, the allied aviators during a raid over Saarbrücken encountered forty German fighting planes, which had been withdrawn from the front to protect German towns.

The British aerial attacks on the Stuttgart and Coblenz railway stations on Aug. 2 were reported to have been the most terrible experienced during the war. Many tons of bombs were dropped, large portions of the stations were destroyed, and serious interruption to railway traffic was occasioned. The Royal Palace at Stuttgart was damaged, while at Coblenz a newly built ammunition factory was partially destroyed. All travelers arriving in Switzerland from across the frontier declared that the terror of these successive raids was increasing in the Rhine towns and that from Istein, near Basle, the exodus of population continued into the interior.

The moral effect of carrying the war in the air into Germany was seen in the protests of the people, which were given expression in a proposal to come to an

agreement with the Allies to restrict aerial operations to the actual fighting fronts. German air raids on Paris and towns in England showed a decrease, while allied attacks on Germany in-



GERMAN CITIES SUBJECTED TO BRITISH AND FRENCH AIR RAIDS. THE BLACK LINE IN THE SOUTHWEST CORNER IS THE BATTLEFRONT

creased. Practically the only German attempt to raid England in two months was that made by five Zeppelins on the East Coast on Aug. 5. They were attacked by airplanes about forty miles from the coast. One was shot down in flames and another was damaged. The other three escaped. In the Zeppelin that was shot down there perished Captain Strasser, one of Germany's most successful airship squadron commanders, and his entire crew.

D'ANNUNZIO'S TRIP TO VIENNA

The feat of dropping thousands of copies of an allied manifesto upon Vienna was performed on Aug. 9 by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio and his patrol of eight Italian machines, all of

which returned safely except one. The total flight was 620 miles, nearly all over enemy territory. The crossing of the Alps was made in a great windstorm at a height of 10,000 feet.

The machines left their Italian base at 5:30 in the morning and reached Vienna at 9:20, descending to within 1,500 feet of the city without being attacked. The people, at first terrified, showed intense curiosity when they found that the Italians were dropping nothing more explosive than propaganda. Crowds filled the streets and scrambled for the manifesto; copies were in such demand that some changed hands for as much as \$4 apiece. The text of this unique communication, said to be d'Annunzio's own composition, was as follows:

People of Vienna: You are fated to know the Italians. We are flying over Vienna and could drop tons of bombs; on the contrary, we leave a salutation and the flag with its colors of liberty.

We Italians do not make war on children, the aged, and women. We make war on your Government, which is the enemy of the liberty of nations—on your blind, wanton, cruel Government, which gives you neither peace nor bread and nurtures you on hatred and illusions.

People of Vienna: You have the reputation of being intelligent; why, then, do you wear the Prussian uniform? Now you see the entire world is against you. Do you wish to continue the war? Keep on, then, but it will be your suicide. What can you hope from the victory promised you by the Prussian Generals? Their decisive victory is like the bread of the Ukraine—one dies while awaiting it.

People of Vienna, think of your dear ones, awake!

Long live liberty, Italy, and the Entente!

The Vienna authorities ordered the public to hand over every copy of the propaganda dropped by the Italian airmen, threatening severe penalties for failure to do so.

AIR RAIDS ON PARIS

A summary of casualties suffered by the people of Paris from air attacks during the six months from Jan. 1 to June 30, 1918, showed that the number killed was 141, and wounded, 432. These totals did not include the sixty-six persons who died as the result of a panic in a Paris subway nor those who died later from their injuries.

A statement issued by the United States War Department on Aug. 4 set up the claim that a new minimum record for losses sustained in training flights had been established in American aviation training camps. The report contained the following:

Official records show that from Sept. 1, 1917, to and including July 20, 1918, the losses sustained in the actual flying training of the United States air forces in this country by American units totaled 155, which for each hour of actual flying training was .000305. In other words, the average in round numbers is one man killed for every 3,300 hours of flying in the United States, which is proved by available official statistics to be a new world's record for safety in training airmen in wartime.

Official figures authorized by the Division of Military Aeronautics from Sept. 1, 1917, to July 20, 1918, inclusive, showed the following fatalities in actual flying training sustained by the United States aviation forces in the United States:

Rank.	Number.
Officers	74
Cadets	65
Enlisted men	9
Civilian instructors	7
Total.....	155

LIEUT. ROOSEVELT'S DEATH

Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, son of ex-President Roosevelt, was killed in an air fight on the front. A German press report described the encounter as follows:

On Sunday, July 14, an American squadron of twelve battleplanes was trying to break through the German defense over the Marne. In the violent combat which ensued with seven German machines one American aviator stubbornly made repeated attacks. This culminated in a duel between him and a German noncommissioned officer, who, after a short fight, succeeded in getting good aim at his brave but inexperienced opponent, whose machine fell after a few shots near the village of Chambray, ten kilometers north of the Marne.

His pocket case showed him to be Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt of the aviation section of the United States Army. The personal belongings of the fallen airman are being carefully kept, with a view to sending them later to his relatives. The earthly remains of the brave young air-

man were buried with military honors by German airmen near Chambray at the spot where he fell.

An American aviator subsequently discovered the grave at the edge of a wood at Chambray, east of Fère-en-Tardenois. The inscription, in English, read:

LIEUTENANT QUENTIN ROOSEVELT,
BURIED BY GERMANS

A few days later the allied advance swept beyond the point where Lieutenant Roosevelt had fallen, and hundreds of American soldiers visited the grave, removed the German label, and erected a neat cross bearing an appropriate inscription.

Major James B. McCudden, one of the most brilliant British aviators of the war, (see *CURRENT HISTORY*, July, 1918, Page 87,) was accidentally killed on July 9, while flying from England to France, by falling on the French coast. He had just been promoted from Captain and had to his credit the bringing down of fifty-four German machines.

Lieutenant Nungesser, the second French ace, was cited for the Legion of Honor on July 29, having brought down, according to the official announcement, thirty-one German airplanes and destroyed three observation balloons. He had received many wounds, had been cited fifteen times, and was created an officer of the Legion of Honor for "his superb example of courage."

Aerial activity in the Mediterranean was the subject of a British Admiralty statement issued on Aug. 2. It recorded numerous and effective raids on enemy objectives all the way from Valona to Constantinople. In the Adriatic the Italian air forces were assisted by British air units in raids on the Austrian naval ports of Cattaro and Durazzo. A British communiqué, referring to operations on the Italian front, said that during the month of July sixty-six hostile

airplanes were destroyed and three brought down out of control.

The success of the British and French drive on the Somme, which began Aug. 8, was largely due to the work done in the air during the days preceding the surprise attack. The British airmen not only engaged large enemy forces over hostile territory but also defeated them in most signal fashion. On three successive days the British destroyed 15, 26, and 11 German machines, besides driving down eighteen out of control. Twelve British machines failed to return. On the whole front the record for the week in which the drive began was ninety-two enemy machines destroyed and thirty-six driven down out of control. In the same week British bombing squadrons successfully attacked the railway system of the enemy, dropping 140 tons of bombs and causing material damage, which contributed no little to the demoralization of the retreating German forces.

As the battle progressed the airplane activity increased in intensity. The British record for the first four days of fighting accounted for a total of 244 enemy airplanes, as follows:

Aug. 8—Shot down 65 enemy machines; lost 49.

Aug. 9—Shot down 61; lost 23.

Aug. 10—Shot down 61; lost 12.

Aug. 11—Shot down 53; lost 5.

Hundreds of tons of explosives were dropped on enemy forces and depots in the same period, and bombing planes virtually took the place of heavy artillery in the battle. On the French sector the same activity prevailed, and by Aug. 14 it was announced that the Allies held complete supremacy in the air over the battle area.

American fliers took a modest but increasing part in this phase of the war. It was stated on Aug. 12 that they had brought down forty German machines since beginning work.

Transporting America's Army Overseas

An Amazing Feat Accomplished at Great Sacrifice of British Trade With Dominions

By SIR JOSEPH MACLAY

British Controller of Shipping

WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, TO WHICH IT WAS SPECIALLY CABLED, AUG. 3, 1918
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TRANSPORTING the American Army across the Atlantic is the biggest thing of the kind which has ever been attempted. We in England were not a little proud of the manner in which we transported and maintained our army in South Africa, but in the light of the American movement it must be confessed that the achievement was a comparatively modest one. If I remember rightly, we moved only about 300,000 men from first to last, and we had the whole of the British mercantile marine to draw from, and there were no submarines.

Over 1,000,000 troops have been moved across the Atlantic during the last year or so, in face of an offensive by sea, waged by the enemy with as great a determination and persistency as he has fought with on the western front, and simultaneously we have been moving British and Colonial soldiers to all theatres of the war, and keeping them supplied. Only those who have access to official records can appreciate the character of the enemy's effort to arrest these varied transport movements, and particularly of the American forces, destined for Europe.

He has been able to combine his original purpose and his original plans for attempting to starve out England with his new plans for attacking the transports. Every submarine at the command of the Germans has been sent to sea, manned by the most experienced officers and men.

We make a mistake if we regard the enemy's sea offensive as less important than the military movement on land. The whole German people were led to believe that piracy, practiced with the utmost ruthlessness, would ruin this am-

bitious transport scheme. What has happened? More than 1,000,000 troops have been carried across the Atlantic and the lives of less than 300 soldiers have been lost.

On the average, about 60 per cent. of the American soldiers have been carried in British ships, and, as I will explain later on, the proportion is rising steadily. The extent of the contribution of British tonnage should be considered not as an isolated act, but in association with the worldwide activities of the British merchant navy, which have gone on simultaneously.

The time has not come when the narrative can be given in full, but it may be remembered that, while the American soldiers have been traveling to Europe, the 7,000,000 British, dominion, and Indian troops, engaged in six theatres of war in France, Flanders, Italy, Saloniki, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt, to say nothing of the garrisons in Malta, Gibraltar, and elsewhere, have been supported with reinforcements, munitions, stores, and food, and their sick and wounded carried. In some cases the fresh men had to be brought from Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Nor is that all. A large volume of shipping has also been required, and that not in home waters only, by the British fleet, the ships of which are largely dependent on mercantile tonnage for fuel, stores, and even food. The situation, naval and military, changes almost from day to day, and an attempt has been made to vary the organization of the merchant fleet to meet it. It was when all these responsibilities were already being borne that plans had to be made to help carry the American troops.

WONDERFUL TEAMWORK

This transport miracle has only been rendered possible by the efficient organization on the American side and our assistance on this side, which has been rendered with both hands. As to the first point, co-operation was necessary between the military authorities and the railways in carrying troops to the ports, and between the people running the ports and the shipping authorities.

The American genius for organization has been once more exhibited in a new sphere and it has succeeded, in spite of all the difficulties created by the war. If the American railways had not been operated with success the whole transport movement might have failed, because it was essential to quick transportation that the troops should be ready for the ships. That meant economy of tonnage, and economy was very necessary.

The United States possessed only a comparatively small number of ships suitable for use as transports, but the liners in American ports seized from the enemy proved of immense service. It must be one of the ironies of the war, viewed through German spectacles, that so many German ships should have been used in carrying American troops to fight German soldiers in Europe. But when every suitable ship under the American flag had been pressed into the transport service the tonnage was quite inadequate to the need. That is where we came in, willingly and whole-heartedly co-operating to insure the success of the movement of troops.

After the German offensive opened in March we had to make a big effort. I may add that of the 638,000 troops carried in the months of April, May, and June 331,000 were accommodated in British ships.

INTERFERES WITH TRADE

Owing to the rapidity with which the men are now being carried down to the coast we have had to arrange for an even greater contribution of shipping, and it is probable that during the next few weeks nearly two-thirds of the troops will be carried in British ships.

We are all working to promote a common cause, and we are not out to pat ourselves on the back for what we are doing. But I might add, since the fact may not be well known, that we are only able to face these new responsibilities by sacrificing, for the time, not only British but imperial interests.

Ships which, under normal conditions, are engaged in the trade between the British Islands and the Far East, Australia, and India have had to be withdrawn from service, and we have been compelled to sacrifice to a large extent the communications between the mother country and the dominions. Of the manner in which the people of the dominions have bowed to the compelling circumstances it has really been splendid; but there is more in it even than that.

This concentration of shipping has meant the severing of trade associations built up during long periods of years. Every business man well understands the character of that sacrifice, for there is no saying when those abandoned services can be resumed. That statement may suggest the character of the sacrifice which the British people are making in order to facilitate the movement of American troops.

KEEPING ARMY SUPPLIED

It is no good bringing over troops to Europe unless those troops can be kept supplied with all they require. There is always a temptation on the part of those who are unfamiliar with military matters to think of an army in terms of men only, but an army requires an enormous volume of material, guns, airplanes, wagons, ammunition, food, and stores of all kinds.

In June, for instance, 500,000 tons of stores for the American troops were carried across the Atlantic. Horses, in particular, present a very great difficulty, as can be readily imagined, and an enormous number of horses have to be carried.

And that brings me back to the point which I wish to emphasize. The army which is transported has to be kept supplied with all it requires from week to week and day to day. Consequently, the

larger the number of troops transported the greater the burden on tonnage required for supplying that army's needs. The matter can be reduced to a very simple formula:

Roughly speaking, every 1,000 men landed in France is equivalent to 5,000 tons of stores in a year. The Allies are giving, in full confidence, hostages to fortune, with every man of the American Army who is landed on the Continent day by day. However long the war may last, the stream of supplies must be maintained, and, although we hope that the submarine will do no more damage than it has done in the past, provision has to be made for contingencies. * * *

Our shipping problem is still serious, as the reduction of our imports and the scrapping of our foreign trade indicate. We have been able to tide over a critical period only by an intensive effort. This has included the improved organization and employment of British shipping, the better use of neutral shipping, and some acceleration of construction, in association with the development of the convoy system, which has met with admirable results, and the increased success of the measures for attack upon and defense against submarines and mines. In the last respect the co-operation of the American naval forces has been most valuable.

The present position is that, for all practical purposes, all British ships are now under the control of the Government and are working at a limited rate of profit. Ship owners who built up great organizations with ramifications in all parts of the world have made heavy sacrifices. As I have indicated already, we have taken British ships entirely out of the North and South American trade, or transferred them from the Australasian trade to the Atlantic without regard to the sacrifice of old, established connections.

Only by this means has it been possible to concentrate sufficient tonnage in the Atlantic for the transport and sup-

ply movements, and at the same time to place tonnage at the disposal of France and Italy; but, as I have said, no slight measure of the improvement in the shipping position has been due to the success with which the convoy system has been worked by the Admiralty in association with the Ministry of Shipping. During the last year nearly 30,000,000 tons of shipping have been convoyed, and the percentage of loss has been only 1.35.

5,000,000 TONS OF STORES

All the armies, in a varying degree, are drawing their strength from the sea. The burden which they are imposing upon shipping is increasing. Ships mean fighting power. There is no greater mistake than for the Allies to think of the war exclusively in terms of soldiers. Soldiers are, of course, essential, but they must stand defeat unless behind them there is an adequate supply of tonnage.

That is where the American authorities have exhibited good judgment. They placed the provision of ships in the forefront of their war program. They realized that with a population of more than 100,000,000 the limiting factor in the military problem was not the number of men who could be trained as soldiers, but the number of men who could be transported to Europe, and kept supplied with all that they needed.

The 1,000,000 mark of the American transport movement has now been passed. That number alone would mean that 5,000,000 tons of stores would have to be transported across the Atlantic in the coming year, but the number of men is being increased rapidly every month, and the 1,000,000 will have become several millions in the next twelve months if the war lasts as long; and as to that, no one can say. But at any rate it is apparent that, as with us in the British Isles, so with the Americans, the military problem, in the last analysis, is a tonnage problem. The war for the Allies is first, last, and all the time a question of ships, and yet more ships.

The Submarine's Increasing Failure

Summary of Recent Activities

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1918]

LOSSES during June, 1918, to British, allied, and neutral shipping as the result of enemy action or marine risk were lower than in any month since September, 1916. The total was 278,629 gross tons. The complete record of shipping losses for the first six months of 1918 is as follows:

	British Gross Tonnage.	Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage.	Total.
January	218,528	136,187	354,715
February	254,303	134,239	388,542
March	222,549	176,924	399,473
April	220,709	84,393	305,102
May	224,735	130,959	355,694
June	161,062	114,567	275,629
Total	1,301,886	777,269	2,082,155

The July sinkings, amounting in round numbers to 270,000 tons, as compared with 534,839 tons sunk in the corresponding month of 1917, showed a still greater gain on past averages. The new tonnage constructed in July exceeded the month's sinkings by 280,000. The Entente tonnage sunk in the first seven months of 1918 was 50 per cent. less than that lost in 1917.

The decrease in sinkings by submarines was due to the greater number and effectiveness of the allied naval forces engaged in combating the danger. The naval forces of the European Allies were helped by 250 American war vessels in European waters, according to a statement by Sir Eric Geddes, head of the British Admiralty. German testimony regarding the failure of the U-boats to maintain their level of destructiveness was given by Admiral von Holtzendorff, Chief of the German Admiralty Staff. In an explanation to the Cologne Gazette of the reason why the U-boats were not sinking American transports he said:

The Americans have at their disposal for debarkation the coastal region from the northern point of Scotland to the French Mediterranean ports, with dozens of debarkation places. Must we put our

boats to lurk off these harbors on the chance of getting shot at by the strongly guarded convoys of fast American transports? The convoys do not come with the regularity and frequency of railroad trains at a big railway station, but irregularly, with long interruptions, and often by night and in fog. When one remembers all that, one realizes what little prospect of success it offers to set the U-boats especially at American transports. We must always remember that it is the task of our U-boats to reduce the entire cargo space in the enemy's service, for on this depends his existence and ability to carry on the war.

A few days after making these admissions, Admiral von Holtzendorff's retirement was announced. Admiral Reinhardt Scheer, Commander of the German battle fleet, was designated as the new Chief of the Admiralty Staff.

Further evidence of the growing ineffectiveness of the submarine warfare was furnished in the official figures published by the French Government relating to the French traffic in the Mediterranean. According to these figures, no fewer than 2,060 vessels, chiefly merchantmen, with a total tonnage of 3,500,000, crossed the Mediterranean between Feb. 24 and April 1 under escort. The average number of ships under way, coming to or going from France, was 240. The submarine attacks nevertheless had so diminished in force that only one in four resulted in damage to the ships. The result was that the water traffic steadily increased.

HOSPITAL SHIPS SUNK

Several episodes indicated that, while the German U-boats were losing their power to destroy shipping on a large scale, they were still capable of committing outrages in sinking hospital ships. The British transport Barunga, formerly the German steamer Sumatra, outward bound for Australia with ill and unfit Australian troops on board, was torpedoed and sunk on July 15. Aid speedily arrived, and there were no casualties.

The ambulance transport *Warilda*, with 800 wounded soldiers on board, was torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel on Aug. 3. The number of lives lost was 123. Many of the wounded men were stretched helplessly on cots, and a porportion of those killed were in a ward which was wiped out by the torpedo explosion.

The deliberate sinking of the *Warilda* was regarded as one of the most atrocious of the German crimes against hospital ships. The chief sinkings of this nature—all hospital ships—are summarized in the following list:

Britannic, torpedoed in the Aegean Sea, Nov. 21, 1916, with a loss of 36 lives.

Asturias, sunk in the English Channel, March 20, 1917; 2 lives lost.

Gloucester Castle, sunk in the night of March 30-31, 1917.

Donegal and *Lanfranc*, torpedoed together, April 17, 1917.

Rewa, torpedoed in January, 1918.

Glenart Castle, torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol Channel, Feb. 26, 1918, with the loss of 144 lives.

Llandovery Castle, June 27, 1918, torpedoed and sunk seventy miles off the Irish Coast, with the loss of 234 lives.

Warilda, torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel on Aug. 3, causing the death of 123 persons, mostly wounded men.

The *Carpattia*, a Cunard liner of 13,603 gross tonnage, was sunk off the Irish coast on July 17 while returning to America. This was the fifth Cunard steamer lost in five weeks. The largest ship sunk for some time was the *White Star* liner *Justicia*, 32,120 gross tons. It was torpedoed off the Irish coast, with a loss of eleven members of the crew but no other casualties. The *Justicia* was the fourth biggest steamship in the allied service, the fifth largest vessel in the world, and the second largest torpedoed since the war began. The only larger steamship torpedoed was the hospital ship *Britannic* of the *White Star* Line, of 45,000 gross tonnage.

The French steamer *Djemnah*, carrying troops, was sunk in the Mediterranean the night of July 14-15 with a loss of 442 lives. Nevertheless, submarine depredations in the Mediterranean are diminishing. During the April-June period of 1917, when Italy's losses of tonnage were the heaviest, seventeen vessels were lost in April, ten in May,

and ten in June. The losses during the corresponding quarter in 1918 were reduced to eight, four, and two, respectively.

After nearly a year it became known, in August, 1918, that Lieut. Commander Schwieger, who commanded the submarine that sank the *Lusitania*, had been missing from the German Navy since September, 1917. At that date he was in command of the U-88, and was going out in company with another U-boat when those on the other boat heard a chain scraping alongside. The commander of the other boat realized that they were in an unknown British mine field. Almost immediately afterward he heard a tremendous explosion and decided that it would be safer to come to the surface. Nothing was to be seen of the U-88. He tried to get in touch with her by wireless and otherwise, but from that moment she has never been heard of.

IN AMERICAN WATERS

The German U-boat campaign in American waters continued, but without the destruction of any large ships to date. The following were the victims:

The tug *Perth Amboy* and four barges attacked three miles off Orleans, Mass., on July 21. The tug was burned and the barges sunk by gunfire.

The fishing schooner *Robert* and *Richard* of Gloucester, sunk sixty miles southeast of Cape Porpoise, off the Maine coast, on July 22.

The Portuguese bark *Porto*, sunk 550 miles off the Atlantic Coast on July 27.

The Japanese freight steamer *Tokuyama Maru*, torpedoed and sunk off the Nova Scotia coast on Aug. 1.

The British schooner *Dornfontein* held up by a German submarine twenty-five miles southwest of Brier Island on Aug. 2 and set on fire.

Three American fishing schooners sunk off the Nova Scotia coast on Aug. 3.

The *Diamond Shoals Lightship 71*, anchored off Cape Hatteras, N. C., shelled and sunk on Aug. 6.

The British schooner *Gladys M. Hollett* held up, looted, and sunk by bombs off the Canadian coast on Aug. 5.

The American steamer *Merak* sunk off the North Carolina coast on Aug. 6.

The Standard Oil tank steamer *Luz Blanca* torpedoed and sunk forty miles west of Halifax on Aug. 5.

The American tanker O. B. Jennings sunk off the Virginia coast.

The American schooner Stanley L. Seaman sunk on Aug. 5, when 110 miles east of Cape Hatteras. The submarine was described as the U-132.

Nine American fishing schooners sunk on Aug. 3 off George's Bank, sixty miles from Nantucket Island. Two submarines were reported to have made the attack.

The Norwegian freighter Sommerstad, 3,875 gross tons, torpedoed and sunk twenty-five miles southeast by east of Fire Island on Aug. 12.

The British steamship Penistone, 4,139 gross tons, torpedoed on Aug. 11 about 100 miles east of Nantucket.

The Swedish steamship Sydland, 3,031 gross tons, bombed and sunk on Aug. 8 about 100 miles southeast of Nantucket.

The American oil tanker Frederick R. Kellogg, 7,127 gross tonnage, torpedoed ten miles off Barnegat, N. J., sank in four minutes; seven men killed by the explosion.

The five masted American schooner Dorothy Barrett, 2,088 gross tonnage, sunk with a cargo of coal 20 miles from Cape May, N. J., Aug. 14.

As this list indicates, there were two German submarines operating at widely separated points. The proximity of one of them to the Port of New York had not, up to Aug. 15, made any difference in the arrival or departure of the big transports, which depended on their great speed and number of quick-firing guns to keep the enemy away; nor had the U-boats operating off the Atlantic Coast attempted to tackle a single armed vessel since they made their first appearance on May 18.

The United States armored cruiser San Diego was ten miles south of Fire Island and fifty miles from the entrance to New York Harbor on July 19 when an explosion occurred and sank the ship, with the loss of six lives among the enlisted men. The commanding officer believed that his vessel had been sunk by a torpedo, but the Naval Court of Inquiry, after a full investigation, reported that it was of opinion that the loss of the San Diego was due to an enemy mine. On the day following the disaster six contact mines were located by the naval forces in the vicinity of the position where the San Diego was sunk.

One of the U-boats operating upon the Atlantic Coast made a mustard gas attack off North Carolina on the after-

noon of Aug. 10. According to the Navy Department announcement, mustard gas oil was released on the tides which swept in past Smith Island. The gas generated by the floating oil, which is very volatile in the hot sunshine, temporarily put the coast guard station and lighthouse personnel on Smith Island out of commission. Six men were gassed, but no deaths resulted.

NEW CONSTRUCTION

During the period under review there was further progress in counteracting ship losses by the production of new vessels, mainly from American shipyards.

The Secretary of the British Admiralty announced that the tonnage of merchant vessels completed in United Kingdom yards during June, 1918, was 134,159 gross tons. The figures for the five previous months were: January, 58,568; February, 100,038; March, 161,674; April, 111,533; May, 194,274. The output in June was therefore 63,000 gross tons less.

Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministry of Shipping, stated in the House of Commons on Aug. 8 that the British mercantile tonnage at the outbreak of the war amounted to 18,500,000 gross tons and that the figure after four years of war was 15,000,000 gross tons, a net loss of 3,500,000 gross tons.

American ship production in July, 1918, again surpassed all previous records. According to the figures published by the Emergency Fleet Corporation, 123 vessels, with a deadweight tonnage of 631,944, were sent into the water as follows:

Type of Vessel.	Number.	Deadweight Tonnage.
Steel	67	433,244
Wood	53	187,000
Composite	3	11,000
Total.....	123	631,944

During July forty-one vessels, with a total deadweight tonnage of 235,025, were completed. Of these, thirty-six were steel ships, with a deadweight tonnage of 217,025, and five were wooden, with a total of 18,000 tons. These do not include two vessels of 15,855 deadweight

tons (together) which were delivered from Japanese yards.

From August, 1917, when the Shipping Board began operations, to Aug. 1, 1918, there were completed and delivered thirty-seven steel contract vessels, with a deadweight tonnage of 245,000, and 210 requisitioned vessels totaling 1,326,156 deadweight tons, making a grand total of 247 ships, aggregating 1,571,856 tons completed and placed in service. Almost half of this tonnage—the actual amount being 775,545 tons—was delivered during the last three months. By months the launchings in 1918 were:

	Deadweight Tons.
January	88,507
February	123,625
March	172,611
April	160,286
May	259,241
June	283,322
July	631,944
Total	1,719,536

NEW AMERICAN SHIPYARDS

These results have been made possible by the completion of many new shipyards. On July 27, 1918, there were 118 fully equipped shipyards in the United States and 44 others partly complete, of which 23 were more than 75 per cent. finished. Many were built from the ground up, while the others were extended and enlarged to such a degree that they amounted almost to new yards. Thirty-seven steel yards which the United States had when the war began had grown to 72 by July 27. The old yards increased from 162 ways to 195. Eighty yards for building wooden ships were in operation or nearing completion. The remainder of the total number of yards were for building concrete ships, a new industry developed by the war need.

Hog Island, the greatest of all shipyards and one of the four Government fabricating yards, was 90 per cent. complete. Bristol and Newark, two other fabricating yards, were almost complete, while Wilmington, N. C., the fourth, was commenced only in May and was still in its infancy. The 118 yards which were complete were distributed sectionally as follows: Pacific Coast, 48; Atlantic

Coast, 38; Great Lakes, 16, and Gulf Coast, 16.

The first ship produced by the Hog Island yard, the Quistconck, a 7,500-ton freight steamer, was launched on Aug. 5, 1918. President Wilson was present at the ceremony, and led the cheering as Mrs. Wilson broke a bottle of champagne on the bow and named the vessel.

New records in rapidity of shipbuilding were established in July and August. On July 26 a 3,500-ton steel ship was sent into the water at the plant of the Great Lakes Engineering Company at Ecorse, Mich., fourteen days after its keel was laid. The ship was 263 feet long with a beam of 43½ feet. On Aug. 4 the Invincible, a 12,000-ton steamer, was launched at Alameda, Cal., twenty-four working days after the keel was laid. In building the Invincible 13,784 tons of steel were put in place and about 40,000 rivets driven daily. The Invincible was 457 feet 6 inches in length over all, 56 feet beam and 38 feet deep.

A proclamation was issued by President Wilson Aug. 3, making the United States Shipping Board the dictator of charter rates for practically all shipping of American registry with the exception of vessels on the Great Lakes, inland canals and waterways, and those engaged exclusively in coastwise trade. American citizens were prohibited by the proclamation from chartering any vessel of foreign ownership except with the Government's approval. Up to this time the Shipping Board had been compelled to enforce its edicts as to conditions and rates through its control of the bunker coal essential to ship movement. Under the terms of the proclamation severe penalties were provided for violations of the decisions made by the board. The President's action left the Shipping Board in complete control of the situation, and made it certain that no American ship should fall into the hands of foreigners without the full approval of this Government. A proclamation issued by President Wilson on Aug. 13 made it a criminal offense to sell, mortgage, lease, or deliver an American ship to a foreigner without the consent of the Shipping Board.

How America Has Fed the Allies

By HERBERT C. HOOVER

[UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATOR]

IT is now possible to summarize the shipments of foodstuffs from the United States to the allied countries during the fiscal year just closed—practically the last harvest year. These amounts include all shipments to allied countries for their and our armies, the civilian population, the Belgium relief, and the Red Cross. The figures indicate the measure of effort of the American people in support of allied food supplies.

The total value of these food shipments, which were in the main purchased through, or with the collaboration of, the Food Administration, amounted to, roundly, \$1,400,000,000 during the fiscal year.

The shipments of meats and fats (including meat products, dairy products, vegetable oils, &c.) to allied destinations were as follows:

	Pounds.
Fiscal year 1916-17.....	2,166,500,000
Fiscal year 1917-18.....	3,011,100,000
Increase	\$44,600,000

Our slaughterable animals at the beginning of the last fiscal year were not appreciably larger in number than the year before, and particularly in hogs; they were probably less. The increase in shipments is due to conservation and the extra weight of animals added by our farmers.

The full effect of these efforts began to bear their best results in the last half of the fiscal year, when the exports to the Allies were 2,133,100,000 pounds, as against 1,266,500,000 pounds in the same period of the year before. This compares with an average of 801,000,000 pounds of total exports for the same half years in the three-year pre-war period.

In cereals and cereal products reduced to terms of cereal bushels, our shipments to allied destinations have been:

	Bushels.
Fiscal year 1916-17.....	259,900,000
Fiscal year 1917-18.....	340,803,000
Increase	80,900,000

Of these cereals our shipments of the

prime breadstuffs in the fiscal year 1917-18 to allied destinations were: Wheat, 131,000,000 bushels and rye 13,900,000 bushels, a total of 144,900,000 bushels.

The exports to allied destinations during the fiscal year 1916-17 were: Wheat, 135,100,000 bushels and rye 2,300,000 bushels, a total of 137,400,000 bushels. In addition, some 10,000,000 bushels of 1917 wheat are now in port for allied destinations or en route thereto. The total shipments to allied countries from our last harvest of wheat will be, therefore, about 141,000,000 bushels, or a total of 154,900,000 bushels of prime breadstuffs.

In addition to this we have shipped some 10,000,000 bushels to neutrals dependent upon us and we have received some imports from other quarters. A large part of the other cereals exported has also gone into war bread.

It is interesting to note that since the urgent request of the Allied Food Controllers early in the year for a further shipment of 75,000,000 bushels from our 1917 wheat than originally planned, we shall have shipped to Europe, or have en route, nearly 85,000,000 bushels. At the time of this request our surplus was already more than exhausted.

This accomplishment of our people in this matter stands out even more clearly if we bear in mind that we had available in the fiscal year 1916-17 from net carry over and a surplus over our normal consumption about 200,000,000 bushels of wheat which we were able to export that year without trenching on our home loaf. This last year, however, owing to the large failure of the 1917 wheat crop we had available from net carry over and production and imports only just about our normal consumption. Therefore our wheat shipments to allied destinations represent approximately savings from our own wheat bread.

These figures, however, do not fully convey the volume of the effort and sacrifice made during the past year by

the whole American people. Despite the magnificent effort of our agricultural population in planting a much increased acreage in 1917, not only was there a very large failure in wheat, but also the corn failed to mature properly, and corn is our dominant crop.

We calculate that the total nutritional production of the country for the fiscal year just closed was between 7 per cent. and 9 per cent. below the average of the three previous years, our nutritional surplus for export in those years being about the same amount as the shrinkage last year. Therefore, the consumption and waste in food have been greatly reduced in every direction during the year.

I am sure that all the millions of our people, agricultural as well as urban, who have contributed to these results should feel a very definite satisfaction that, in a year of universal food shortage in the Northern Hemisphere, all of these

people joined together against Germany have come through into sight of the coming harvest not only with health and strength fully maintained, but with only temporary periods of hardship. The European Allies have been compelled to sacrifice more than our own people, but we have not failed to load every steamer since the delays of the storm months of last Winter.

Our contributions to this end could not have been accomplished without effort and sacrifice, and it is a matter for further satisfaction that it has been accomplished voluntarily and individually. It is difficult to distinguish between various sections of our people—the homes, public eating places, food trades, urban or agricultural populations—in assessing credit for these results, but no one will deny the dominant part of the American woman.

July 11, 1918.

Canada's Four Years of War Effort

By OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

EACH succeeding year of the war has only served to harden the determination of the Canadian people to see the conflict through to a successful issue, no matter what the cost in men and money. With her large but sparsely settled territory, Canada has made outstanding sacrifices from the beginning of hostilities on Aug. 3, 1914, until the present time. Up to July 1, 1918, the number of men who had been enlisted for war service totaled 552,601, including 56,081 conscripted since the Military Service act went into force. The toll of dead had reached a total of 42,919, made up as follows: Killed in action, 27,040; died of wounds, 9,280; died of disease, 2,257, and presumed dead, 4,342. The number of missing was given as 384, while of the prisoners of war 2,274 were accounted for. The total number of wounded in the four years was 113,007.

This is Canada's record of her contribution of man power from 1914 to

1918, and yet she is now making greater efforts than ever before, not only to maintain her forces in the field but to further enlarge her quota.

On July 12 a statement was issued from Ottawa by the Hon. Martin, Burrell, Acting Minister of Militia and Defense, outlining in very positive terms the necessity for men:

It has been stated to the Government that the labor situation is such that there is danger of the crops not being entirely harvested unless soldiers can be given leave of absence for this purpose. Already a large number of men have been granted exemption and leave of absence. The grave situation at the front since the initiation of the German offensive last Spring necessitated the most vigorous and rapid reinforcement of our troops. Accordingly, arrangements were made for the sending overseas of the largest possible number of troops, especially during June and July.

There can be no doubt as to the necessity for such arrangements being carried out. The whole situation has been laid before General Mewburn and the Prime Minister, who are in England, and they

were asked whether conditions at the front would warrant a departure from the program laid down. A reply was received last night saying the situation made it essential that the reinforcements arranged for should reach England at the earliest possible moment, and that there should be no departure from the program.

The Government appreciates the many and serious difficulties which in these days of war face the Canadian people in the carrying on of their work, notably in agriculture, so important to the conduct of the war itself. Nevertheless, we cannot shut our eyes to the tremendous gravity of the issues now at stake in France. Nor can we forget the sacrifices which are being daily and hourly made by our own countrymen on the field of battle, in order that our country, in common with those of our allies, may be saved from the evil fate which would befall them should German arms triumph.

With a full realization of all that is involved, the Government recognizes it as a high and imperative duty to see that the reinforcements now arranged for be sent across seas without fail and without delay. The nation has clearly expressed its feeling on this great matter, and we believe the Canadian people, who have committed themselves to so sacred a cause, are determined to suffer such inconvenience and make such sacrifices as are necessary to the end they have in view.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS

With these conclusions as outlined, the Canadian Government proceeded to make another great effort to put further man power in the field. It was assisted by a phase of public spirit that had not been evident in the earlier stages under the Military Service act. Recruits from Quebec began coming to the colors in ever-increasing numbers. There was, and is, a new spirit in old Lower Canada, different from that of a year, or even six months, ago. The French Canadian, who has always been a law-respecting citizen, has changed his attitude since the question of military service is no longer a political question. The people of Quebec, if asked the reason for the change, would doubtless say they were not conscious of any. If you were further to ask, "What is the meaning of this new movement? What has brought forth the recruits?" the answer would in all probability be, "It is the law." That, in short, is the simple logic as

Quebec now understands her part in the war. Military service can no longer be escaped, and the young French Canadian prefers to offer himself as a volunteer rather than to go by the compulsory means of conscription. "Nos amis y vont, nous ne somme pas pour tirer de l'oreille," said one 18-year-old who presented himself recently at the recruiting station in Quebec City. "Our friends are going, and we don't want to be taken by the ear."

The various prejudices which have militated against Quebec taking an earlier active interest in war activities may be directly attributable to Henry Bourassa and his political school of Canadian "nationalism." It may be stated here with the greatest positiveness that the Roman Catholic Church, as an organized influence, should not be held responsible for the racial nationalism that has developed in recent years. Nationalist priests there are in abundance throughout Quebec, and for that matter in other provinces in Canada, but it is because they are French Canadian and not because they are priests. Their racialism simply blinds them to their present religious duty and their "everyday" civilian interests. However, the Nationalist problem, as such, is one that existed for some years before the war and will in all likelihood continue for some years afterward.

CANADA UNITED

Probably the best expression of opinion on the situation in Quebec as it exists today was voiced in a speech delivered at Witley Camp July 15 by Fernand Rinfret, a Montreal editor, who, in company with other representatives of the Canadian Press Association, visited England and the west front recently.

We did not come here merely as sight-seers, [said he.] We came with the message, "The whole of Canada is behind you." There are no two sentiments in Canada. We are with you first of all. From first to last our differences over recruiting have not been in method, but in principle. The attitude of Quebec has never been one of resistance to the law, but of desire for reference to the people. You may have heard of Quebec rioters. There have been no Quebec rioters. There may have been a few rioters in Quebec,

men whose action was repudiated by none so heartily as the people of Quebec themselves. We French Canadians have a double claim upon you. As we are of French blood, so we are partners in the British Empire. We are Canadian, purely Canadian. Since conscription became the law, nowhere has it been better and more easily enforced than in Quebec. Our French Canadian new recruits will prove worthy of their brothers at St. Julien and Courcellette.

Similar sentiments were expressed at the same luncheon by Charles Roillard of La Patrie, Montreal.

While Quebec, so far, has enlisted in round numbers only 40,000 recruits, it is conservatively estimated that by the end of the year this total will have grown to 80,000 or 85,000. Since the Military Service act was first introduced the Province of Quebec has gradually realized that in wartime the law of necessity admits of little choice. The Navy League, which, as its name implies, is an organization for backing the efforts of the navy in every way, has already obtained 22,250 members

The detailed estimates for the Department of Militia and Defense for the year ending March 31, 1919, show how thoroughly Canada has organized her wartime expenditures. They also show that these expenditures are constantly expanding in an ever-increasing ratio. The estimates in bulk detail are as follows:

	Expenditure in Canada.	Expenditure Overseas.	Total Expenditure.
Pay of 110,000 troops in Canada and 290,000 in England and France	\$50,187,500	\$70,312,500	\$120,500,000
Assigned pay, overseas troops.....	54,000,000	.....	54,000,000
Separation allowances	21,750,000	3,000,000	27,750,000
Rations, Canada, 50 cents per day; England, 38½ cents per day	20,075,000	21,000,000	41,075,000
Clothing, and necessaries	19,080,000	.....	19,080,000
Outfit allowances, officers and nurses.....	1,000,000	700,000	1,700,000
Equipment, including harness, vehicles, tents, blankets, but not rifles, machine guns, &c.....	20,000,000	.....	20,000,000
Ordnance services .....	.....	1,800,000	1,800,000
Medical services	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Ammunition	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Machine guns	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000
Ocean transport	4,612,500	.....	4,612,000
Railway transport	11,062,500	450,000	11,512,500
Forage	450,000	.....	450,000
Veterinary service, remounts.....	.....	3,000,000	3,000,000
Engineer works, housing	2,750,000	1,250,000	4,000,000
Civilian employees	2,920,000	750,000	3,670,000
Sundries, including recruiting, censors, customs dues, &c.	3,000,000	.....	3,000,000
Overseas printing and stationery.....	.....	300,000	300,000
General expenses overseas .....	.....	1,800,000	1,800,000
Maintenance of troops in France at 9s. 4d. each per day .....	.....	115,000,000	115,000,000
Total	\$217,887,500	\$225,162,500	\$443,050,000

To the above figures must be added \$73,803,804, which will be spent for war purposes by Federal departments other than that of militia and defense.

The 71,000 separation allowances would require \$19,000,000, but the Government expects an increase in the number, and is therefore providing \$21,750,000, in addition to \$6,000,000 for dependents overseas. In the item for rations, allowance is made for the fact that 140,000 men in France are rationed by the British Gov-

ernment. Accoutrements other than waist belt, water bottle, and haversack are not charged up, as they, too, are provided by England and will not be settled for until after the war.

The item of \$450,000 for railway transportation in England does not cover transportation of troops, but merely of officers and men on duty in the British Isles. The transport of troops in England and to France will be charged up to Canada by England after the war.

throughout the Province, and is steadily growing.

These features are sufficient to show the trend of the times. Notwithstanding certain legal quibbles regarding the exemption clauses in the Military Service act, the essential fact is that Canada, as never before, is at last thoroughly united in one common objective. The war has so impressed itself on the imagination of all her citizens that it supersedes all petty political arguments, and will continue to do so until the great conflict now waging in Europe has reached a successful conclusion.

HEAVY WAR BURDEN

The nine Provinces have not only given of their man power as the requirements of war demanded; they have, in proportion to their wealth, lavishly contributed funds which in ratio to population have not been exceeded by any countries outside the immediate zone of war. At the end of the last financial year the gross national debt of Canada stood approximately at \$1,700,000,000, and the net debt as quoted at the last parliamentary session by the Hon. A. K. MacLean, Acting Minister of Finance, was \$1,200,000,000, as compared with \$544,391,368 and \$333,996,850, respectively, for the year preceding the outbreak of war.

And the end is not yet in sight. Still heavier sacrifices must be borne by the people of the Dominion, as announced in the parliamentary estimates proposed in connection with war expenditures for the year ending March 31, 1919. These war estimates total \$516,853,804, and are made up as follows: Militia and Defense Department, \$442,050,000; other departments, \$73,803,804. This sum does not cover all of Canada's expenses overseas. For the sake of mutual convenience the transportation of troops in England and to France, and a portion of the equipment, are being financed by Great Britain, and after the war will be reckoned up and charged to Canada, according to her indebtedness on the balance sheets.

The total cost of the war to Canada up to the end of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1919, will be nearly \$1,400,-

000,000. As Canada had a national debt of about \$334,000,000 when the war began, little of which has been paid off, the national debt will be about \$1,600,000,000 by next March, for the Dominion is doing little more than paying interest on its war debt, and nearly all war expenses have been added to the national debt for future generations to pay.

Since the beginning of the war Canada's expenditure of public moneys on war account, according to the books of the Finance Department, up to July 20, 1918, was as follows:

Fiscal years.

1914-1915	\$60,750,476.01
1915-1916	166,197,755.47
1916-1917	306,488,814.63
1917-1918	345,547,282.75
1918-1919*	37,060,303.05

Total.....\$916,044,631.91

*To July 19, 1918.

The voluntary contributions to the Canadian Patriotic Fund from the beginning of the war up to June 30, 1918, amounted to \$40,149,037.27. This fund, which has been opened annually, has been for the relief of soldiers' dependents who have had to undergo special sacrifices.

In introducing the estimates at the last session of Parliament Sir Robert Borden gave the following figures as showing the sums expended by the various departments for war purposes during the last year, as compared with the estimates for the coming year. Those for last year total up to more than the \$302,532,974 already mentioned, as they include sums which have not yet passed through the Finance Department:

	1917-18	1918-19.
Agriculture Dept.	\$63,001	\$317,000
Canada registration, .....	.....	1,000,000
Customs	10,000	10,000
External affairs	19,914	35,000
Finance Dept.	38,847	60,000
Immigration Dept. ..	30,000	35,470
Interior Dept.	96,670	100,000
Justice Dept.	1,470,000	1,100,000
Labor Dept.	39,480	75,000
Maritime Fisheries ..	569,298	34,735,470
Naval Service	10,662,982	19,000,000
Post Office.....	900,000	600,000
Privy Council	30,000	15,000
Public Works	317,500	3,364,000
Railways, canals ...	1,150,000	700,000
Sec. of State	82,166	60,000
Archives Dept.	13,435	10,000

	1917-18	1918-19
Soldiers' re-establishment	9,303,295	12,000,000
Trade and commerce	121,862	286,664
Militia and defense..	279,236,900	443,050,000
	<u>\$394,054,740</u>	<u>\$516,853,804</u>

WHAT ESTIMATES PROVIDE

The estimates for the present fiscal year were based on the presumption that the operation of the Military Service act would increase the number of troops raised in Canada to at least 500,000, accounted for as follows: First draft, M. S. A., 100,000; Home Defense Force, 10,000; in England, 150,000; in France, 140,000; discharged after service at the front, killed, &c., 100,000.

The troops in France comprise the Forestry Corps, which are used for work in the United Kingdom, all the wounded convalescing in hospitals, the convalescents training for return to the front, troops sent from Canada to England from time to time as reinforcements, and men detailed in Great Britain for working around hospitals and camps.

The total expenditure of \$443,050,000 works out to \$1,107.62 per man. Earlier in the war the estimate was \$1,000 per man. The average pay works out to \$1.25 per day for all the ranks. Deducting 100,000 for casualties, the 400,000 remaining on pay would cost \$500,000 per day, or a total of \$182,500,000 per year. The increase in the amount of deferred

pay for troops overseas is estimated at \$8,000,000. As men return in increasing numbers from the front the deferred pay will become payable to them in increasing volume, and the Militia Department is considering the best manner in which that payment can be carried out so as to insure that the money handed over will be employed by the men for some useful purpose.

Close analysis of Canada's expenditures will show that the Dominion is more than maintaining her proportion of contributions in men and money which she assigned to herself at the outbreak of war. There has been no slackening off, such as was at first anticipated. The people are meeting their taxes and subscribing to the various war loans with cheerful hearts.

The war expenditures for this fiscal year and the one previous are as follows:

This fiscal year.....	\$516,853,804
Last fiscal year.....	341,000,000
To date.....	875,000,000
To end of this year.....	1,391,853,804

As loans for Canada (exclusive of loans repaid) have totaled \$911,000,000 since the war began, and as the new debt for war loan is \$875,000,000, it has been obvious for some time that the Government must soon float its second Victory Loan. This has now definitely been decided upon and the next campaign will be inaugurated during the last week of October.

In Honor of America

By ALICE MEYNELL

[In antithesis to Rossetti's "On the Refusal of Aid Between Nations"]

Not that the earth is changing, O my God!

Not that her brave democracies take heart

To share, to rule her treasure, to impart

The wine to those who long the wine-press trod;

Not therefore trust we that beneath Thy nod,

Thy silent benediction, even now

In gratitude so many nations bow,

So many poor: not therefore, O my God!

But because living men for dying man

Go to a million deaths, to deal one blow;

And justice speaks one great compassionate tongue;

And nation unto nation calls "One clan

We succorers are, one tribe!" By this we know

Our earth holds confident, steadfast, being young.

The Agony of the City of Lille

Experiences of One Citizen During the Horrors of German Occupation

Part II.

By MARGUERITE BUCHET

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE BY M. L. CAVERNAUGH]

WITHOUT the American and Holland Relief Committees we should have died of hunger, and it seemed as if this were the aim of the Germans, for they left the potatoes to rot rather than give them to the population. There were atrocious stomach troubles caused by hunger. It happened in a village near by that a child, having brought some potatoes, was arrested and struck by a policeman; that cruelty did not seem to satisfy him, so he set his dog on him, and the poor child was badly bitten. Everything else was as expensive as the food; one would have given \$20 for a liter of petroleum, but it could not be found even at that price. A single candle cost 20 cents, that is to say five times more than formerly.

The nights are long and painful in Winter, especially when one is hungry, and it is hard to go to bed at 5 o'clock to save the light. Our masters told us the long nights were excellent, quoting the proverb, "Qui dort dine." (Who sleeps dines.)

At the time of the requisition of wines a lady made a gift of several bottles to the poor rather than hand them over to the Germans; she was fined for her action. The quantity of wine consumed at Lille for several days and the amount transported surpass imagination. The fine wines, which in ordinary times were never moved, but kept preciously in their hampers, were hurriedly brought up from the cellars and transferred more quickly still, in order to avoid giving them to those who would profit by them. Some people who had never tasted champagne drank great glasses of it. Wines thirty years old ended their existence, and now every one, even

the wealthiest families, drink only pure water! There is no more wine or beer.

One night an officer forced the janitor to go and awaken his master, as the officer demanded lodgings. This was not the only time the Germans disarranged families in their home in the middle of the night. The conquerors, too, often considered themselves the masters in every way, and then: "C'est la guerre!" One day it is an officer who exacts a place with the family at dinner. Again, another demands the bedroom of the master of the house. Even worse, they change the furniture to suit themselves, and paint the floor "iron-gray," the color they seem to love so much. They even cover the family portrait with that of their Emperor!

REBELLIOUS CLOCKS

German time was from fifty to sixty minutes in advance of the French time. Every one of us made it a point of duty not to change his customary habits, the object being to show our conquerors that we were still French and always would be. One day a placard appeared, which read thus: "Public clocks must no longer keep a different time from that of Germany; they should indicate the German hour." Instantly, all the clocks of the public buildings, the churches, and the great houses were stopped: if they could not be French they should not be German. Then another placard appeared, commanding that all the clocks visible in the streets should be kept running and should indicate German time. Up to that moment the clock of Sacre-Coeur, which is in the interior of the church, had continued to keep French time. We had the satisfaction of seeing the clock of the Nouvelle Bourse, on the

Grand Place de Lille, renew the obstinacy of the dear old church of Strasbourg, as it was impossible to make it mark the German time exactly.

CHURCHES REQUISITIONED

By the requisition of our Catholic churches we were wounded in our patriotic and religious sentiments. Sometimes they were used for Protestant services, at others for German Catholic ceremonies. The manners of the invaders at times shocked us. On Good Friday a large number of us arrived at the church at 3 o'clock, the appointed time for the service. We found our church filled with Germans, and we were obliged to wait patiently until their service was ended. They even had not had the courtesy to tell us in advance that they were going to use that church at that hour. They did not even inform the Dean. Later, some one who spoke French announced to us that, for the future, every Sunday morning at 8 and 9 o'clock the church would be used by the Germans.

Heavy sentences were inflicted upon many of our priests. One was shot near Valenciennes; another was condemned to death, and it was only through the effort of Mgr. Chavost that the sentence was changed to penal servitude. Still another was put in prison. His food consisted of bread, water, soup, and black liquid, which resembled coffee. There was neither air nor light in his cell. His food was passed to him through the grating, he was permitted to go out every day for an hour with his head covered with a thick hood. At the end of several weeks he was unrecognizable; he was going to die, and as there was nothing against him for which he could be condemned, they released him. Since his awful punishment, however, the poor priest, who was formerly so ardent and enthusiastic, seems to have lost all power of speech.

FORCIBLE DEPORTATIONS

I have said how the different placards were read with mockery, but the one which appeared on Good Friday was not received in such a manner, but with anguish of soul. It announced the deportations. What impressive silence followed the reading of it! Each one

asked himself who would be the victims chosen. A placard had previously appeared, asking the workmen to present themselves, announcing that they would be sent to the zones back of the firing lines, and would be well paid and well fed. Notwithstanding all the alluring promises, the workmen failed to reply; the result was this notice on Good Friday proclaiming "proscription" and declaring that since the people had not accepted the first call willingly, force would now be used. Every one must be ready. Each person could carry thirty kilograms (about sixty pounds) of luggage, including blankets and cooking utensils. The notice ended with the words: "As the decision is irrevocable, it is to the interest of the population to be calm and obedient."

Friday night and Saturday there began the requisitioning of men, women, young men, and young girls. Oh, the frightful nights! How can one tell of this horror in such a way that the world will be able to realize the anguish? What quarter of the town would be exploited next, no one knew. Each one retired in fear and trembling, saying: "Will it happen to us tonight?"

At 3 o'clock in the morning soldiers were posted in certain streets which were dominated at each end by Gatling guns. The Germans entered the houses, and as each member appeared before them they pointed out which ones should accompany them, and told them to be ready to follow in half an hour. Then there was suffering not easy to imagine. I know a woman who saw her husband and her son of 16 years go; she was left all alone, without news of those she loved, for months. Think of the agony of parents in seeing their children depart in such a mysterious way—for what place, and with whom! Imagine the anguish of a mother who had two daughters, one 20, the other 16 years old, when a soldier said to her: "Choose which of the two you wish us to take away." At the end of eight days the proscription was ended. The priests hastened to announce the fact from the pulpits in order to calm the anxiety of those who remained.

SUFFERINGS OF VICTIMS

But what had become of those who had been torn from their homes? A girl who returned in October, six months after her departure, gave us some details. She said about 400 of them, men and women, slept the first night on the dirty straw taken from stables and still filled with the odors of animals. During the first days they were exceedingly unhappy. Generally, they were well fed, but there were terrible things to endure. If one refused to do what was commanded the punishment was severe. Some were beaten; others, who persisted in refusing to submit to the obligatory sanitary visits, disappeared, and no one ever knew what became of them.

In the way of punishment, men were fastened to posts and left there for hours under a beating rain. Some had to endure the "supplice de la caisse," which is as follows: The victim is pressed against a wall with his back to it, his arms are extended by his sides, a plank is placed in front of him from his neck to his feet, other planks of the same length are placed one on each side, the wall forms the fourth; these planks are then secured firmly, so that the prisoner cannot move and he is left there for hours. One man suffered this agony for ten hours on nine consecutive days; at the end of the ninety hours he dropped to the ground lifeless. Does not this torture make one think of savages more than of civilized men?

CRUELTY OF SEPARATION

The rich suffered the same as the poor; the old men, the women, and even children, had to submit to dreadful cruelty. One of our hardest trials was lack of news. No letters could be sent to or received from persons even in other invaded regions. Imagine the anguish of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and fiancés! Those who were dear to them were far away, exposed, wounded perhaps, and yet they could know nothing of their sufferings.

One mother had not heard a word from her three sons for more than two years. At rare times news would come by chance. One would learn of the

death of a husband or child, but mourning could not even be worn, for fear the Germans would know that a letter had been received. No details could be learned regarding the death of one's nearest and dearest. How distressing it was, and what risks the bearers of news would run! And what a terrible penalty they would pay if discovered! A man who was taken prisoner at the beginning of the invasion told me of his experience. He and his companions were obliged to march the entire day without food, excepting when they arrived at a field of carrots, and their conductors said: "Eat! These carrots are very good." They were taken to a place filled with ammunition and forced to work, guarded closely by the Germans, who told them if their friends, the French, should arrive, they would give them a hot reception.

EXPLOSION IN LILLE

The month of January, 1916, was particularly sad for those of us left in Lille, for at that time occurred the great explosion of a German powder magazine, destroying, in a moment, an entire quarter of the city. Every one was awakened that night horrified, thinking that bombs had surely struck us. Windows were broken everywhere, doors were torn from their hinges, some entirely destroyed. But in the vicinity of the powder mill what destruction, what affliction, what horror! If the great factories, numerous in that part of the city, were in ruins, how much greater was the devastation among the poor homes of the workmen! There were mothers weeping over their blind children, and many persons were buried under the ruins. The explosion was so terrific that at Douai and at Tournai doors were burst open. It was even felt in Holland, near Breda.

Our poor city is still less beautiful since this great calamity. As there is no glass to replace the broken windows, the openings are filled with paper or tarred canvas, consequently the light is still poorer; this causes suffering, but is nothing compared with the record of the wounded and dead, of which latter there were 109 victims. The funeral took

NIKOLAI LENINE



A new portrait of the head of the Russian Soviet Government, whose
real name is Vladimir Ilitch Ulyanov

GEORG TCHITCHERIN



Foreign Minister of the Russian Soviet Government

place for all at the same time. It was a pitiful sight; the caskets were placed in one of the squares of Lille, in front of the Church of St. Vincent de Paul. All those of authority were present. From the steps of the church the Archbishop said the prayers and gave absolution. The people wept as the 109 bodies were taken to the cemetery.

How often, indeed, had the poor Monseigneur to console his people! One time it was a bomb from an airplane, which killed a mother of nine children; another time, a part of a church was destroyed, wounding many. There were innumerable accidents of all kinds, caused by the different bombardments and by the aerial warfare, and at such times Monseigneur would hasten through the streets to console and to encourage.

WELCOME AIRPLANES

When the soldiers return from the war they will find much devastation and many vacant places in their home city. Yet, notwithstanding all the misfortunes which the airplanes bring, they are hailed with cries of joy, are cheered and followed with the eye as long as possible, for they are our friends up there—they come from our free France and bring to us a ray of hope; they seem to waft to us the pure air of our country. But tears follow these combats with the German planes; the wounded suffer atrociously before they die.

All this anguish, all these mental and physical sufferings, affect the health. One does not gain in flesh in an invaded region. * * * So many humiliating things are thrust upon us. Every conceivable thing to humble and crush us. No one can even go in the suburbs without a "laissez-passer." One waits through rain to obtain it. The German officer has the courtesy to whistle when he wishes to announce that his lordship is ready to receive in his office those who are waiting. Rich and poor fare alike, only with this difference, that for the rich the price of the pass, instead of the published rate of 1 franc, is 2 francs. Fines are imposed for everything, especially if the Tricolor is displayed in any way, in objects, flowers, &c.; how-

ever, they pretended not to see the three workmen who walked side by side, the first wearing a blue blouse, the second a white, the third a red. Our largest theatre, which was not completed at the time of the invasion, was opened by our enemy, and they had the audacity to invite our Mayor to the first presentation. Of course, one is obliged to submit to insults of all kinds.

UNDER GERMAN RULE

Our hostages at times are very unhappy; the régime which they are forced to follow is stupid. They are not treated as if they were men worthy of respect. Those seized on Nov. 1, 1916, especially have to submit to dreadful things. They are awakened by a bugle call at 5 o'clock in the morning. Unfortunate is the one who does not hear the signal and fails to obey. He must endure punishment—perhaps a walk of hours in the snow.

Women are not only punished in this way, but are also obliged to prepare food for the enemy; all receive the same treatment, including wealthy and refined women, the wives of those who were once our rich manufacturers, Magistrates, doctors, lawyers, &c. One refined young woman was put in with the lowest class of women, who were covered with vermin.

What will become of this poor invaded country! The safe deposit boxes in the bank in which the people had placed their most precious things are now guarded by Germans. No one has the right to take anything out except with their permission and at stated times. At Lille you can go to the bank twice a week at the hour indicated. You stand in line and wait until your time comes. The German officer watches the opening of the safe, and also what you take from it, and at times says, "I cannot permit it." He pronounced this famous phrase once when my sister wished to take some money from her box. If you have coupons you can cut them under the vigilant eye of the soldier. An employe of the bank comes down to the vault, makes a memorandum, pays the amount, then the documents are re-

turned to the safe. The German officer never stands at a distance of more than fifty centimeters.

LIFETIME'S SAVINGS GONE

People who have worked all their lives to have a peaceful old age have now lost everything. I, myself, have been obliged to accept the aid of friends. I do not know what would have become of me without their kind assistance. What will happen at the departure of our enemy from the old city? In low voices we have spoken of this to each other. Lately such terrible news has reached us through those who have seen the evacuation of other cities, where not a house, not an inhabitant, remains. Everything

is destroyed, everything burned, nothing left but the land, and what a devastated land!

The evacuation is a dreadful thought, the mind is so full of the horrors committed by the Germans at such a time. It is necessary to have seen in order to understand. However, there are proud words in the midst of these sufferings. At La Bassée, in the north, the German commander was astonished at the calmness of the population and said to the Mayor: "Monsieur the Mayor, your people have not the air of understanding their situation; they do not grasp the horror of it." The answer was, "Mon Commandant, they understand perfectly, but they suffer à la Française."

Germany's Debit and Credit

A German-American Summary

THE New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, in an editorial in its issue of Aug. 1, 1918, presented this balance sheet of what Germany had won and lost in four years of ruthless warfare. It is reproduced here as representing the sentiments of German-Americans throughout the United States:

Today four years ago, as Prince Lichnowsky has shown us, the German Military Party, by declaring war upon Russia, brought on a catastrophe under which the world must suffer unspeakably. Four years of gigantic struggle such as history never saw before. And what has Germany achieved during this four-year world war?

On the credit side of her ledger we find:

1. Germany has taken possession of nearly all of Belgium and a part—now growing ever smaller—of northern France.
2. She has taken rich booty and many prisoners.
3. Through the revolution and the subsequent early collapse of the Russian Empire, she has temporarily, through the outrageous treaty of Brest-Litovsk, enslaved the now helpless Russian people who are struggling for liberty.
4. Together with Austria-Hungary, Germany has well nigh destroyed Serbia and Montenegro and crippled Rumania.
5. She has helped Bulgaria and Turkey to increase their territory, and, as former Ambassador Morgenthau says in his series of articles in the current numbers of The World's Work, she encouraged the Turk-

ish military leaders, Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemal, to massacre over one million Armenians and other Christian inhabitants of contiguous territory.

6. She has sunk millions of tons of shipping and destroyed property worth billions, showing no regard for the lives of noncombatants, and not even for those of women and children.

7. The Military Party hindered the passage of the Election Reform bill and delayed the progress of democracy in blocking the Reichstag resolution for "no annexation and no indemnities."

All these are the "achievements" of German, under the whip of the Military Party. But what do we find on the other side of the ledger?

1. Germany has sacrificed the flower of her arms-bearing youth. Millions of her sons have fallen on the field of battle, have been crippled or taken prisoner—losses which cannot be made good by the greatest victories.

2. She has lost by far the greatest of her colonies in Africa and elsewhere, and has placed a burden of debt upon her people under which they will have to groan for decades to come.

3. She has completely demoralized her domestic commerce. She has brought her people to want and hunger and destroyed her foreign commerce for an indeterminate period. For the last four years her merchant flag has not been seen upon the seas of the world.

4. The acts of her army commanders and statesmen have brought the German name into disrepute in America. For

more than two hundred years German-Americans successfully endeavored to build here a new and happy home for themselves and their descendants, and took care that their name should be respected everywhere. Their industry and sense of duty became proverbial everywhere, and now in bitterness of heart they had to see that they were regarded with distrust. However, through their unshakable loyalty to the United States they have succeeded in retaining the confidence and good-will of their fellow-citizens. This in spite of the doings of the German Military Party.

5. Millions of the people of Germany are firmly convinced, even if they do not dare to speak of it openly, that the defeat of the present autocratic Government would be a blessing for them and

their posterity. They have at last seen through the motives of their rulers, whose purposes are selfish and aim at the suppression of their ideas of liberty and the forcing of their hated Government upon the whole world.

For a long time German-Americans were unable to see the peril, and rude was their awakening. Their sense of duty showed them the right course to pursue. They point with pride to their sons and grandsons fighting for them under the Star-Spangled Banner. And they will fight on until every danger is removed and the world relieved of a burden which lies upon it like an incubus, for it is only through the overthrow of the present German Government that the repetition of a similar world catastrophe can be prevented.

Twenty-eight Nations at War

State Department's Alphabetical List, Revised to End of Fourth Year of the Conflict

At the close of the fourth year twenty-four nations, large and small, had declared war on Germany or on Germany's allies, and twenty-eight nations in all were at war. Those which had severed diplomatic relations with one or more of the Central Powers without actually declaring war were Bolivia, Ecuador, Egypt, Peru, and Uruguay. Though Russia and Rumania had been forced to sign peace treaties, and were being divided and exploited by the Central Powers, they were still by no means out of the war. Only sixteen nations in the whole world, counting even tiny Andorra, and totaling less than one-sixteenth of the world's population, remained neutral, namely: Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Andorra, Switzerland, Afghanistan, Abyssinia, Mexico, San Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

The State Department's list of war declarations and diplomatic severances, revised to the middle of August, 1918, is given below:

Declarations of War

Austria against Belgium, Aug. 28, 1914.	France against Austria, Aug. 13, 1914.
Austria against Japan, Aug. 27, 1914.	France against Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
Austria against Montenegro, Aug. 9, 1914.	France against Germany, Aug. 3, 1914.
Austria against Russia, Aug. 6, 1914.	France against Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.
Austria against Serbia, July 28, 1914.	Germany against Belgium, Aug. 4, 1914.
Belgium against Germany, Aug. 4, 1914.	Germany against France, Aug. 3, 1914.
Brazil against Germany, Oct. 26, 1917.	Germany against Portugal, March 9, 1916.
Bulgaria against Serbia, Oct. 14, 1915.	Germany against Rumania, Sept. 14, 1916.
China against Austria, Aug. 14, 1917.	Germany against Russia, Aug. 1, 1914.
China against Germany, Aug. 14, 1917.	Great Britain against Austria, Aug. 13, 1914.
Costa Rica against Germany, May 23, 1918.	Great Britain against Bulgaria, Oct. 15, 1915.
Cuba against Germany, April 7, 1917.	
Cuba against Austria-Hungary, Dec. 16, 1917.	



MAP SHOWING TERRITORIAL STATUS OF THE WAR AT THE END OF THE FOURTH YEAR. SEE KEY IN LEFT-HAND CORNER

Great Britain against Germany, Aug. 4, 1914.

Great Britain against Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.

Greece against Bulgaria, Nov. 28, 1916 (Provisional Government).

Greece against Bulgaria, July 2, 1917 (Government of Alexander).

Greece against Germany, Nov. 28, 1916 (Provisional Government).

Greece against Germany, July 2, 1917 (Government of Alexander).

Guatemala against Germany and Austria-Hungary, April 22, 1918.

Haiti against Germany, July 15, 1918.

Honduras against Germany, July 19, 1918.

Italy against Austria, May 24, 1915.

Italy against Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1915.

Italy against Germany, Aug. 28, 1916.

Italy against Turkey, Aug. 21, 1915.

Japan against Germany, Aug. 23, 1914.

Liberia against Germany, Aug. 4, 1917.

Montenegro against Austria, Aug. 8, 1914.

Montenegro against Germany, Aug. 9, 1914.

Nicaragua against Germany, May 24, 1918.	Russia against Turkey, Nov. 3, 1914.
Panama against Germany, April 7, 1917.	San Marino against Austria, May 24, 1915.
Panama against Austria, Dec. 10, 1917.	Serbia against Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
Portugal against Germany, Nov. 23, 1914, (resolution passed authorizing military intervention as ally of England.)	Serbia against Germany, Aug. 6, 1914.
Portugal against Germany, May 19, 1915, (military aid granted.)	Serbia against Turkey, Dec. 2, 1914.
Rumania against Austria, Aug. 27, 1916, (allies of Austria also consider it a declaration.)	Siam against Austria, July 22, 1917.
Russia against Germany, Aug. 7, 1914.	Siam against Germany, July 22, 1917.
Russia against Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1915.	Turkey against Allies, Nov. 23, 1914.
	Turkey against Rumania, Aug. 29, 1916.
	United States against Germany, April 6, 1917.
	United States against Austria-Hungary, Dec. 7, 1917.

Severance of Diplomatic Relations

The nations that formally severed relations with Germany and her allies, whether afterward declaring war or not, are as follows:

Austria against Japan, Aug. 26, 1914.	Greece against Austria, July 2, 1917, (Government of Alexander.)
Austria against Portugal, March 16, 1916.	Guatemala against Germany, April 27, 1917.
Austria against Serbia, July 26, 1914.	Haiti against Germany, June 17, 1917.
Austria against United States, April 8, 1917.	Honduras against Germany, May 17, 1917.
Bolivia against Germany, April 14, 1917.	Nicaragua against Germany, May 18, 1917.
Brazil against Germany, April 11, 1917.	Peru against Germany, Oct. 6, 1917.
China against Germany, March 14, 1917.	Santo Domingo against Germany, June 8, 1917.
Costa Rica against Germany, Sept. 21, 1917.	Turkey against United States, April 20, 1917.
Ecuador against Germany, Dec. 7, 1917.	United States against Germany, Feb. 3, 1917.
Egypt against Germany, Aug. 13, 1914.	Uruguay against Germany, Oct. 7, 1917.
France against Austria, Aug. 10, 1914.	
Greece against Turkey, July 2, 1917, (Government of Alexander.)	

The Austrian Defeat on the Piave

German Correspondent's Word Picture

A war correspondent of the Neue Freie Presse of Berlin, writing from the Italian front in the last week of June, 1918, described the Austrian defeat at the Piave as follows:

SOUTH of Nervesa, in the plain near San Donà and Capo Sile, Col. Gen. Wurms's storm battalions are over the river and the canal. From Treviso General Diaz sends against them the 30th and 27th Corps, and Lieut. Gen. Croce's corps, newly formed from 18-year-old

youths. A most important objective is attained—the summit of the Italian hinge position is thrust through by the storming of the Montello. The rolling up of the whole of the Piave front from here appears possible—indeed, certain.

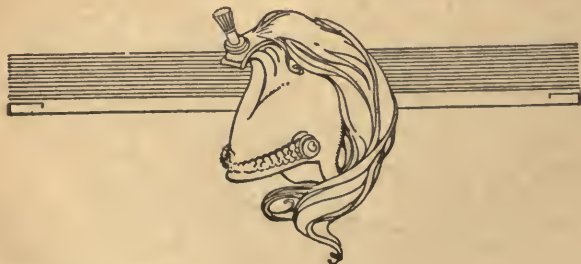
Nature then pronounces an inexorable

and cruel veto. Heaven opens and the deluge descends. The mountains foam, the crevasses made in them by time overflow as if weeping, and all the waters empty themselves into the Piave, which rises rapidly. The upper bridge is torn away by the irresistible pressure of the water, and the pontoons, loosened by the force of the waters, are driven against the lower bridge and pushed through it. The Italian artillery has in the bridges targets which cannot be missed for long. Fountains like the spouting of whales ascend from the river in ever quicker succession.

Suddenly airmen also appear. They come down silently from a great height in far-reaching volplanes. Now their motors hum again and their machine guns rattle. A hail of steel pelts down on the pontoons, which sink riddled. The guns of the defense bark from the bank and the fragments of their shrapnel endanger the lives of their own men, men whom they wish to protect. One, two, three of the great Caproni bombarding planes descend, shot down on the mud of the Montello. A Nieuport comes down like a torch hurled from heaven—the famous airman, Major Barracca is a heap of ashes. His list of victories is the same as that of his most victorious Austrian adversary, Captain Brumowsky, who conquered thirty-four opponents. Lieutenant von Hoffmann, in peace time a Ministerial official in Vienna, and his band dash against the biplanes. Like raging bulldogs the English now advance on their furiously swift Sopwiths against our airmen, engineers, artillery, and infantry. Nothing, absolutely nothing, avails. The enemy airmen are too numerous, the enemy's shells too many. Like Sisyphus multiplied a hundred-fold the bridge builders work incessantly; they

fall and disappear in the flood without a cry; they launch new pontoons; they think out new methods of transport from bank to bank—nothing helps; absolutely nothing avails. Six times are the bridges and footways completed, six times are they destroyed.

The divisions yonder on the green torse of the Montello, which resembles so completely in situation and importance the Podgera heights on the other side of the Isonzo, fight with an uncovered rear, without heavy artillery, without reinforcements in men, munitions, or provisions. Only one thing could now alter everything—namely, to carry the attack so far forward that the Piave crossings fall out of the range of the hostile artillery. Brave Hungarians and Lower Austrians burst out of conquered caverns, officers going first. Both Brigadiers of one division of Chasseurs fall—Major Gen. Bolzano and Brig. Col. Schimmerer. The attacking wedge presses deep into the mountain fastnesses; close to the summit the troops settle themselves firmly in the Italian trenches and caverns and wait not for dismissal or for their places to be taken by reinforcements, nor for munitions and food. Cartridges have been used up, hand grenades hurled away, the reserve ration eaten. What was found of the Italians' provisions was also consumed. Reinforcements, however, only come by dribblets. Chains of bearers bring boxes of ammunition from the river to the mountain, airmen throw bags of preserved food over the first line, but always in insufficient quantities. The one footbridge is repaired at last. The weather clears up; but renewed tempests of rain tear the bridge away again. Then the army command took the resolution, a hard but necessary one, to withdraw behind the Piave again.



Allied Intervention In Russia

United States and Japan Send a Joint Force to Siberia—Troops at Murmansk and Archangel

AN agreement was reached in July, 1918, between the United States and Japan, with the concurrence of the other Entente Governments, regarding joint intervention in Siberia. A plan of operations had been under discussion by the various Governments for several months. It was reported early in the year that France, Great Britain, and Italy advocated sending a large military expedition into Siberia and Russia via Vladivostok, but the United States withheld its assent, and Japan refrained from taking any action until it should have our Government's approval. Interchanges between the United States and the Allies continued for months, and it was not until late in July that a course of action was decided upon by the Washington authorities. Official declarations announcing the plan finally adopted were issued on Aug. 3 by the United States and Japan, and are printed herewith.

It was announced on Aug. 7 that Major Gen. William S. Graves, former Assistant Chief of the Army General Staff, had been selected to command the small American Expeditionary Force about to be landed at Vladivostok, and that the force consisted of the 27th and 31st Regiments of Infantry, hitherto stationed in the Philippines, with some additional troops from home ports, making a total of considerably less than 10,000. The Japanese sent an equal force, and Great Britain and France furnished small contingents. General Kikuzo Otani, one of Japan's most distinguished soldiers, was chosen to command the Japanese section, and, by virtue of his rank, became Commander in Chief of the expedition.

The primary object of this force was to lend aid and support to the Czechoslovak Army of perhaps 100,000 men in Siberia and Russia—the strongest Entente fighting element in the distracted

country—and to help it in re-establishing order, thus enabling Russia to resume its place in the war against Germany. The Bolshevik Government, with the armed assistance of former German and Austrian prisoners, was opposing the passage of the Czechoslovaks across the continent to the Pacific on their way to rejoin the Allies in France. This situation simplified the problem for the United States. A definite program was agreed upon, which promptly met the approval of the Japanese Government and was concurred in by the other allies.

AMERICAN DECLARATION

The text of the official announcement issued at Washington on Aug. 3 is as follows:

In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distresses. Such military intervention as has been most frequently proposed, even supposing it to be efficacious in its immediate object of delivering an attack upon Germany from the east, would, in its judgment, be more likely to turn out to be merely a method of making use of Russia than to be a method of serving her. Her people, if they profited by it at all, could not profit by it in time to deliver them from their present desperate difficulties, and their substance would meantime be used to maintain foreign armies, not to reconstitute their own or to feed their own men, women, and children. We are bending all our energies now to the purpose, the resolute and confident purpose, of winning on the western front, and it would, in the judgment of the Government of the United States, be most unwise to divide or dissipate our forces.

As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government

or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defense.

FORCE OF A FEW THOUSAND

With such objects in view, the Government of the United States is now co-operating with the Governments of France and Great Britain in the neighborhood of Murmansk and Archangel. The United States and Japan are the only powers which are just now in a position to act in Siberia in sufficient force to accomplish even such modest objects as those that have been outlined. The Government of the United States has, therefore, proposed to the Government of Japan that each of the two Governments send a force of a few thousand men to Vladivostok, with the purpose of co-operating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safeguarding, as far as it may be, the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czechoslovaks, and the Japanese Government has consented.

In taking this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy—and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter, but that what we are about to do has as its single and only object the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavors to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny. The Japanese Government, it is understood, will issue a similar assurance.

These plans and purposes of the Government of the United States have been communicated to the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and those Governments have advised the Department of State that they assent to them in principle. No conclusion that the Government of the United States has arrived at in this important matter is intended, however, as an effort to restrict the actions or interfere with the independent judgment of the Governments with which we are now associated in the war.

It is also the hope and purpose of the Government of the United States to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to

send to Siberia a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, Red Cross representatives, and agents of the Young Men's Christian Association accustomed to organizing the best methods of spreading useful information and rendering educational help of a modest kind in order in some systematic way to relieve the immediate economic necessities of the people there in every way for which an opportunity may open. The execution of this plan will follow and will not be permitted to embarrass the military assistance rendered to the Czechoslovaks.

It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Governments with which it is associated will, wherever necessary or possible, lend their active aid in the execution of these military and economic plans.

JAPANESE DECLARATION

The declaration by the Japanese Government was as follows:

The Japanese Government, actuated by sentiments of sincere friendship toward the Russian people, have always entertained most sanguine hopes of the speedy re-establishment of order in Russia and of the healthy, untrammelled development of her national life.

Abundant proof, however, is now afforded that the Central European Empires, taking advantage of the defenseless and chaotic condition in which Russia has momentarily been placed, are consolidating their hold on that country and are steadily extending their activities to Russia's eastern possessions. They have persistently interfered with the passage of Czechoslovak troops through Siberia. In the forces now opposing these valiant troops German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners are freely enlisted, and they practically assume a position of command.

The Czechoslovak troops, aspiring to secure a free and independent existence for their race and loyally espousing the common cause of the Allies, justly command every sympathy and consideration from the co-belligerents, to whom their destiny is a matter of deep and abiding concern.

In the presence of the danger to which the Czechoslovak troops actually are exposed in Siberia at the hands of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, the Allies have naturally felt themselves unable to view with indifference the untoward course of events, and a certain number of their troops already have been ordered to proceed to Vladivostok.

The Government of the United States, equally sensible of the gravity of the situation, recently approached the Japanese Government with proposals for

the early dispatch of troops to relieve the pressure weighing upon the Czechoslovak forces. The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desire of the American Government, have decided to proceed at once to make disposition of suitable forces for the proposed mission, and a certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok.

In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship, and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia, and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that upon the realization of the objects above indicated they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territory, and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military.

REACHING THE DECISION

In formulating his Russian policy the President consulted mainly with Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court and Colonel E. M. House of New York and Texas, his unofficial adviser on policies connected with the war, and on most other matters of public importance. He also had conferences on the Russian situation with the diplomatic representatives of allied nations and with emissaries of Russian groups of Czechoslovaks.

After the Russian collapse, when Japan, with the concurrence of Great Britain and France, proposed to the United States that Japanese troops should be sent to Vladivostok to protect the interests of the allied nations, the President expressed dissent as to the wisdom of this policy, and the Japanese Government thereupon assumed the attitude that it did not care to make any further overtures and would wait until the Allies could agree among themselves as to what was the best course of procedure. At the same time Japan reserved the right to take measures for protecting her own interests if they were threatened from Siberian territory. Since then no headway had been made by those anxious to bring about allied action to protect Russia from the Germans until the remarkable success of the Czechoslovaks in operations against former German and Austrian

prisoners of war in Siberia attracted the attention of President Wilson and furnished the foundation for a move by the United States.

Out of this Czechoslovak military progress grew the foregoing plan of the State Department. The President was anxious to avoid any course that would give ground for the charge that the United States or the other allies contemplated the exploitation of Russia or had any selfish purpose in dealing with that stricken country. When it was apparent that the sympathies of the Czechoslovaks were with the Russian people and that their only purpose in battling through Siberia against the former German and Austrian prisoners of war was to make their way to Vladivostok in order that they might find means of transportation to France and take their place in the fighting line, the President conceived his plan of using the Czechoslovaks as the basis for a policy of clearing Siberia of Teutonic influences without in any way running counter to Russian opinion. Then began the conferences and study out of which was born the plan announced.

NEW SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

The Russian Embassy at Washington issued a statement Aug. 5 announcing the formation of a new Government in Siberia, which was to form the nucleus of a movement to reunite the Russian people and restore that country to the side of the Allies. The statement follows:

Direct and authoritative information has been received by the Russian Embassy concerning the program and intentions of the groups which have newly revealed themselves in Siberia, and which without bloodshed or violence have succeeded the Soviets, the latter having disappeared naturally by the very fact of the vallant Czechoslovak troops liberating different cities and regions of Russia. It appears at present that the group in Vladivostok, known under the title of "The Siberian Temporary Government," is closely united and, in fact, does not differ in any way from the authorities established in Omsk, which seem to be but a part of the same Government.

The United Siberian Government states that it was elected on the 26th of January, 1916, by the members of a regional Sibe-

rian Duma—representative assembly. The point where this Government has temporarily transferred its centre is Vladivostok, the other members of it remaining at Omsk. A message from those at Omsk has just been received, stating that owing to combined efforts of the Czechoslovaks and the military organizations of the Siberian Government itself, the following cities have been liberated from the Bolsheviks: Marlinsk, Novo Nicolaievsk, Tomsk, Narime, Tobolsk, Barnaoul, Cam-palatinsk, Carcaralinsk, Atchinski, and Crasnoiarsk.

Everywhere the people belonging to different classes and political groups have manifested vivid interest and sympathy with the organization of their army, which is intended to re-establish, together with the Allies, a battlefront against Germany, and the formation of which is proceeding very successfully. Their relations with the Czechoslovaks are brotherly.

To that most valuable information the "Temporary Government of Siberia" adds a public statement of its political aims, which are: The creation of a Russian Army, well disciplined, in order to re-establish, in co-operation with the Allies, a battlefront against Germany. Siberia being an inseparable part of United Russia, the Temporary Government of Siberia believes it to be its first duty to safeguard, in the territory of Siberia, the interests of the whole of Russia, to recognize all the international treaties and agreements of Russia with friendly nations which were in force until Oct. 25, 1917, the moment of the Bolshevik uprising.

The Siberian Government is tending to re-establish government and order in Siberia and to start the reconstruction of a unified Russia and the creation of a central all-Russian authority which would be generally recognized.

AIMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKS

The following document was issued on behalf of the Czechoslovak National Council by Captain Vladimir S. Hurban, and presented at Tokio July 3, 1918, to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Baron Gato—also to the Ambassadors there:

The present situation may be thus summarized: The Czechoslovak fighting forces have been the object of attack on three sides—first, by the Germans, who desire to destroy them; second, by the Bolsheviks, whose aim is to destroy their national organization and who desire that they should join the Red Guards, and third, by the anti-Bolsheviks, who, lacking the courage to oust the Soviets, would have the Czechoslovaks shoulder the task. The result is serious conflicts between the

fighting forces of the Czechoslovaks and the Soviets. This conflict must be settled without involving the Czechs in Russian internal affairs for the following reasons: Our forces are acting in Russia according to the orders of the Czecho National Council, which can be modified only by M. Masaryk, the President, in agreement with the members of the council. The order is to transport the forces from the ex-Russian to the French front. The Czechoslovak Army is constituted of volunteers whose object is to fight Germany and Austria, liberate the Czechoslovak nation, and establish an independent State. We shall pursue this course to the last man; we desire above all to exhibit our determination on the battlefields of France.

The Czechoslovaks are a subjugated nation which is only now making the first steps toward liberation by paying blood tribute. It has no moral right to pursue a policy of protection with regard to such a State as Russia. No party in Russia, no class, is capable of establishing anything that will endure. Order must be re-established by force, a firm, energetic, but friendly and humane protecting force, which would open up to Russians the possibility of refunding themselves. For obvious reasons the Czechoslovaks cannot attempt to accomplish this; therefore their clear duty is to pursue the strategical movement toward France.

THE SITUATION CHANGED

An illuminating explanation of the new situation forced on the Czechoslovaks in Russia was issued July 27, 1918, by the Czechoslovak National Council at Washington, as follows:

There have been so many promising campaigns started in Russia during the last year of which nothing more is heard that the people in this country watch with a certain lack of confidence the successes of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia and Eastern European Russia.

Will they be permanent or will they come to nothing, as did the ill-fated campaigns of Korniloff, the Don Cossacks, the various Siberian governments and many others? Can the Czechoslovaks stand their ground, a hundred thousand men among a hundred million, and are they not themselves talking about withdrawing from Russia?

It is, of course, well known that the Czechoslovaks are not Russians; that they are a well organized and thoroughly disciplined force recruited from former Austrian soldiers of the Bohemian and Slovak races, who surrendered to the Russians. The Czechoslovak Army in Russia was created in order to fight the Germans and the Austrians, and when Russia deserted

the cause of the Allies arrangements were made by Professor T. G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council and by virtue of that Commander in Chief of the Czechoslovak forces, with the allied representatives in Russia and also with the Bolsheviks to march the Czechoslovaks out of Russia and take them to the western front.

It should be kept clearly in mind that occupation of Russian territory or the restoration of an eastern front was not thought of when these arrangements were made, in February, 1918. It was due to one of those German blunders, like the one that brought America into the war, that the Czechoslovaks, instead of withdrawing from Russia, are now in control of Siberia and of considerable territory west of the Urals.

Under pressure of Austrian and German demands Trotzky tried to disarm the Czechoslovaks and put them in prison camps, with a view of turning them over to the Austrian authorities. The Czechoslovaks, being attacked, had to defend themselves, and as a result found themselves in control of the greatest portion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Volga River. They were like Saul, who went to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom.

A NEW EASTERN FRONT

Professor Masaryk was by this time in America, and the Czechoslovak leaders, under the changed conditions, hesitated as to their course of action. The only orders they had were to take their forces to the Pacific. They had no desire to play policemen in Russia, and they realized that their position could not be indefinitely sustained unless they were assured of a steady flow of supplies. And yet the unparalleled strategic opportunities which their position gave them made a strong appeal to their imagination. This seems evident from the fact that, instead of withdrawing from European Russia, they occupied more cities on the Volga, stretching out their detachments in the direction of the Murman Coast.

A week ago Professor Masaryk received a lengthy cable report from the leader of the Czechoslovak forces in which the following words are found indicative of the present desires of these men:

"In our opinion it is most desirable and also possible to reconstruct a Russia-Germany front in the east. We ask for instructions as to whether we should leave for France or whether we should stay here to fight in Russia by the side of the Allies and of Russia. The health and spirit of our troops are excellent."

Professor Masaryk has since then instructed the forces in Siberia to remain there for the present. The question, how-

ever, of staying in Russia or getting out does not depend on the Czechoslovaks alone. That is something which must be decided by the Allies. The Czechoslovak Army is one of the allied armies, and it is as much under the orders of the Versailles War Council as the French or American Army. No doubt the Czechoslovak boys in Russia are anxious to avoid participation in a possible civil war in Russia, but they realize at the same time that by staying where they are they may be able to render far greater services, both to Russia and the allied cause, than if they were transported to France. They are at the orders of the Supreme War Council of the Allies.

ADVENTURES OF CZECH ARMY

Captain Vladimir S. Hurban, formerly of the Russian Army and now an officer of the Czechoslovak forces in Russia, arrived in Washington Aug. 3 from Vladivostok and gave an account of the experiences of his men. He told how after the peace treaty was signed by the Bolshevik Government, a Czechoslovak army of 50,000 men was in Ukraine. The Germans advanced against the Czechs in overwhelming numbers, and the Emperor of Austria sent a special envoy with the promise that if the Czechs disarmed they would receive amnesty and their lands would be made free. The answer was that they would have no dealings with the Austrian Emperor.

A battle with the Germans was fought for four days during the retreat from Kiev, and the Czechs were victorious to a point where the German commander offered a forty-eight hours' truce, which was accepted. In this battle the Czechs lost about 600 men, while 2,000 Germans were buried in one day.

Thus, the Czechs escaped from Ukraine and still maintained friendly relations with the Bolsheviks. They turned over arms, horses, automobiles, and other equipment which had been taken from the Germans to a large extent. Later at Irkutsk a train with 400 Czechs on board, armed with ten rifles and twenty hand grenades, was surrounded by several thousand Red Guards, equipped with machine guns and cannon. At a command in German, the Red Guards began firing. The Czechs jumped

from the train, and in five minutes, Captain Hurban says, all the machine guns were in their possession, the Rus-

sian Bolsheviks were disarmed, and all the Germans and Magyars "done away with."

Allied Forces at Murmansk and Archangel

"The Country of the North"

ALLIED intervention had already begun on July 15, 1918, at Murmansk, an ice-free arctic port northeast of Petrograd. The following day Rear Admiral Kemp of the British Navy proclaimed the occupation of the northern section of the Murman Railway by British, American, French, and Serbian forces, and announced that they would advance southward "in accord with the local Soviet authorities and at the request of the local population for help." The American contingent in this little army consisted of a small body of marines.

The primary object of the movement was to keep the large stores of American munitions and supplies at Kola, purchased by the old Russian régime, but never paid for, from falling into enemy hands. To this end the expedition took control of the Murman Railway connecting with Petrograd. Kem, a railway station on the White Sea, was captured, and the allied force continued southward, everywhere welcomed by the inhabitants. The Murman coast was formally declared to be Russian territory under allied protection.

Ambassador Francis and the allied legations removed from Vologda to Kandalaska on the White Sea in order to be within the zone protected by the expedition. M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister at Moscow, sent a note to Great Britain demanding the withdrawal of the Allies from Russian soil. It was ignored. Before leaving Vologda the allied legations notified the Bolshevik Government that they did not desire to maintain any kind of connection with the Soviet Government so long as that Government was supporting the German aims on Russian soil.

On Aug. 4 it was announced that allied forces had landed at Archangel,

on the south shore of the White Sea, and were in control of the coast from there northward to Murmansk. American troops formed part of the first detachment of this international force; it also included members of the Russian Officers' League. The people of Northern Russia greeted the presence of Americans with enthusiasm, knowing that the United States was without selfish interests in Russia. The population of Archangel received the troops with cheering. An anti-Bolshevist revolution had already taken place in that district, and the leaders of the movement had invited the presence of the allied troops.

The final resistance of the Bolsheviks had come on Aug. 3, when their local forces were defeated at the station of Ysakagorka, on the left bank of the Dvina. In their flight from Archangel they carried away 40,000,000 rubles in money and much other treasure, but left many supplies behind them. The bridges and railway lines were not damaged.

COUNTRY OF THE NORTH

The various anti-Bolshevist elements of the Russian population in the surrounding districts at once organized a Provisional Government of the Country of the North, with headquarters at Archangel, and with the volunteer support of the village Zemstvos of the whole region. The Government was composed of the following nine persons, all members of the former Russian Constituent Assembly: Tchoikawski of Viatka Government, Nomoff of Archangel, Masloff of Vologda, Gonkorsky of Novgorod, Kartacheff of Kazan, Stansenko of Samara, Sikhatcheff, who was the constituent representative from the Northern Russian front; Zoubof, former Assistant Mayor of Vologda, and Starzof, former President of the Archangel Duma.

This new Government on Aug. 7 announced its assumption of power in the following proclamation:

The power of the Bolsheviks is ended. Because of the treason to the country committed at Brest-Litovsk; because of famine, the failure to recognize the rights and liberties of the country; because of pillaging, illegal shootings and constant arrests, the power of the so-called Soviet, of traitors and criminals, is past. The representatives of the so-called people's Government have fled.

At the present moment, in the interests of all Russia, we take upon ourselves the duty of governing the Country of the North.

By this proclamation we inform the inhabitants that from today the power of government is confided to the supreme direction of the Government of the Country of the North, which is composed of members of the Constituent Assembly and representatives of the Zemstvos of this district, which considers itself as the supreme authority from now on to hand over power immediately after Russia has chosen her government and as soon as there is a possibility of freely communicating with her. The aims of the Government are:

1. Regeneration of Russia, the resumption of relations between Russia and other Governments, and the organization of local power with the Government of the North.
2. Defense of the region of the north and the whole nation against all territorial violation by Germany, Finland, and other enemies.
3. Reunion with Russia of the peoples taken from her.
4. Re-establishment of the two organs of the people, the Constituent Assembly, Municipal Dumas and Zemstvos.
5. Re-establishing legal order by the expressing of the will of the citizens and re-establishing political and religious liberty.
6. The security of the rights of agricultural workers.
7. Defense of the interests of labor in accordance with the political and economic interests of the north and the rest of Russia.
8. Suppression of famine.



REGION OF MURMANSK, KOLA, AND ARCHANGEL, WHERE ALLIED FORCES HAVE LANDED, ESTABLISHING THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW "EASTERN FRONT"

The Government counts upon the Russian, American, and British peoples, as well as those of other nations, for aid in combating famine and relieving the financial situation. It is recognized that intervention by the Allies in Russia's internal affairs is not directed against the interests of the people, and that the people will welcome the allied troops who have come to fight against the common enemy.

The Government, in making the present declaration, calls upon all the people to preserve calm and order.

Ambassador Francis and other allied representatives and their staffs left for Archangel on Aug. 7. The Entente Allies recognized that the permanence of the new Government would depend primarily upon their ability to save the inhabitants from famine. The Red Cross undertook at once to send large supplies of foodstuffs and other necessities, and measures were taken for the shipment of regular supplies from the United States to Archangel.

DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS

British representatives at Vladivostok, Murmansk, and Archangel on Aug. 8 published the following "Declaration of the British Government to the Peoples of Russia":

Your allies have not forgotten you. We remember all the services your heroic army rendered us in the early years of the war. We are coming as friends to help you save yourselves from dismemberment and destruction at the hands of Germany, which is trying to enslave your people and use the great resources of your country to its own ends.

We wish to solemnly assure you that while our troops are entering Russia to assist you in your struggle against Germany, we shall not retain one foot of your territory. We deplore the civil war that divides you and the internal dissensions that facilitate Germany's plans of conquest.

The destinies of Russia are in the hands

of the Russian peoples. It is for them, and for them alone, to decide their form of government and to find a solution for their social problems.

Peoples of Russia, your very existence as an independent nation is at stake. The liberties you have won in the revolution are threatened with extinction by the iron hand of Germany. Rally around the banner of freedom and independence that we, who are still your allies, are raising in your midst, and secure the triumphs of those two great principles without which there can be no lasting peace or real liberty for the world. * * *

We wish to aid in the development of the industrial and natural resources of your country, not with a view to exploiting them for our own benefit. We desire, too, to restore the exchange of commodities, to stimulate agriculture, and to enable you to take your rightful place among the free nations of the world. Our one desire is to see Russia strong and free, and then to retire to watch the Russian people work out their own destinies.

Remarkable Work of American Red Cross in Italy

The American Red Cross began its work in Italy with the visit of the commission headed by George F. Baker, Jr., in the Summer of 1917, but the real service, which has thrilled Italy, started at the tragic moment of the Austrian invasion in November. Under the terrible conditions of disease and starvation that followed, Ambassador Page asked Major Grayson M. P. Murphy to send aid quickly. Thus the emergency commission was dispatched to Italy, headed by Major Carey Taylor, assisted by Major Bernan I. Prentice, who expended 11,000,000 lire for immediate relief, besides buying quantities of supplies from France and America, placing orders for \$3,000,000 of supplies in Italy and opening warehouses at central points, each with a distribution capacity of 55,000 tons.

Seven weeks later came the permanent commission, headed by Robert Perkins, its work growing in the six months following on an unprecedented scale. There are thirty kitchens, serving 131,000 people; forty-three workrooms, employing over 3,000 women, who are producing

about 80,000 garments monthly; eighty-two nurseries, caring for over 13,000 children; nineteen health centres, containing 8,046 children; eighteen children's homes and Summer colonies where sickly children are restored to health and strength in the mountains or at the seaside, containing over 4,000 children, constantly shifting as each regains its health; twelve adult health centres, containing over 500 people, and fourteen workshops, employing about 400 people, who are making lace and shoes, and doing carpentering, &c.

Another form of relief consists of distribution of money gifts. This distribution in the month of April, 1918, reached 6,000,000 lire, granted especially to the needy families of soldiers. The distribution was made by representatives of the American Red Cross.

Motoring day and night, they covered the whole of Italy in three weeks, visiting over 2,000 towns and villages, and aiding 318,000 families. No fewer than 2,500 of these families, especially deserving, receive monthly small donations.

Bolshevists Clash With the Entente

Increasing Hostility Culminates in Arrest of Allied Consuls and Departure of Diplomats

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 15, 1918]

INTERVENTION by allied forces at Archangel and Vladivostok was followed at once by more or less veiled hostility on the part of the Bolshevik Government at Moscow. The Foreign Minister, M. Tchitcherin, sent insistent demands to the American Ambassador, Mr. Francis, and the allied diplomats that they should leave Vologda and come to Moscow. Disregarding these demands, Mr. Francis and his fellow diplomats removed to Archangel on July 25, within the protection of allied arms.

In a final message to the Russian Foreign Minister Ambassador Francis declared he had no desire to leave Russia unless forced to do so, and in any event his absence would be only temporary. The Consuls of the allied countries, he said, would remain in Russia. M. Tchitcherin said that the departure of the Ambassadors would not in the slightest alter the relations of Soviet Russia with the allied countries, and assured the acting American Consul General, Mr. Poole, that there was no reason why the Consuls and citizens of the allied nations should not remain in Russia.

A final message sent to Tchitcherin by Ambassador Francis, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, reviewed the correspondence that had led to the removal to Archangel and continued:

Your message expressing friendly feelings for the people I represent and the desire on your part to maintain relations with them is appreciated, but you will permit me to say that your treatment of me as their representative does not accord with such expressions. While I have refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, I have considered the Russian people were still our allies and have more than once appealed to them to unite with us in resisting the common enemy. I have, furthermore, recommended to my Government many times to send food to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people and to ship agricultural implements.

A wireless message sent from Washington on July 10 and received at Moscow was delivered to me after last midnight—July 24. It stated that no message had been received from me of later date than June 24 except one sent through Archangel on July 7 advising of the killing of the German Ambassador; it furthermore stated the department had cabled me often and fully. I have received no cable from my Government that was sent after July 3, except two wireless messages inquiring why they did not hear from me. I had cabled fully every day.

Moreover, the press of Vologda, and doubtless the entire press of Russia, had received an order to print nothing from any allied Ambassador or representative without first submitting the same to the Soviet Government. Some journals in Vologda and some in Petrograd did print your first telegram, inviting and ordering the Diplomatic Corps to come to Moscow, and our reply thereto; these were given to the press by myself and for the information of the Russian people, and because I thought secret diplomacy had been abolished in Russia.

Upon hearing that the press was forbidden to publish further correspondence concerning our removal to Moscow, the Diplomatic Corps decided to have printed in pamphlet form in Russian the entire correspondence on the subject, together with some excerpts from the stenographic report of an interview between your representative, Radek, and myself. These pamphlets have been ready for delivery for two days past, but we are informed that the Central Soviet Committee or the extraordinary revolutionary staff of Vologda has prohibited the delivery of the same to us.

ARREST OF CONSULS

The next development came on Aug. 10, when the Bolshevik authorities in Moscow arrested Robert H. B. Lockhart, Acting Consul General of Great Britain in that city, with six Britishers attached to his staff and several French diplomatic agents. The reason for this act, it was intimated, was that British forces had fired upon Bolsheviks at the time of landing at Archangel. Great Britain

promptly responded by placing under arrest M. Litvinoff, the Bolshevik emissary in London. Lenine had stated repeatedly in private conversation on July 29 that the situation amounted to a state of war with the Entente, but had refused to make a formal declaration to that effect. At Great Britain's demand Mr. Lockhart and those with him were released a few days after their arrest.

New light on the crisis was furnished by a series of dispatches which the State Department at Washington received on Aug. 14 from De Witt C. Poole, Jr., the United States Consul at Moscow. After the arrest of the British and French Consuls, Mr. Poole, fearing that his own consulate would be violated, destroyed all his code books and records and turned over the care of American interests to the Swedish Consul General in Moscow. The British and Japanese interests were placed in the same hands at that time. Permission to leave the country was refused to the British and French military missions in spite of a previous promise of safe conduct.

The allied consular body called upon Foreign Minister Tchitcherin for a public statement of what he had told them personally—that his Government desired to continue its relations with the Entente. Mr. Poole's narrative continues:

On the night of Aug. 2 a reply was received from Tchitcherin. It stated that inasmuch as Lenine's utterances were made behind closed doors in a meeting at which an agent of the Allies could be present only owing to a special courtesy on the part of the Soviet Government, public explanations could not be given about a non-public utterance. As to the members of the military mission, Tchitcherin said that negotiations had been begun with the German authorities to procure safe passage from Petrograd to Stockholm for these officers, passage through Archangel being impossible because British cruisers had already begun the bombardment of the islands covering Archangel.

Referring to the arrests of British and French citizens at Moscow, Mr. Poole said that on the afternoon of Aug. 5 there was a conference between Tchitcherin and the Consuls General of Japan, Sweden, and the United States, with the following results:

First, the Soviet Government gave

solemn assurances that allied persons having diplomatic or official character would not be molested; second, Tchitcherin stated that the allied military missions would not be allowed to depart as had already been promised; third, that civil persons arrested were hostages for the lives of Soviet members in territory occupied by the Allies. Tchitcherin said that these persons were civil prisoners arrested in accordance with the practices of war, for internment. He added that no responsibility would be assumed for their future safety because Great Britain and France had attacked Archangel without a declaration of war.

Mr. Poole answered that he was without knowledge of what had taken place in the north, but warned Tchitcherin that the peoples of the allied nations could not be intimidated, and that the initiation of a system of reprisals by the Soviet Government could only result in individual members of the Government being held personally responsible, and in the loss by the Bolshevik cause of whatever respect it might now have in the minds of the civilized world.

On Aug. 15—the date of going to press with these pages—the Lenine-Trotsky Government, under German pressure, still stood on the threshold of open war with the Entente Allies. There were increasing signs that the whole Bolshevik régime was on the verge of collapse. Soviet troops were reported to be evacuating Moscow, and the gold reserves in the basement of the Kremlin had been removed to an unknown place. Throughout Russia there were indications of uprisings against the Bolsheviks and of growing support for the Entente cause.

WAR WITH CZECHOSLOVAKS

In the middle of July a portion of the Czechoslovak forces, estimated at 40,000 to 50,000 men, held the railway line from Samara to Irkutsk, Siberia. Another portion was in possession of Vladivostok. According to a Vladivostok report half a million prisoners of war were distributed in Siberia, while the main body of the Soviet troops was probably concentrated in the region of Lake Baikal and near Chita. On July 26 the Czechoslovaks were reported to



The British Imperial War Conference of 1918, which held its first meeting in London on June 12. Back row, left to right: A. Meighen, Canada; Sir J. Ward, New Zealand; N. W. Rowell, Canada; Sir G. Fiddes, British Colonial Office; W. A. S. Hewins, M. P., British Colonial Office; Gen. Aston, British War Office; Sir S. P. Sinha, India; H. Burton, South Africa; J. Calder, Canada; H. Lambert, Conference Secretary; E. Harding, Assistant Secretary. Front row, left to right: W. F. Lloyd, Newfoundland; W. F. Massey, New Zealand; the Maharajah of Patiala, India; Sir R. B. Borden, Canada; W. H. Long, British Colonial Secretary; W. M. Hughes, Australia; Gen. Smuts, South Africa; J. Cook, Australia; E. S. Montagu, Secretary for India.

(Western Newspaper Union)



The Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Front row, left to right: Senators Beckham, Chamberlain, (Chairman,) Hitchcock, and Fletcher. The others, left to right: Wadsworth, New, Sutherland, Hoke Smith, McKellar, Weeks, (with mustache,) Sheppard, (below Weeks,) Kirby, and Johnson.

(© Harris & Ewing)

have captured the City of Simbirsk on the right bank of the Volga. Commenting upon the fall of the town, Pravda, the official organ of the Bolshevik Party, said:

The rising is spreading like a patch of oil on water. May the capture of Simbirsk awaken the sleepers. Simbirsk was one of the bases of the council's power, and also the corn granary. The danger is growing. It is war. The enemy is numerous and well organized. If the fall of Samara has not awakened the workers, may the fall of Simbirsk make the proletariat tremble for the fate of the proletariat revolution.

Several days later the Czechs captured three cities in the Caucasus, and also Syzran, with the aid of the Russian White Guards. Yekaterinburg, where the Czar was executed, was also occupied by them. On July 29 they occupied Shmakova. Early in August, however, General Horvath declared that the Czechoslovak forces were in a desperate position in the region of Irkutsk, where they were surrounded by Bolshevik and Magyar troops, and that they were outnumbered midway between Nikolsk and Khabarovsk.

Four companies of French soldiers and one of Annamites from China and Indo-China arrived in Vladivostok Aug. 9 headed by Commandant Mallet. A company of Czechoslovak soldiers, with a band, greeted them. Courtesy calls were exchanged by General Paris of the French Military Commission; M. André, French Consul; General Diedrichs, commander of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia, and representatives of the local Russian Government and Zemstvos.

On Aug. 12 the British forces which had been landed at Vladivostok joined the Czechoslovaks at the River Usuri. The Japanese advance forces also effected a junction with the Czechs.

SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

At this writing (Aug. 15, 1918) the non-Soviet centre of Governmental authority in Siberia appears to be the so-called Temporary Government of Autonomous Siberia. This body was elected on Jan. 26, 1918, (Feb. 8, New Style,) in the City of Tomsk at a session of the Siberian Duma in which the various ele-

ments of the population were represented. Its head is P. Y. Derber, President of the Council of Ministers. When the Bolsheviks occupied Tomsk, the seat of the Government was transferred to Harbin and subsequently to Vladivostok, after this city was taken by the Czechoslovaks. In April the Temporary Government announced as its program the re-establishment of order in the country, the restoration of the front against the Germans, and the convocation of a Siberian Constituent Assembly. The political situation in Siberia was complicated by the act of General Horvath, who proclaimed himself dictatorial head of a new All-Russian Government. On Aug. 5 he was reported to have opened negotiations with the temporary Government at Vladivostok.

In the middle of June the Soviet Government was reported to have declared war on "the counter-revolutionary Government of Siberia." On Aug. 5 Pravda and Izvestia declared that the temporary Siberian Government intended to declare war on the Soviet Government.

ALLIES AT ARCHANGEL

With the landing of allied forces at Archangel a new anti-Bolshevik Government came into being, namely, the Supreme Government of the Northern Territory. The proclamation issued by it early in August was signed by the members of the abortive Constituent Assembly, representing the provinces of Novgorod, Archangel, Vologda, Viatka, Kazan, and Samara. The new Government abolished all the Soviet institutions and ordered the arrest of the Soviet officials. It re-established the organs of municipal self-government and the zemstvos, empowering them to control the food supply. The judicial institutions were restored and co-operatives, labor unions, and war organizations were allowed to function freely. The new Government continued to carry out the Bolshevik policy of nationalizing various branches of industry and finance.

Late in July the Governments of the Don and Astrakhan regions signed a treaty pledging themselves to work for the formation of the Federal State of Russia and to fight Bolshevism within



MAP SHOWING THE FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE, WHICH IS SOUGHT TO BE RECLAIMED FOR THE ENTENTE CAUSE BY MEANS OF ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCES LANDED AT VLADIVOSTOK, MURMANSK, AND ARCHANGEL. (1) INDICATES REGION FIRST RECLAIMED BY ALLIES; (2) SHOWS REGION OF GREATEST CZECHOSLOVAK ACTIVITIES

their territory and in Ciscaucasia. About the same time the Fifth National Congress of Turkestan proclaimed Turkestan an independent republic allied to Russia. The territory of the new State includes the provinces of Semirechensk, Syrdaria, Turgai, Samarkand, Khiva, and Bokhara.

Late in July the Soviet troops definitely abandoned the City of Orenburg, in Eastern Russia. A new Government, headed by General Dutov, was created in that region.

RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS' APPEAL

On July 31 the representatives of the Social Revolutionary and Social Democratic Parties of Russia issued an appeal to the Socialists of Europe, signed on behalf of the former organization by Nicholas Rusanov and on behalf of the latter by Paul Axelrod, both veteran leaders of revolutionary thought and action in Russia. The appeal proposes an international Socialist commission to go to Russia and make the investigations necessary to answer the following questions:

1. Are we right, yes or no, when we declare that the Bolshevik Government has degenerated into an instrument of reaction and, although it hides behind the words "the will of the workmen and peasants," does not shrink from the most extreme and violent measures of oppression directed against these same workmen and peasants?

2. Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevik Government has now no other aim than to preserve at all costs its own power, and that with this object it is ready to sacrifice all the conquests of the revolution and take refuge in a state of terrorism directed, not against the bourgeoisie, but against the other Socialist parties and the mass of the proletariat and peasants whom they represent, and that, finally, eager to justify itself in the eyes of the foreign conqueror, it has not hesitated in connection with the Mirbach incident to lay at his feet the dead bodies of 200 of its own Social Revolutionary countrymen?

3. Are we right when we declare that Bolshevism has done nothing to apply Socialist principles and has only succeeded in destroying industry and bringing about universal unemployment and starvation?

4. Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevik Government denies us every possibility to open discussion or to struggle for what we consider to be

Russia's only hope of salvation, namely, the summoning of the Constituent Assembly and the re-establishing of popular means of local administration—in a word, the placing of all power in the hands of the people?

5. Are the Bolsheviks right when they assert that all other Russian Socialist parties are seeking, not to free the working classes from the despotic oppression of a small minority, but, in concert with the bourgeois and monarchist elements, to bring about a counter-revolution?

NUMEROUS EXECUTIONS

Upward of two hundred Social Revolutionists were executed for participating in the assassination of Ambassador von Mirbach, July 6. Among them were Alexandrovich, Katz-Kamkov, and Miss Spiridonova, all noted revolutionary leaders. The following is an eyewitness account of the German Ambassador's assassination:

Count Mirbach, Privy Councilor Rlesler, and Lieutenant Müller were seated with the two Russians at a marble table in the middle of the room. On one side were the Germans and on the other the Russians. All were seated in low leather chairs, which was an advantage for the Russians, as they were thus able to get their weapons ready under the marble table without being observed, while their victims, leaning back in their chairs, offered an easy target. During the conversation the Russians began to turn over the pages of their documents as though in search of some missing paper, and the attention of the Germans was thus distracted by this pause. While Count Mirbach and his colleagues imagined that the Russians were examining the documents they had drawn out their weapons under the cover of the table. They then sprang up with revolvers and began firing, one Russian aiming at Count Mirbach, the other at the two other Germans. Count Mirbach was hit in the back of the head. On hearing the shots people hurried in from the neighboring rooms, and the Russians thereupon took to flight, but before jumping out of the window each of them hurled a hand grenade. Only one exploded, the splinters of which hit Count Mirbach, killing him immediately.

Dr. Karl Helfferich, former German Vice Chancellor, was appointed to succeed von Mirbach as Germany's diplomatic representative in Russia. The new Ambassador went to Russia accompanied by a battalion of German soldiers. It was reported on Aug. 13 that he had fled from Moscow in the dead of the

night, fearing the Social Revolutionists. He had previously informed the Soviet Government that he would move the embassy from Moscow to Pskov for safety's sake. Commenting on this circumstance, the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin says: "The state of things Dr. Helfferich found in Moscow may best be judged from the fact that the Soviet Government, of its own accord, relieved him of the duty of paying the customary official visit on his arrival to deliver his credentials."

BOLSHEVIST TROUBLES

The increasing difficulties facing the Lenin-Trotsky Government were reflected in the following resolutions, adopted on July 30 by a joint session of the Main Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, and a number of labor organizations:

First—The Socialist fatherland is in danger.

Second—The chief tasks at the present moment are the repulse of the Czechoslovaks and the obtaining of grain.

Third—The most powerful agitation must be started among the laboring classes to explain the gravity of the situation.

Fourth—Vigilance must be increased against the bourgeoisie, who everywhere are joining the counter-revolutionists. The Soviet Government must protect itself, and to that end the bourgeoisie must be placed under control and mass terror put into practice against them.

Fifth—The general watchword must be death or victory, with mass expeditions for bread, mass military organization, the arming of workmen, and the exertion of all strength to fight against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Speaking before the Main Executive Committee two days previously Lenin had insisted that the foremost task of the revolution was to crush the Czechoslovaks and their counter-revolutionary partisans. Following him, Trotsky declared that the Czechs could be easily outnumbered by the Red Guards, but that the officers were unreliable. "Every officer in command," he said, "must be watched on both sides by War Commissioners with revolvers in hand."

The Fifth Congress of the Soviets agreed upon the following principles with regard to the Red Army:

Obligatory military training and obligatory service;

The creation of local bodies, such as military commissariats, for regions, provinces, districts, and communes, the formation of which is intrusted to the Local Councils;

Centralization so far as reciprocal relations are concerned;

The registration of all war property and materials;

The formation of autonomous military units is prohibited;

The utilization of experts from among the old army, and their collaboration will become obligatory after the general registration of all ex-officers and technical military experts;

The commissariats are to have constant supervision over the Red Army, so that it may always be in accord with the interests of the régime of the workmen and peasants. The new organization must be permeated with the ideas of the workmen and peasants, and by the spirit of the revolution; military schools will serve for this purpose, to which only elements favorable to the Red Army will be admitted. A revolutionary discipline of iron will be maintained. The bourgeoisie will be employed only for auxiliary service, so long as the exploiting classes are not rendered completely inoffensive.

A manifesto was issued urging the ruthless extermination of counter-revolutionists and declaring that peasants retaining grain would be arraigned before revolutionary courts, while illicit traders would be shot.

ASSASSINATION OF EICHHORN

Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the German commander in the Ukraine, and his adjutant, Captain von Dressler, were killed by a bomb in the streets of Kiev on July 30, 1918, while driving to their headquarters. The assassination was a terrorist act of the Social Revolutionists of the Left. It was committed by a youth of 23 named Boris Danskoï, who was arrested on the spot. Hetman Skoropadski issued a manifesto in which he deplored the fact that "a great friend of Ukrainian independence had fallen by the hand of the enemy." Another act ascribed to the Social Revolutionists of the Left was an explosion at Kiev which resulted in the death of 700 German soldiers. General Count Kirchbach succeeded von Eichhorn as German commander in the Ukraine. He arrived in Kiev early in August.

In the middle of July a great railway strike broke out in the Ukraine. Two hundred thousand men were reported to be taking part in it. The strike was directed against Skoropadski's rule and the Central Powers. The strikers demanded the restoration of constitutional liberties, the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and the stopping of export of food to the Central Empires. They denounced the German punitive expeditions against the revolted peasants. One of their proclamations contained this passage:

The enemy is despoiling us and stealing our bread in order to continue fighting. All this delays the revolution in the west. Comrades, we have put up with the Kaiser's dogs long enough. Cease railway traffic and thereby help thousands of armed peasants to overrun the towns at a given moment.

The strikers attempted to kill the Railway Minister, and sentenced to death other high officials. M. Stelshenko, former Minister of Education in the Ukrainian Cabinet, was shot at Poltava.

Sporadic resistance of the peasants to their German masters continued. Late in July 75,000 peasants were said to be under arms. Early in August the peasant army in one section of the Ukraine was estimated at 25,000. The Ukrainians resisted the food requisitions by burning their grain supplies and killing their cattle. As before, the Teutons ruthlessly crushed the uprisings. Germany continued to send fresh troops to the country under the pretext of disarming the rebels. The position of the population under the Teuton military rule is one of slavery. According to a report dated Aug. 5 the Austrian military commander in Volhynia ordered all men between the ages of 15 and 50 to do compulsory agricultural work five days a week for eight to ten hours a day.

FINLAND'S ATTITUDE

Observers reported the growth of hostility toward Germany among the masses of Finland as a result of the food situation, and of the recent military reverses of the Central Powers. General Mannerheim, the former commander of the Finnish White Guards, openly pro-

nounced himself against German domination in Finland.

Germany continued its efforts to force a German King upon Finland. According to a dispatch, dated Aug. 13, the election of a King was to take place in September, the candidates for the throne being the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and Prince William of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. There was strong opposition to the monarchistic idea among the people. The Diet, which, under the obsolete law of 1772, is to elect the King, consists of 102 members instead of 200, all its Socialist members but one having been arrested. Late in June General von der Goltz addressed an ultimatum to the Senate, threatening to withdraw the troops and leave the Finnish Government at the mercy of the revolutionists if it failed to establish the monarchistic order.

On Aug. 4 a Finnish delegation in Berlin presented Emperor William with the Grand Cross of the Order of Liberty. The Kaiser gratefully accepted the decoration and said that he was deeply touched by this token of the union of his country and Finland. In his speech made on this occasion the Kaiser expressed the hope that the Finno-German co-operation in securing Finland's independence might lead to a cordial relationship between two progressive peoples struggling for their freedom. "By our deeds," he added, "we succeeded without much talking in accomplishing what our enemies never tire of proclaiming as their aim, but which they never intend to realize, namely, the protection of small nations in their struggle for freedom."

Peasant uprisings were reported in Esthonia. On July 26 the President of the Provisional Government of Esthonia telegraphed to the French Foreign Minister congratulating him upon the recent allied victories and expressing hope for the liberation of Esthonia. Early in July the Lithuanian National Council published a protest against Germany's annexationist tendencies with regard to Lithuania, stating that the people of Lithuania were ready to oppose such tendencies with all means at their disposal.

DEATH OF FORMER CZAR

On July 20 a Russian Government wireless dispatch announcing the assassination of the former Russian Emperor was received by the Admiralty in London. It read as follows:

At the first session of the Central Executive Committee, elected by the fifth Congress of the Councils, a message was made public that had been received by direct wire from the Ural Regional Council concerning the shooting of the ex-Czar, Nicholas Romanoff.

Recently Yekaterinburg, the capital of the Red Urals, was seriously threatened by the approach of Czechoslovak bands and a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered which had as its object the wresting of the ex-Czar from the hands of the council's authority. In view of this fact, the President of the Ural Regional Council decided to shoot the ex-Czar, and the decision was carried out on July 16.

The wife and the son of Nicholas Romanoff have been sent to a place of security.

Documents concerning the conspiracy which was discovered have been forwarded to Moscow by a special messenger. It had been recently decided to bring the ex-Czar before a tribunal to be tried for his crimes against the people, and only later occurrences led to delay in adopting this course.

The Lokal-Anzeiger of Berlin published a detailed account of the execution. The condemned Czar was awakened at 5 o'clock in the morning and informed that he would be executed in two hours. Nicholas received the news with outward calmness. He spent some time with a priest in his bedroom and wrote several letters. When the patrol came to take him out for execution, he was found, according to this German account, in a state of collapse. Assisted by the priest and a soldier, he descended the stairs, once sinking to the ground.

The former Emperor's last words, uttered just before the executioners fired, are reported to have been: "Spare my wife and my innocent, unhappy children. May my blood preserve Russia from ruin."

Nicholas was transferred from Tobolsk, Siberia, to Yekaterinburg in May, 1918. According to the official account given by Commissary Yakovlev, Commander of the Ural troops, the former Czar left Tobolsk together with his wife, his daughter Marie, Prince Dolgoruki, Professor Botkin, formerly the chief Court physician, and the Court Lady Demidova, while the former heir, Alexis, the other three daughters, Tatishchev, and the remaining attendants, forty in all, remained in Tobolsk.

Having considered the circumstances under which the Ural Soviet took the decision of executing Nicholas, the Presidency of the Central Executive Committee passed the following resolution: "The Russian Central Executive Committee, in the person of its President, accepts the decision of the Ural Regional Soviet as being regular." A decree issued by the Bolshevik Government on July 17 declared all the property, including deposits in foreign banks, of the former Emperor, his wife, his mother, and all other members of the imperial house forfeit to the Soviet Republic.

The Russian press, including Socialist papers, condemned the execution as a cruel and unnecessary act. The allegation that the Czechoslovaks were going to carry off the former Czar was made, according to the newspapers, for the double purpose of bringing disrepute upon the Czechs and furnishing an excuse for the execution.

The Bolshevik "Declaration of Rights"

Draft of Socialist Constitution

THE Lenine Government at Moscow, known to its adherents as the Council of People's Commissaries, prepared in the Summer of 1918 a "Declaration of Rights" and a preliminary

draft of a Constitution, both of which were to be presented by a special commission for adoption by the fifth Pan Russian Congress of Soviets. The document was printed in the official Bolshe-

vist organ, Pravda, and its more important parts were republished in German by the Vossische Zeitung of Berlin, from which the English translation given below was made. In reproducing it here CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE leaves the reader to make his own comments on Bolshevik acts as compared with the principles and assertions contained in the document:

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LABORING HUMANITY.

Approved by the Commission of the Central Committee for drafting the Constitution of the Soviets.

We, the working people of Russia, laborers, peasants, Cossacks, soldiers and sailors, united in the councils of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates, declare in the persons of our plenipotentiary representatives, who have assembled at the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets, the following rights and duties of the working and despoiled people:

The economic subjection of the laboring classes by the possessors of the means and instruments of production, of the soil, machines, factories, railways, and raw materials—these basic sources of life—appears as the cause of all sorts of political oppression, economic spoliation, intellectual and moral enslavement of the laboring masses.

The economic liberation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism represents therefore the greatest task of our time and must be accomplished at all cost.

The liberation of the working classes must and can be the work of those classes themselves, who must unite for that purpose in the Soviets of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates.

In order to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that it is necessary to destroy the existing social structure, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to substitute for it a socialistic structure. Then the whole earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

Only by giving society a socialistic structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed; only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men—placed upon an equality as to rights and duties—will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem, and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertions of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the workingmen of other countries who have risen against the capitalist structure of society.

The working class of Russia, true to the legacy of the Internationale, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all the means of production in the hands of the socialistic State and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

LAND HOLDINGS ABOLISHED

The first steps in that direction were:

1. Abolition of property in land, declaration of the entire soil to be national property, and the distribution of it to the workmen without purchase money, upon the principle of equality in utilizing it.

2. Declaration as national property of all forests, treasures of the earth and waters of general public utility, and all the belongings, whether animals or things, of the model farms and agricultural undertakings.

3. Introduction of a law for the control of workmen and for the nationalization of a number of branches of industry.

4. Nationalization of the banks, which heretofore were one of the mightiest instruments for the spoliation of society by capital.

5. Repudiation of the loans which were contracted by the Czar's Government upon account of the Russian people, thereby to deal a blow to international capital as one of the factors chiefly responsible for the war.

6. Arming of the laborers and peasants and disarming of the propertied classes.

7. Besides all this, the introduction of a universal obligation to work, for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society, is planned.

As soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic association, in which the development of every single individual will appear as the condition for the development of all men; as soon as the old bourgeois state, with its classes and class hatred, is definitely superseded by a firmly established socialistic society, which rests upon universal labor, upon the application and distribution of all productive forces according to plan, and upon the solidarity of all its members, then, along with the disappearance of class differences, will disappear also the necessity for the dictatorship

of the working classes for State power as the instrument of class domination.

These are the immediate internal problems of the Soviet Republic.

In its relations to other nations the Soviet Republic stands upon the principles of the first Internationale, which recognized truth, justice, and morality as the foundation of its relations to all humanity, independent of race, religion, or nationality.

The Socialist Soviet Republic recognizes that wherever one member of the family of humanity is oppressed all humanity is oppressed, and for that reason it proclaims and defends to the utmost the right of all nations to self-determination, and thereby to the free choice of their destiny.

It accords that right to all nations without exception, even to the hundreds of millions of laborers in Asia, Africa, in all colonies and the small countries who, down to the present day, have been oppressed and despoiled without pity by the ruling classes, by the so-called civilized nations.

The Soviet Republic has transformed into deeds the principles proclaimed before its existence. The right of Poland to self-determination having been recognized in the first days of the March revolution, after the overturn in October the Soviet Republic proclaimed the full independence of Finland and the right of the Ukraine, of Armenia, of all the peoples populating the territory of the former Russian Empire, to their full self-determination.

In its efforts to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the Soviet Republic declared itself a Federal Republic and offered to the laborers and peasants of every nation the opportunity to enter as members with equal rights into the fraternal family of the Republic of Soviets (through action taken) independently in the plenipotentiary sessions of their Soviets, to any extent and in whatever form they might wish.

TO WAR AGAINST WAR

The Soviet Republic has declared war upon war, not only in words, but also in deeds; and in doing so it formally and in the name of the working masses of Russia announced its complete renunciation of all efforts at conquest and annexation, as well as all thought of oppressing small nations. At the same time the Soviet Republic, to prove the sincerity of its purposes, broke openly with the policy of secret diplomacy and secret treaties, and it proposed to all belligerent nations to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free self-determination of peoples. That standpoint is still firmly adhered to by the Soviet Republic.

Compelled by the policy of violence practiced by the imperialisms of all the world, the Soviet Republic is marshaling its forces

for resistance against the growing demands of the robber packs of international capital, and it looks to the inevitable rebellion of the working classes for the solution of the question of how the nations can live peacefully together. The international Socialist rebellion alone, in which the laboring people of each State overthrow their own imperialists, puts an end to war once for all and creates the conditions for the full realization of the solidarity of the working people of the entire world.

Taking its stand upon the principles of the Internationale, the Soviet Republic recognizes that there can be no rights without duties and no duties without rights, and therefore proclaims at the same time with the right of the working classes in a rejuvenated society the following outline of their duties:

1. To fight everywhere and without sparing their strength for the complete power of the working classes, and to stamp out all attempts to restore the dominion of the despoilers and oppressors.

2. To assist with all their strength in overcoming the depression caused by the war and the opposition of the bourgeoisie, and to co-operate in bringing about as speedy a recovery as possible of production in all branches of economy.

3. To subordinate their personal and group interests to the interests of all the working people of Russia and the whole world.

4. To defend the Republic of the Soviets, the only socialistic bulwark in the capitalistic world, from the attacks of international imperialism without sparing their own strength and even their own lives.

5. To keep in mind always and everywhere the sacred duty of liberating labor from the domination of capital, and to strive for the establishment of a world-embracing fraternal league of working people.

In proclaiming these rights and duties the Russian Socialistic Republic of the Soviets calls upon the working classes of the entire world to accomplish their task to the very end, and in the faith that the Socialist ideal will soon be achieved to write upon their flags the old battle cry of the working people:

"Proletarians of all lands, unite! Long live the socialistic world revolution!"

II.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTIC FEDERAL REPUBLIC

The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialistic Federal Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship over the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry, the power of the Pan Russian Soviet authority, the crushing of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the spoliation of men by men and the introduction

of socialism in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a State authority.

1. The Russian Republic is the free socialistic society of all the working people of Russia, united in the urban and rural Soviets.

2. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character will be united into autonomous regional associations ruled by the sessions of the Soviets of those regions and their executive organs.

3. The Soviet associations of the regions participate in the Russian Socialistic Republic upon the basis of federation, at the head of which stand the Pan-Russian session of the Soviets and, in periods between the sessions, the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

III.

CONCERNING THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS

Section First: Concerning the Suffrage

1. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of the election:

1. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and are members of the trades associations, namely:

(a) Laborers and employes of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, and agriculture.

(b) Peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who hire no labor.

(c) Employes and laborers in the offices of the Soviet Government.

2. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

3. Citizens of the two previous categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

II. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

1. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase of profits;

2. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, and so on;

3. Private merchants, trade and commercial intermediaries;

4. Employes of communities for religious worship;

5. Employes and agents of the former police, the gendarmerie corps, and the Och-rana; also members of the dynasty that formerly ruled in Russia;

6. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also deaf and dumb persons;

7. Persons who have been punished for selfish or dishonorable misdemeanors.

IV.—VII.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

The Government is based upon the smallest

settlements, (villages and hamlets,) the inhabitants of which may elect one representative to each 100 persons.

The rural Soviets are under the authority of the Soviets of the Volosts, (districts,) and these latter under the Soviets of the Ujesd, (larger regions.)

The urban and Ujesd Soviets elect delegates to sessions of the Government or Oblast Soviets. Each of these bodies chooses independently its own Executive Committee.

The keystone of the whole Constitution is embraced in:

VIII.

CONCERNING THE PAN RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF THE SOVIETS

1. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets, (one delegate for each 25,000 voters,) and representatives of the Government congresses, (one delegate for each 125,000 voters.)

2. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

3. The extraordinary Pan Russian Congress will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of the Soviets of districts embracing at least one-third of the entire population of the republic.

4. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

5. The Pan Russian Executive Committee is responsible to the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets.

6. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets is the highest power in the republic. In the periods between its sessions that power is represented by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

It is further provided that the Central Executive Committee shall be divided into eleven colleges for administrative functions. These are:

1. Foreign policies.

2. Defense of the country, (army and navy.)

3. Social order and security, (militia,) census of the people, registration of societies and associations, fire department, insurance, organization of the Soviets.

4. Justice.

5. Public economy, (with sub-sections for agriculture, industry and trade, finances, railways, food supply, State property, and construction.)

6. Labor and social welfare.

7. Education and enlightenment of the people.

8. Public health.

9. Post, telegraph, and telephone.

10. Federal and national affairs.

11. Control and auditing.

Moscow's Misery

A Graphic Picture of the Desperate Situation in the Russian Capital

The following account of life in Moscow in the Summer of 1918 was furnished The London Times by an Englishwoman who had been serving for three years with the Russian Red Cross, and who returned to England in July, 1918:

STOI!" (Halt!) A hand clutched my arm and pulled me behind an iron railing into a small courtyard.

"Don't be frightened," the voice continued, "you are safe here!"

"What is the matter?" I inquired hastily of the little sheep-skinned *dvornik* (yardman) at my side.

"It's only the Red Guards," he reassured me.

Scarcely were the words spoken when a volley resounded startlingly near. "Poiimali," shouted some distant voice, "we've caught him!"

I moved toward the railing; some 500 yards up the street several armed figures could be seen bending over something lying on the ground. One of them, happening to catch sight of us, waved his rifle threateningly. "Get away, or we'll shoot!" We got away accordingly.

"That's the second they've had this evening in this street," the *dvornik* informed me as he conducted me through a backyard route to another street, "and they say there are still two more to be caught."

"The second what?—which two more?" I was entirely in the dark.

"Two more thieves."

"Oh!" suddenly enlightened, "the Red Guards are shooting down thieves?"

"Yes," he chuckled, "and these thieves are Red Guards, too!"

Curious! The Red Guards trying to establish order. The same old story, "Set a thief to catch a thief!" Such was my welcome to Moscow after an absence of four months. Evidently the town had little improved since those dark days of the civil war in October, 1917. Her inhabitants certainly had quieted down—and I was surprised to find them so passive, so indifferent to famine and the

fratricidal warfare around them. February was drawing to a close, Spring was at hand, and still the Bolshevik power was at its height. The intelligent classes were suffering indescribably. A kind of stupor lay on them, they bowed the head and submitted. Daily came the "decrees" from the Soviet, commanding, demanding, threatening; all were read through submissively, meekly.

"Rouse yourselves," some would say, "if we must die, let us die fighting."

"What can one do against 50?" would come the answer.

"Yes," warned another, "endurance and patience only are necessary. Soon the eyes of the people must be opened."

So they waited, their patience tried to the utmost, their nerves strained to breaking point. Banks were in the hands of the Red Guards, all pensions withheld, all investments and percentage papers pronounced invalid. Land proprietors were driven from their estates, country houses pillaged and burned, the spoil divided among the soldiers, and the land taken over by the peasants. Many noble-men's families were obliged to leave at a moment's notice, thankful to escape with their lives, and seek refuge in the towns. Here they would find a lodging as best they could, accepting any work, however humble, to enable them to continue their existence.

DEGRADATION OF THE "BOURGEOISIE"

A labor bureau was opened in Moscow, and in this way work was found for the most needy. In the streets it was no uncommon sight to see gentlewomen in dilapidated attire selling newspapers. One, a professor's daughter, whose husband had been killed by the Bolsheviks

in the Crimea while still in hospital, made a five-mile walk every morning, braving the inclemency of the Winter weather, in order to deliver newspapers, and in this way gain sufficient to keep herself and her children alive. Not long ago this bureau was shut down by the Bolsheviks; "the hour had come to starve the bourgeoisie" they decided. Even the leading newspapers were suppressed, and their offices and large stores of papers confiscated. Officers, dressed as civilians, were to be seen pasting posters on walls. In a house adjoining ours, the duties of house porter were fulfilled by an old General; for this work he received 80 rubles (nominally \$40) monthly, and a small room under the staircase. In the same house a young officer had accepted the post of stoker, receiving 40 rubles monthly and a daily dinner. Many officers received quite large salaries for guarding the houses of the "intelligensia" against the Red Guards.

Such was the misery of the intelligent classes that they, in the depths of despair, would sometimes refer to the German invasion as their only chance of salvation. Often would they reproach me, "Why do not the Allies help us in our need?" "Have we then fallen so low that they must reject us altogether?" and again, "How can England look on so calmly when the existence of our country is at stake?" They were indeed difficult questions, nor could I answer them. One woman, military through and through, the wife of a prominent General in the Russo-Japanese war, and mother-in-law of a General whose name all Russia has had on its lips, maddened by some fresh outrage on her fellows, bowed her head before the icon of Christ, and, crossing herself, repeated: "Grant, God, Oh! grant, God, that the Germans may come quickly to deliver us from our countrymen." "Nor can the disgrace be greater than now," she added bitterly. Even under the shelter of one's own roof the feeling of safety was never wholly present. After dusk it was dangerous to venture into the streets; not only was one liable to be searched by the soldiers prowling about for prey, and have one's purse stolen,

but overcoats, especially the "shuba" (fur coat), were stripped off their owners without the slightest ceremony.

A girl friend of mine had a singular but disagreeable adventure. The soldiers requisitioned her fur coat, her high snow boots, and her dress, then calling an "izvoztchik," put her into the cab, telling the man to drive her home quickly in order that she should not catch cold!

Night and day the houses of the "bourgeoisie" (according to the version of a Red Guard a "bourgeois" was any one who possessed clean hands and a white collar) were never proof against the Bolshevik so-called "obiesk," (search.) Under the pretext of the confiscation of firearms many flats were completely ransacked, all valuables seized, and in case of resistance on the part of the owners the soldiers were at liberty to respond with their recognized "samo-sud," (self-judgment.) One Russian laughingly said that, on awaking in the morning, it was always a pleasant surprise to find he had not been knifed during the night. Stolen goods might actually be seen hawked around the streets for sale in broad daylight. A market place in Moscow in those days would have put a Chinese bazaar in the shade, and the commercial talents of the soldiers filled all with wonder. At a wave of the hand a soldier could sell you a herring, 1 ruble, a pair of goloshes, 30 rubles, and a Maxim gun, 75 rubles.

At the stations the belongings of the passengers permitted to travel were examined, and all firearms and eatables confiscated. The latter, no sooner in the hands of the Red Guards, were put up for auction, and a few rubles, added to a certain amount of bold strategy, often enabled the traveler to rebuy his goods.

The daily ration of bread for each person was one-eighth of a pound; sometimes two potatoes were given instead.

Austrian and German prisoners were at large. Many a party was to be seen sauntering about the streets. Nobody paid any attention to them, and they came and went at their will.

Then one day came the news of the German invasion, followed by the incomprehensible call of Lenine and Trotzky—

"Comrades! To arms for the honor of your country!"—and swiftly on this the signing of the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk.

The horror and shame experienced by the intelligent mind knew no bounds. "Now," it realized, "are we disgraced for ever in the world's history." Descriptive of the situation was a conversation I overheard some days later in a tramway car, in which a standing place could be obtained only by violent pushing or a veritable hand-to-hand fight.

"Order! Oh! for order," sighed an old man of the mujik type.

"We shall soon have order," rejoined

some one cynically—"the Germans are coming, they will bring order with them!"

A silence followed, then came the same voice again. "They may be here in a week, look to it that you buy all the flowers you can to welcome them! The flower shops will soon be doing a fine trade!"

A middle-aged woman of refined features suddenly turned her head, and bitter lines were playing about her mouth.

"Yes," she said, "when the Germans come we shall buy flowers, but they will be to lay on the grave of a mighty empire that has fallen!"

The Birth of a Nation

First Raising of the Yugoslav Flag in Washington and the Addresses Delivered

IN connection with the Fourth of July (1918) celebration in Washington the Yugoslavs raised for the first time officially their flag of unity and independence in the national capital. They intended to mark therewith the turning point in their struggle for freedom, the point which emphasizes that there can be no more division between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, constituting the Yugoslav Nation; that their unity is an accomplished fact for which they will fight, and that this fact must be taken into account and given the final imprimatur at the future peace conference. The new flag, in which the arms of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia are interwoven, symbolizes long strivings in the past, all centred toward national unity and independence.

Many thousands had gathered in the grounds of the Agricultural Building to witness the flag raising. The procession, carrying the flag, started from New York Avenue. It consisted of hundreds of Yugoslavs in their national costumes, and of hundreds of Sokols (Yugoslav gymnastic societies) in their picturesque uniforms. The flag itself was carried by four girls representing Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and America. America

was represented by little Betty Baker, daughter of the Secretary of War. The arrival of the flag on the grounds was greeted by Yugoslavs and Americans with loud cheers, and the Yugoslav National Orchestra played the Serbian anthem. The spectators included Miss Masaryk, daughter of Professor Masaryk, the leader of the Czechoslovak movement.

SERBIAN MINISTER'S SPEECH

The Serbian Minister to the United States, Liubomir Michailovitch, raised the flag amid a storm of cheers and addressed the assembly as follows:

When the founders of this great Republic, on this very day 142 years ago, proclaimed their independence, they proclaimed the principles which, one day, will conquer the whole world. These principles of the liberty of person and of government were first clearly expressed in the American Revolution, which deserves to be called the cradle of modern liberty. The Declaration of Independence is the statement of the noble rights of liberty. America has created a system of principles which is today the ideal of the entire civilized world. This system does not find its expression only in the Government of the United States, but also and especially in the democratic education of its citizens, who have made their country the most enlightened in the world.

America has become the refuge of all who are oppressed. It has become the home of liberty. There is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that we, oppressed peoples, have found protectors in these representatives of modern liberty. But it is not only protection that is given us, they have taken up our defense. To-day on the battlefields of Europe there are already a million of these defenders of the liberty of the world. They will be followed by another million, and by yet more millions, until that association of criminals composed of the German, Magyar, Turkish, and Bulgarian hordes, whose one thought is to crush the freedom of the civilized world, has been destroyed.

Pan Germanism is a dangerous system. While we were all working for the peaceable progress of our respective countries, and for the progress of humanity, Pan Germanism was preparing all its forces to impose its rule on the entire world by brutal force. When the Germans found allies in Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey they declared war on the civilized world. We in Europe defended ourselves for three years, and then this country saw that the liberty of the world was in danger; faithful to its principles, it came to our aid. * * *

The heart of this Pan-German system is Austria-Hungary. Her very existence is due to a reign of force over oppressed nationalities. Austria-Hungary was given the task of blazing the way for Pan Germanism toward the East. She would have succeeded if we Slavs had not barred her route, and when our resistance threatened to cause the collapse of the German plan, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, the centre of this resistance. This world war did not begin by accident between Austria-Hungary and Serbia; upon the issue of the clash between these two States depended the victory or the defeat of the Pan-German plan. Free and democratic Serbia was the model of what we Yugoslavs desired to create for our country, but its realization meant the downfall of Austria-Hungary.

Germany, therefore, undertook to save Austria-Hungary by destroying the only free part of the Yugoslav countries, Serbia. But our enemies were mistaken. They have destroyed the frontiers of Serbia, but they have united our nation—have united Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—in the struggle against the enemies of liberty. We have become united under the yoke of the enemy. Proof of this national union is our flag. We have raised this flag of liberty and union. Let us swear to be always ready to die for it.

When the Serbian Minister concluded, the Yugoslav Choral Societies sang the

Jugoslav anthem, and then Dr. Bogumil Voshniak, member of the Yugoslav Committee in London, made the following speech:

Thirty million human beings, the Slav and Latin subjects of the Hapsburg autocracy, are prepared to shake off in open revolt a shameful yoke, and they are addressing the American people and the Allies: "Help us in this final struggle, whose issue is for us death or complete independence." In this hour the victims of autocracy are looking from their dungeons, from their scaffolds, to a city beyond the ocean, to this your capital, from which President Wilson proclaimed the gospel of world democracy. Before they are hanged or shot the victims of the Hapsburgs cheer the ideals of democracy, of free and independent Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslavs are receiving the torch of civic liberty from the hands of America. An old building, the dying empire of Austria-Hungary, is already on fire. This empire was a menace to the freedom of every country in the world, and consequently also to American freedom. Between Americanism and the Austro-German spirit is no compromise; they exclude each other, as death life, water fire. Therefore, America must struggle until this spirit is defeated.

It is not a mere chance that America and the Anglo-Saxons give the lead to all nations who wish to free enslaved peoples. This tendency has its own ancient traditions. Remember that Lincoln said in 1861 in the Independence Hall of Philadelphia: "The Declaration of Independence gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time." The fathers of the Declaration of Independence signed that Magna Charta for all peoples on earth.

The raising of the new flag of the Yugoslav State is a festival of brotherhood. Not by conquest, but by common consent, by a social contract, seven millions of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of Austria-Hungary, who long unanimously for complete independence, will merge with the Serbs of Serbia in a new Commonwealth. The new flag symbolizes the dawn of a better, more generous, more human relationship among all nations. We can expect that after the war the words of Emerson will be realized: "New men, new thoughts, new lands."

The Yugoslav Committee, representing the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary in the allied countries, worked from the beginning of this war for the lofty vision of Jugoslavia. Her standard we carried on the painful roads of exile. Today Jugoslavia is no more a vision, it is on the way to be fact. We and millions, wait-

ing in suffering and stress the day of redemption, hear today from Mount Vernon the voice of the seer and democratic prophet. This voice gives comfort and courage and unflinching will to be victorious.

BOHEMIA AND POLAND

The Jugoslavs have been in this war the first to preach in Western Europe rebellion against the Hapsburgs. They greet the two sister nations with which they share the same destiny. In these days the Czechs, who lost their independence in the battle of the White Mountain, have been recognized as an independent nation. We Jugoslavs are happy that Poland and Bohemia, after centuries of reverses, have regained their international position in the society of nations. We pledge here solemnly that Jugoslavs will work harmoniously and in brotherly understanding with independent Bohemia and Poland in one great purpose: the complete destruction of Prussianism.

But after victory our flag will never be the standard of militarism, as our Commonwealth will be peaceful, without imperialistic aims. This will be the flag of a nation which, in productive work, in energetic labor, in the arts of peace, in the strife of intellectual life, in equality and social solidarity, sees the highest form of noble citizenship.

Eternal justice demands that the death of all who died for the redemption of the whole nation shall not be in vain. Their sacrifice will be rewarded only if future generations shall be happy under this new flag. * * * The sun is rising behind the tomb of Washington and behind the Capital. This is the new sun of a new era. The new age is forged in the battlefields of Europe and wherever rebels are fighting in this colossal ordeal. In this solemn hour we raise this flag of present revolt, but of future peaceful reconstructive work.

Dr. Voshniak was followed by Milosh Ivanovitch of the Montenegrin Committee for National Unity, who said:

As the representative of the Montenegrin Committee for National Unity, I am happy to greet the Yugoslav flag, the sign of Yugoslav national unity. The five-centuries-old ideal of our nation—freedom and unity—was also the unbroken ideal of our mountainous little Montenegro. There in those mountains the spark of freedom was kept from one Kosovo to another. It was kept to develop into a mighty fire to destroy the monster Austria, on whose ruins a free, united and democratic Jugoslavia must be erected. Out of the blood of millions of martyred fighters for the freedom of

our nation there arises this flag of unity, and the national dream becomes reality.

* * *

THE OATH OF FEALTY

The next speaker was Don Niko Grskovitch, President of the Croatian League in the United States, and Vice President of the Yugoslav National Council, who invited the assembled Jugoslavs to take a solemn oath to serve the new flag until death. He said:

Our first bow to thee, Star-Spangled Banner of Freedom, for thou art leading the struggle for truth and justice against might and injustice. Our first thanks to noble America, who received us like a mother when perfidious Austria dragged us away, bare and hungry, from our homes. Thank you to Heaven, proud eagles of Columbia, for you are today taking under your wings the bowed but not broken spears of our struggling nation, our spotless colors, our flags soaked in blood of countless martyrs. You fill our hearts with joy, you strengthen our souls, you give us strength and determination to hold out in the struggle until this flag flies over our free country. * * *

Let us raise our hands and swear to our flag of unity that we will sacrifice everything, even our lives, to make her a worthy daughter and comrade of the Star-Spangled Banner, to which we, who swore fidelity to her, shall remain forever faithful, and in which our whole nation recognizes its protector.

Let us swear by the milk of our mothers, by the love of our brides and sweethearts, by the blood of our children, by the sight of our eyes, and by all which is dearest to us, that we will remain faithful citizens and thankful guests of America.

Let us swear by the graves of our martyrs and heroes, by the Peter Mountain and by Kosovo, that under the protection of the flag of freedom and led by the flag of our unity, we will revenge the innocent blood of Peter Svashitch, of the nine Jugovitch, of Lunder and of Adamitch. So help us God the Avenger!

Let us swear by the depths of the Adriatic, by the heights of Durmitor, by the snowy peaks of Triglav, that we will defend this our flag of unity with our brains, our hearts, and our blood, that we will love her and hold her sacred and ready to be proudly raised over the ruins of Belgrade, over our beautiful Zagreb and over white Ljubljana. Whoever becomes faithless to thee, flag of unity, may be judged by the God of our fathers, and punished by the revenge of our martyred nation. And as free as our flag flies today in the free air of America, so free may it fly over a proud, free, and independent Jugoslavia!

The Czechoslovaks Recognized as a Nation

Their Armies on Three Fronts

THE war has brought about two separate though closely related movements among the Slavic populations of Austria-Hungary for independence. While the south Slavs in the Balkans and in the neighboring provinces of Austria-Hungary have organized a new nation to be known as Yugoslavia, (pronounced Yugoslavia,) centring about Serbia and its King, the isolated Slavs in northern Austria-Hungary, known as the Czechs of Bohemia and the Slovaks of Silesia, have vigorously pushed a similar movement of revolt against the Dual Empire, demanding complete independence. Both movements during the Summer of 1918 attained proportions that commanded international attention.

At the beginning of the war the armies of Francis Joseph contained about 600,000 Czechoslovaks, (pronounced Checkoslovaks,) that is, 600,000 western Slavs who were compelled by the Austro-Hungarian Government to fight against their Slavic kindred of Russia. It is estimated that at least 350,000 of these passed—not without peril—into the Russian and Serbian camps, ready there to fight against their oppressors. In Russia alone at the close of the fighting on that front there were 300,000 of these willing prisoners of war, and the majority of them had been organized into fighting units and were doing heroic service on the side of the Allies. They were almost the only units to remain unaffected by the Bolshevik ideas that disintegrated the Russian armies. During the débâcle that followed in July, 1917, General Brusiloff said of the Czechoslovaks: "Abandoned at Tarnopol by our infantry, they fought in a way that ought to make the whole world fall on its knees before them."

When the whole Russian front crumbled at the time of the Bolshevik peace of Brest-Litovsk these hundreds of thousands of patriotic western Slavs were left stranded, but at the word of one man, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Chief of the Czechoslovak National

Council, with headquarters at Washington, they reorganized and started to march across Russia and Siberia in order to cross the Pacific and Atlantic and fight the Central Powers again in France. How the Bolsheviks, at Germany's behest, tried to disarm them and sent German ex-prisoners to fight them—in vain—is told elsewhere in these pages. It is estimated that at least 100,000 of these Czechoslovaks are still under arms in Russia and Siberia, and that others are joining them. This is the force to whose aid the Japanese and American expedition has been sent. Smaller Czechoslovak units are fighting in France and in Italy under their own flag. The total of these three armies in August, 1918, was estimated at 150,000.

RECOGNIZED AS A NATION

The movement to win independence for the Czechoslovaks was led by Professor Masaryk from the first day of the war, and through the Czechoslovak National Council, which now has its headquarters at Washington, the movement has won a place among the recognized war aims of the Allies. France and Italy were the first to give the new nation formal recognition, and Great Britain followed a few weeks later.

On June 30, 1918, President Poincaré of France, with a large company of Government officials, journeyed to the war zone to make a formal presentation of the Czechoslovak flag to the soldiers of that nationality. On this occasion M. Pichon, the Foreign Secretary, addressed a letter to the Czechoslovak National Council in which he said:

At the moment when the first unit of the autonomous Czechoslovak Army of France is preparing to quit its quarters and, having received its flag, to proceed to man a sector amidst its French brothers in arms, the Government of the Republic deems it equitable and necessary to proclaim the rights of your nation to independence. * * * For long centuries the Czechoslovak nation possessed the incomparable blessing of independence. It

was deprived of it by the violence of the Hapsburgs allied with Germanic Princes. The historic rights of nations are imprescriptible. It is for the defense of these rights that France, attacked, is fighting today, together with her allies. The cause of the Czechs is specially dear to it. * * *

In the name of the Government of the Republic I express the sincerest and warmest wishes that the Czechoslovak State may soon become by the common efforts of all the Allies, in close union with Poland and the Yugoslav State, an impassable barrier to Germanic aggression and a factor of peace in a Europe reconstructed according to the principles of justice and the right of nationalities.

Professor Masaryk, Chief of the National Council, replied:

Recognition of the independent Czechoslovak State means the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, reducing Germany to her own national forces. The independent Czechoslovak State is the final check to Pan-German schemes of a Berlin-to-Bagdad route. The anti-German barrier formed by the Czechoslovak State, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Italy is also the surest help to Russia and the small nations now under Austro-German domination. Russia, separated from the Germans and the Magyars, can develop without direct German interference.

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S SPEECH

The President of France, in presenting the colors, said in part:

When the Government of the French Republic created the Czechoslovak Army and recognized, with its allies, the authority of the Czechoslovak National Council, it desired at the same time to give proof of its gratitude to brave soldiers, many of whom had enlisted at the beginning of the war under the French flag, and to consecrate the legitimate independence of a nation that has never succumbed under the burden of misfortune and has never resigned itself to foreign domination.

From the first day on which Austria, faithful servant of German ambitions, threw an outrageous ultimatum into the face of Serbia, and, not content with deliberately humiliating a defenseless neighbor, suddenly attacked her in order to give Germany an opportunity, so long sought, for a double declaration of war against Russia and France, we had no inclination to treat as enemies the Czechs who were living in France, especially the young students attending our universities. We knew their sentiments and desires. We trusted in their friend-

ship. Most of them, far from taking refuge in neutrality and indifference, immediately sought the honor of fighting beside us, and for nearly four years they have distinguished themselves by their bravery in Flanders, in Picardy, in Champagne, everywhere that their French commanders sent them; they have won the most beautiful citations and deserved the most glorious rewards; they have found once more, after so many centuries of oppression and suppression the warlike ardor of Jean Ziska, of Procopus the Great, of George Podlebrad.

This little nucleus of volunteers grew rapidly. Czechs forcibly incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian armies and succeeding through prodigies of will in getting free of their chains, other Czechs coming from all parts of the world at the call of their brothers, gradually grouped themselves under the auspices of the National Council and ended by forming armed units sufficiently numerous and homogeneous to be united in a distinct army and to receive a national flag.

Officers and soldiers, the flag that I hand you today is for you henceforth a rally sign and an emblem of hope. When you see floating freely in the breeze of France the two flags of Bohemia, when you see here the old lion of your ancestors and the image of the three Slovak Mountains, let imagination transport you to the valleys of the Elbe and the Moldau, think of the long sufferings of your native country, hear the familiar voices that are adjuring you to deliver your enslaved firesides at the point of the sword.

The history of Bohemia is that of a long resistance to Germanic penetration. Neither violence nor deception has shaken your national will. You have never known discouragement. Your fathers have transmitted to you the flame that never dies and you have followed with growing confidence their task of liberation. * * *

On May 30, 1917, in the Reichsrat, the Czech Deputies proclaimed the resolution of their nation, including the Slovaks of Hungary, to unite in an independent State. On Jan. 6, 1918, the same Deputies, assembled at Prague with the representatives of the Diets of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Silesia, solemnly asserted the rights of the Czech countries and declared that a peace which did not bring justice to their oppressed people would mark the beginning of a new and stubborn conflict. On April 13—still a memorable day—the Deputies of the Czechoslovak Nation and those of the Yugoslav Nation, the latter speaking in the name of the Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, met in your charming capital and made a joint agreement, through an oath worthy

of being engraved in bronze, to suffer and struggle relentlessly to free their peoples from the foreign yoke and bring into the dust the old imperialistic Europe, covered, as they said, with the maledictions of humanity. More recently, on May 16, 1918, Prague celebrated the centenary of the laying of the first stone of the National Theatre, and there were present 200 Yugoslav delegates, the Mayors of Zagreb and Ljubljana, the Socialist leaders of the Slovenes and Croats, besides Poles, Italians from Trent, Rumanians from Transylvania; and all, despite the brutalities of the police, swore to devote their lives and wealth to obtaining State unity for their respective nations, at the same time, despite imprisonments and arbitrary suppression, acclaiming the Entente Powers and singing the "Marseillaise." How could France remain deaf to those cries or insensible to the groans of these victims?

BRITISH RECOGNITION

The British Government on Aug. 13 issued a declaration formally recognizing the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and the Czechoslovak armies as an allied force regularly waging warfare against the Central Powers. The text is as follows:

Since the beginning of the war the Czechoslovak Nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battlefields, and attempting in

Russia and Siberia to arrest the Germanic invasion. In consideration of their efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and recognizes the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of Czechoslovak national interests and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government to exercise supreme authority over this allied and belligerent army.

Professor Masaryk, on behalf of the National Council, sent the following reply to Secretary Balfour:

This step is conclusive evidence for all oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary and Europe of the earnestness with which your nation is waging this war as one for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities. Our nation, when entirely free, was in close political and spiritual union with the English Nation; this war restored this union. Our liberated nation will be an effective barrier to Pan-German aggression and a faithful ally of the combined fighting democracies.

The United States up to that time had not formally recognized the Czechoslovak Nation, though the State Department had implied a friendly attitude in its announcement of help for the Czechoslovak Army in Siberia.

The Czechoslovaks of Bohemia and Moravia

By E. JORDAN

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THE Czechoslovaks enter history in the second half of the ninth century.

At that time they were a part of the great Moravian Empire of Svatopluk. They had already come in conflict with the Germans. It was a German intrigue that caused the failure of the great project of St. Methodius, the apostle of the Slavs, to give the Slavs a national liturgy in union with Rome, and to make them the third branch of the universal Church. By this event the Slavic world was condemned to religious dismemberment, to partition between Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, which has

been one of its misfortunes. Then at the beginning of the tenth century the Hungarian invasion destroyed the Moravian Empire and cut off the South Slavs from the North Slavs. The eternal enemies of the Slavic race were already at work.

After the tenth century Bohemia, under its national Dukes of the Przemyslide family, became subject to German influence. From Germany it received, partly by force, Christianity of the Latin rite; for Germany religious propaganda has always been a means of domination. The Dukes felt the attraction of a civil-

ization that was then superior to their own; in return for the title of King they allowed themselves to be incorporated in the empire. Such was the policy, rather dynastic than national, of the great Przemyslides of the thirteenth century, Ottokar I., (1197-1230,) who was the first to get the full title of royalty; Ottokar II., (1253-1278,) who conquered Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, acquisitions that would have made a bridge between the North Slavs and South Slavs.

Bohemia was half Germanized. At the Court among the nobility the German language and customs prevailed, and the cities were full of German merchants. We find here one of those cases of ethnographic conflict between the upper and lower classes, between the cities and the farming districts, so frequent in Eastern Europe, and so deplorable. At length the exploitation of the mines and the exhaustion of the forests led to an intense German colonization of the mountainous regions surrounding Bohemia. Bohemian ethnography began to take on the aspect it has since kept. A certain national spirit was preserved, however, and Ottokar II. knew how to appeal to it at the moment of beginning the struggle against the founder of the Austrian dynasty, Rudolph of Hapsburg, in which he was to lose his life and Bohemia her conquests, (battle of Marchfeld, 1278;) witness his alliance with the Polish Princes, based, as the treaty states, "on nature and on kinship of blood"; witness also his appeal to the Polish people: "If Bohemia, your thoroughfare, is conquered, these insatiable Germans will get their greedy hands on you also."

The foreign dynasty, French as much as German, of the Luxemburghs, favored a Czech revival. This was especially the case under Charles IV., (1346-78,) a German Emperor, but "a father-in-law for Germany, a loving father for Bohemia," as Maximilian said long afterward; if by the Golden Bull he confirmed the subserviency of Bohemia to the empire, he also established its autonomy and privileges. He gave back to the Czech language, which he loved to speak,

the status of an official tongue; succeeded in having Prague, hitherto a dependency of Mayence, erected into an Archbishopric; founded there a monastery of the paleoslav rite, built the new city, soon peopled mainly by Czechs; founded (1348) the University of Prague, embellished his capital with admirable monuments, the work of Frenchmen or inspired by French models; in a word, he raised Bohemia into the first rank.

Under his successor, Venceslas, began the Hussite movement, which was as much national as religious. It started with a reform of the university charter which placed the Czechs in control and caused the Germans to depart. Huss created Czech literary prose. Race hatred, quite as much as orthodox zeal, brought down the German crusade on Bohemia. "What cause of war have they against us," asked a Prague manifesto, "save the eternal hatred which they cherish against our people?" The Hussite wars left Bohemia devastated and depopulated, but profoundly conscious of its nationality.

Unfortunately the Czechs could not maintain a national royalty, like that of which the reign of Podiebrad, (1458-71,) was an interesting example. In 1526 the States of the kingdom elected as their ruler King Ferdinand I. of Hapsburg, brother of Emperor Charles V. An accursed date, and the beginning of denationalization!

Ferdinand I. declared his crown hereditary and independent of the States, but this was nothing compared with the events of the seventeenth century. In 1618 Bohemia rose against Ferdinand II., and when he vanquished the Bohemians in 1620 at the White Mountain he avenged himself by the most terrible acts of repression. Twenty-seven nobles were beheaded and 659 others exiled, all their property confiscated, with two-thirds of the feudal tenures and domains of the cities; adventurers formed a new nobility in place of the national nobility; the middle class being ruined, the Czech element found itself reduced to the lower classes. The new "Constitution" established absolutism and assured to the German language—at first along with the

Czech, but soon in preference to it—the status of the official language.

Bohemia at least still remained Bohemia, a State united to the other domains of the Hapsburgs by a tie that was wholly personal. The Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., the act of 1749 by Maria Theresa, the centralizing and Germanizing reforms of Joseph II., the adoption in 1804 of the title of Emperor of Austria, tended to deprive Bohemia of the last remnants of its individuality.

The national consciousness was obliterated. The few remaining patriots despaired of the future. In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be hard to find a Czech. In 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar: "Our nation's cause is lost if God does not help us." In 1827 Jungmann wrote: "We seem to have the sad fate of being at once the witnesses and the accomplices of the annihilation of our mother tongue."

The work of resurrection, however, had already begun. As in the case of many other oppressed peoples, it was literature and learning, ever quicker than political action to win freedom, which, rummaging in the past for the beginnings of the race, restored to it, so to speak, its soul. Dobrovsky, creator of Slavic philology in his "*Paleo-Slavic Principles*," (1822;) Jungmann, who made the Czech language again a living tongue with his "*Czech Dictionary*," (1834-39;) the poet Kollar, singer of the "*Daughter of Slava*," (1824;) Chafarik, a Slovak, author of "*Slavic Antiquities*;" Palacky, whose great "*History of the Czech Nation*" began to appear in 1836—these were the "Czech awakeners."

There came the crisis of 1848. This people, which had so much to complain of against the Hapsburgs, never entertained any blind hatred in regard to them. Against the tendencies of the Parliament of Frankfurt, much more Pan German than liberal, the Czechs felt that Austria was in a certain sense the condition of their existence. Hence the famous saying of Palacky: "If Austria did not exist, it would have to be invented." Bohemia was rewarded, as was Croatia, for having aided the Hapsburgs against Hungary. But Aus-

tria did not wish to regenerate itself by a loyal federalism. Even its reverses did not convert it. After 1859 it was the centralizing constitution of 1861 whose electoral system was cleverly devised to keep down the Slavs. After 1866 it was the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, whose spirit regarding the Slavs was expressed in the brutal threat of Beust: "We will stick them up against the wall," and in his words to the Hungarian delegates: "Keep your hordes, we will keep ours."

Since then Bohemia has worn itself out in efforts to obtain justice. It has seen too many promises violated to retain the smallest illusion. What it can expect from the Germans, and from an Austria more and more subject to Germany, has been stated by Mommsen, a great German, and his intellectual superiority only renders more characteristic the hateful brutality of his language: "The Czech skull does not understand reason, but it understands blows. It is a matter of a life-and-death combat."

The Czechs of Bohemia, to whom must be added the Slovaks of Hungary, constitute a group of almost 10,000,000 people, whose intellectual activity and economic progress are alike brilliant. Are they always to be refused the right of free development? The world has suddenly realized that the war is both a terrible danger and a unique opportunity for these people. The victory of the Central Empires would be the realization of Pan German dreams, the Germanization of Austria, the enslavement of the Slavs. Their defeat will mean liberation. Bohemia has shown that she realizes this. The measures that Austria and Hungary have adopted in the Czech and Slovak districts surpass anything that Germany has done in Alsace; that tells the whole story. All political life suspended, political parties dissolved, their leaders imprisoned or exiled, three-quarters of the newspapers suppressed, more than a thousand condemned to death, including many women, a system of confiscations and hostages, Germanization to the limit—this is the state of affairs that must be abolished.

Kerensky's Attitude on Intervention

Speeches in London and Paris

ALEXANDER KERENSKY, former Premier of Russia, was driven from power by the Bolshevik revolution at the beginning of November, 1917, and had to flee for his life and remain in hiding through the ensuing months. How he escaped detection and finally reached England may not at present be explained. Kerensky reached London in the latter part of June, 1918, and early in July went to Paris. In both places he met with much friendliness, and some opposition, the latter mostly from the ultra-radical Socialists, and in both places he delivered addresses advocating joint intervention of the Entente Allies in Russia.

The appearance of Kerensky before the Labor Party Conference in London, on June 27, was preceded by some opposition to hearing him, but in the end he was enthusiastically invited to address the body, which included delegates from France, Belgium, Sweden, and other countries. After kissing the British labor leader, Arthur Henderson, on the cheek—to his obvious surprise—Mr. Kerensky spoke as follows in Russian, and Mr. Henderson later read this translation:

Yesterday one of the members of the conference asked the Chairman, "What right has Kerensky to be present at the conference?" I shall answer the question myself. I am here not as a matter of right, but as a matter of duty. It is my duty, as a man who knows all that truth which for a long time did not reach the ears of the peoples of Western Europe and America. You must know it, because in the great and terrible world war the most vital interests of the allied countries are inextricably interwoven; and the fate of a country which bore the burden of a front which was greater in length than all the combined fronts of the other Allies cannot be a matter of indifference for the future of all the Allies, just as for her it cannot be a matter of indifference what is the internal and external situation of the countries which for all these years have shared with her the vicissitudes of fortune.

I did not come here to beg or to complain. The Russian people has in times gone by passed through trials like the present, and has always emerged from

these trials strengthened and renewed. And now, bending under the merciless on-set of Germany, which has skillfully exploited in its interests the heavy legacy of our old régime, Russia, bleeding at every pore, still opposes the enemy's invasion. I bear witness here that the Russian people will never recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which is hurling Russia into the abyss of annihilation.

For three years the Russian Army, the Russian soldiers, had to fight an enemy, perfectly equipped and cruelly merciless, without proper arms, sometimes with sticks in their hands, under conditions which no one outside Russia can imagine. It is not to be wondered at that, having repeatedly suffered and borne the blows of the enemy, having in their turn again and again hit him hard, thereby saving the western front, the Russian soldiers, for whom their own country, under the Czar's Government, was a stepmother, were the first among the belligerents to faint in the struggle.

The great Russian revolution instilled new courage into the tired spirit, but could not immediately revive the mace-rated bodies, and it was a thousand pities that the warning voices coming from Russia were not at the time heeded by the western allies.

A GERMAN PEACE

The treacherous calls of peace by Germany were not unmasked, and the mass of the Russian soldiers, incited by genuine fanatics and by German agents, were taken in by the false appeals only to feel on their own backs all the bitterness of a German peace. The Ukrainian peasant understood how the Germans secured the independence of small nationalities, when German bayonets and chemical vapors were employed to rob him of his last crust of bread and to reinstate all the atrocities of the old régime. The Russian peasant, when he returned to his village that was cut off from the fertile provinces of Russia which supplied her with essential provisions of victuals, understood what annexations and contributions mean. The Russian workmen, too, realized their position when, in their thousands, they were thrown out of work. They understood then the meaning of the dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but over the proletariat, who have lost all the political rights which the revolution gave them, and who again live under the police terrorism of the old régime.

The Russian workingmen, together with other classes of Russians, strongly pro-

test now against the tyranny that again reigns in Russia. Probably most of you have recently seen in the papers the resolution that the Moscow workmen have passed demanding the reinstatement of democratic institutions and the termination of tyranny. As I have said just now, the workmen protest against tyranny. But I do not insist on that description of the state of affairs now existing in Russia.

To my astonishment some very serious European political men consider the régime as democratic—the régime which has dispersed the Constituent Assembly, abolished freedom of speech, made human life the easy prey of every Red Guardsman, destroyed the liberty of elections even in the Councils of the Workmen, and made an end of all the institutions of self-government that have been elected by universal suffrage. If this method of dealing with the population may be considered democratic, then I may be permitted to ask what may be the essence and the characteristic features of genuine reaction?

The Bolsheviks, or by whatever name they themselves now wish to be known, claim that the present state of Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat, although the most ruthless repression is applied against the Democratic and Socialist parties in Russia and the toiling masses. War has been organized against the helpless population, and every Russian citizen who refuses to recognize this method of government as perfect is declared a counter-revolutionary. That is the position of affairs in Russia. Here you might ask me the perfectly reasonable question how this state of things can be maintained if it is opposed by practically the whole population. This precisely is the question the reply to which reveals the rôle of that unseverable connection which exists in time of war between the internal state of affairs of a country and the general international situation.

RESULTS OF BOLSHEVISM

I have no desire to attempt an estimate of the personal motives of certain individuals or to attribute ill-will to causes that have led to great catastrophes—the most imperfect method of explaining historical events. The motives of men are of no importance; it is the actual result of their actions that matters. Now the actual result of the acts of Bolshevism, whose strength mainly lay in the disorganization of the wornout masses of soldiers, was merely to be the vanguard of the triumphing German imperialism.

At the present time it is equally advantageous to German imperialism to create strong reactionary powers in the rich provinces which can supply raw material

and fuel, and to favor decomposition and anarchy in the very heart of the country. To reach this aim Germany must paralyze the Russian centre. That is the true inwardness of the connection between the interior affairs of Russia and this or that result of the world war. Thus the interests and the fate of the Russian people receive a special significance and value for the whole world, and more particularly for the interests of the world's democracy.

The Russian people alone may not be able to overcome the ghoul of international reaction that is holding them by the throat. Perhaps abandoned by all, Russia will perish from want of blood. But she will never of her own will submit to the humiliation and shameful treason of Brest-Litovsk. It is for you, the oldest and most mature democracies of the whole world, to settle the question whether it is or is not possible to remain a calm spectator of that unheard-of tragedy.

I have finished. It may be that tomorrow calumny and slander will begin its work again, and attempts will be made to deny the truth of all I have said today. But, comrades, I would never have crossed thousands of miles of the Arctic Ocean to tell to the western lands and America a single word that I did not profoundly know to be the absolute truth.

KERENSKY IN PARIS

At an important meeting of the Permanent Administrative Commission of the French Socialist Party, held in Paris July 3, M. Kerensky spoke for two hours on behalf of allied intervention in Russia. He said in part:

At its beginning the Russian revolution seemed destined to mark a great epoch in the nation's history. Today the benefits of the revolution have been sacrificed, and Russia is losing all that her newborn democracy had won. All her lower instincts have been exploited by those whose duty it was to guide her toward the right, and the disorganization of all the essential machinery of the nation's life has rendered the present crisis still graver and almost without issue.

It was amid extreme confusion, in which individual egotism held the upper hand, that Russia last year faced the question of the necessity for national defense. Every one knows what happened. Russia is now paying very dearly for the ignorance and credulity of her masses.

Today Russia has the choice of two attitudes: Either to prepare a counter-revolution with the reactionary elements, or to shape a situation that will permit the democratic elements to assume the

mastery while leaning for support upon the democratic forces of the western nations. We refuse to serve the schemes of the reactionaries, who think that the first step toward establishing their affairs is to promote those of Germany. We prefer a longer road, which, though bristling with obstacles, leads to combat with Prussian militarism.

Some of you are astonished that the Constituent Assembly could be dissolved. It should be remembered that this was accomplished through the masses of demoralized soldiers for whom the Constituent Assembly represented the obligation to continue the war. * * * At the present time official Russia is not Russia. The first duty is to arouse national sentiment in a people that has abandoned itself to evil ideas; and to help save Russia the French Socialists should not play the game of international reaction which the Bolshevik activities are really supporting. All Socialists, from Plekhanoff to the internationalist Martoff, consider that the Bolshevik régime—which under the name of socialism is following the worst methods of Czarism—is the gravest danger for socialism, because the bourgeoisie is exploiting its deeds to discredit our ideals.

At present all the rich regions of old Russia are in the hands of the Germans; at Moscow von Mirbach speaks as the master. We find ourselves facing these alternatives: Either Russia must enter into an alliance with Germany, as advo-

cated by the reactionary elements, who desire for Russia what Skoropadsky obtained in the Ukraine; or the democratic and patriotic bourgeois elements must obtain control with the aid of the democrats of the Entente.

There is an analogy between the present situation in Russia and that of France under the great Revolution, when the armies of the imperial coalition had penetrated deep into the country. The French Revolution did not surrender. In 1871, also, the movement of the Commune, though revolutionary, was a movement of national protest; the defeatists were at Versailles, not in the ranks of the Communists. Compare their attitude, comrades, with that of the Bolsheviks, who have signed a peace ten thousand times more humiliating than that of 1871.

M. Kerensky on July 9 addressed a session of the French Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs, at which there was a large attendance of Senators and Deputies of all political parties. He again described the situation in Russia and depicted the dangers incurred through the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, followed as it was by Germany's ever-tightening grip on the country. He advocated immediate joint intervention on the part of the Allies with the object of continuing on Russian soil the common struggle against the Central Powers.

Kerensky and Korniloff

Two Important Documents Which Indicate a Betrayal of Korniloff

IN reply to a statement made at Paris by former Premier Kerensky, in which he asserted that he did not betray General Korniloff for the reason that "he was never in the plot with him," Comte Gaston de Mérial, a French publicist, made public two documents, the authenticity of which he guarantees. The first is the statement made at headquarters to the Chiefs of the Military Missions of the Entente by General Lukomsky, head of the General Staff, on Sept. 9, 1917, (Old Style, Aug. 29.) The second document is the statement made on Sept. 24, 1917, to the same missions by General Alexieff, (at that time Chief of the General Staff,) whose

patriotism, whose fidelity to the Allies, and whose honor are proverbial throughout Russia. These two statements, moreover, agree entirely with that made to Comte de Mérial by General Dukonin a few days before his assassination. Dukonin succeeded Kerensky as Generalissimo.

LUKOMSKY'S STATEMENT

The statement of General Lukomsky is as follows:

The most recent events of the month show that the Committee of Workmen and Soldiers constitutes an absolute obstacle in the way of the reconstruction of the army, which, within two or three weeks, will be in such a state as to com-

pel us to end the war, and will be the cause of great disasters all over Russia.

In view of the situation General Korniloff unceasingly warned the Government of the necessity of establishing a strong authority, which alone would be capable of saving Russia, and, while restoring order, would make success assured, together with the maintenance of fidelity to the Allies.

The Minister-President and the Minister of War, after pourparlers, in which they took the initiative, signified their consent, and promised to proceed to the Stavka in order to form a Government and take the measures desired. On Aug. 26 (Old Style) they advised General Korniloff by direct telegraphic communication that they expected to leave on the Sunday in order to be at the Stavka on Monday, the 28th. Further, the Commander in Chief summoned the President of the Duma (Rodzianko) and sundry political leaders in order that they might confer together respecting the constitution of a strong and united National Government combining the best elements in the country.

On the morning of Sunday, the 27th, General Korniloff received a telegram urgently summoning him to Petrograd after he should have deputed the command to the Chief of Staff, General Lukomsky. The latter telegraphed in reply to the effect that, in view of the consent of the Minister-President, and seeing the gravity of the situation, certain arrangements had been made and orders given. These were in course of execution, and it was too late to change them. Consequently, he was unable, even for a very short period, to undertake the responsibility of replacing General Korniloff.

The Russian high command considered that it could not accept responsibility for any catastrophes that might overtake the country should the Provisional Government go back on its decision to form, with General Korniloff, a strong National Government of Defense capable of restoring order in the army and in the country, and of fulfilling its obligations toward the Allies.

General Korniloff assured the Provisional Government that he had no personal ambition, and that his sole desire was to form a strong Government representing the whole country in order to save Russia and preserve the liberty that had been won.

ALEXEIEFF'S STATEMENT

The still more definite charge made by General Alexeieff is in these terms:

One of the reasons why I am relinquishing the high responsibilities with which I have been intrusted is my difference of opinion with Kerensky as to the course of the Korniloff trial.

It is now proved by documents that Kerensky and Korniloff had come to an agreement to stifle by force the Maximalist menace, and to establish a Dictatorship (Gouvernement dictatorial.) With this object in view, Korniloff, in perfect accord with Kerensky, had begun to assemble trustworthy troops around the capital.

I do not know what were the motives that caused Kerensky, while this coup was in progress, to abandon Korniloff and to throw in his lot with the Petrograd Council of Workmen and Soldiers.

Consequently, Korniloff is neither a reactionary nor a traitor; he acted in accord with the Provisional Government for the purpose of increasing its strength.

It is for this reason that I wished the trial to be held publicly, before an ordinary military tribunal, when all documents would be openly produced. Kerensky, who is particularly in fear of these documents, intends to intrust the trial to a special military court composed of three officers and three soldiers.

I could not associate myself with conduct of this kind, and I retired. When giving me my congé Kerensky asked me if I definitely renounced my intention of lending my assistance at a time fraught with danger for Russia.

My reply was: If the Korniloff trial ends in the way that justice demands, and if I find the circumstances such as will not compel me, as at the present moment, to outrage my conscience, I shall always be ready to devote my whole life to the service of Russia.

In making public these documents Comte de Mérindal concludes with these words: "Every one, I think, after reading these two statements, will agree with me when I assert that in deserting and betraying General Korniloff Kerensky betrayed not Russia only but the Allies as well."

The Chinese-Japanese Military Alliance

By W. REGINALD WHEELER

Of the Faculty of Hangchow College, China

THE present situation in Russia is of vital concern to the Allies. It is of special importance to the two Oriental members of the Alliance, Japan and China. The northern boundaries of the Chinese Republic are contiguous for hundreds of miles with the boundaries of Siberia; any German penetration there would be felt at once in China. Japanese shipping, which includes practically all the vessels on the Pacific, would be menaced at once if the Germans gained control of Vladivostok.

Further, in its larger aspect of German control of Russia's resources and territory, presaging the establishment of a vast empire stretching from the North Sea to the Pacific, the Japanese see an alarming menace. Japan cannot take military measures to meet this menace unless it has the consent and support of its neighbor on the mainland, and, consequently, negotiations have been proceeding for some months leading up to a military agreement of a defensive nature between China and Japan. The agreement was signed May 16, 1918; the first public announcement was made in Tokio, May 30. The whole affair has been shrouded in much secrecy and has been the cause of endless comment and even suspicion in both countries; it has a direct bearing on the aim and future of the allied cause in the Far East; consequently, the nature of the agreement and the history of the negotiations leading up to it are of interest to all the allied nations.

JAPANESE DEMANDS

The first report concerning the proposed agreement became current in China in the Spring of 1917. Unfortunately it was associated in the minds of the Chinese with Group Five of the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan in January, 1915. These demands mainly dealt with certain privileges and concessions which Japan desired of China; they were divided into five groups. The fifth group

was the most severe, involving certain rights which, if granted to Japan, would infringe the sovereignty of China and make it practically a vassal nation. In detail this group included the following:

Article 1. The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs.

Article 2. Japanese hospitals, churches, and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

Article 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police to settle cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the Police Department of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese or that the Police Departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

Article 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the Chinese Government, or there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

Article 5. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hanchow, and another between Nanchang and Chaochou.

Article 6. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways, and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the Provinces of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

Article 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China. [Refers to preaching Buddhism.]

In its ultimatum of May 7, 1915, Japan, under threat of force, demanded the acceptance of the first four groups of the Twenty-one Demands and agreed to hold the fifth group in abeyance, with the exception of the article in relation to Fukien Provinces, saying, "The Japanese

"Imperial Government will undertake to detach Group Five from the present negotiations and discuss it separately in the future." Commenting on this clause, a leading journalist in the Orient, Putnam-Weale, has said: "It is this fact which remains the sword of Damocles hanging over China's head; and until this sword has been flung back into the waters of the Yellow Sea the Far Eastern situation will remain perilous." The Twenty-one Demands had been prefaced by the statement that they were being made for the purpose "of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia," and it was not surprising that, when Japan began negotiations for a military alliance last year, many Chinese began to fear that the long-dreaded "sword of Damocles" was about to fall.

DREAD OF ALLIANCE

The first specific mention of the proposed alliance was made in the Peking Gazette, the most influential native newspaper, on May 18, 1917. The editor, Eugene Chen, was a fiery supporter of the republic and an opponent of the Japanese. In a leading article entitled "Selling China" he asserted that the Premier Tuan Chi-jui was contemplating making an agreement with Japan which would involve practically all the concessions mentioned in the original Group Five. Mr. Chen was promptly arrested and thrown into prison without a trial; later his newspaper was suppressed and its property confiscated. Subsequently Mr. Chen was pardoned and made his escape from Peking; but his accusation lingered in the minds of the Chinese public and became associated with any mention of a military alliance with Japan.

Matters remained at a standstill until the Spring of 1918, when reports again began to circulate, saying that the agreement was soon to be made. The wildest and most extravagant stories became current. The statement was freely made that the northern officials were selling China for their own interests. In March it was recorded that a preliminary agreement had been signed,

and protests from all parts of the country were sent to Peking. Finally, on May 16, an official statement from both Peking and Tokio was published announcing that an agreement had been reached.

The fears of the Chinese were heightened by the fact that the officials would not publish the terms of the alliance. Similar secrecy had surrounded the serving of the Twenty-one Demands in 1915, and many alarmists recalled this fact. The editor of the chief native newspaper in Peking committed suicide, saying that he would not live to become a slave of a foreign country. The Chinese students in Japan attacked the embassy in Tokio and then left in a body for China. The leaders of the Southern Party in China telegraphed Peking that they would give up their opposition to the Central Government if it would cancel the agreement. Even in Japan there was much adverse criticism of the secrecy maintained by the Imperial Government.

Finally, this feeling grew so strong that on May 30 an official statement was made concerning the agreement. It took the form of a denial of the many rumors which had arisen, rather than a clear exposition of the agreement itself. It mentioned certain notes which had been exchanged on March 25 between the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Minister in Tokio. These notes were of the greatest importance, as they stated that the military agreement had relation only to the hostile penetration into Russian territory, and the assurance was given that Japanese troops, stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of defense, would be completely withdrawn upon the termination of the war. The period within which the notes were to remain in force was to be determined by the military and naval authorities of the two powers. The notes follow:

MR. CHANG TO VISCOUNT MONOTO

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—I have the honor to communicate to your Excellency that the Government of China, believing that in the present situation co-operation with the Government of Japan on the lines hereinafter indicated is highly important in the interest of both countries, have authorized me to approach your Govern-

ment with a view to arranging for such co-operation.

1. Having regard to the steady penetration of hostile influence into Russian territory, threatening the general peace and security of the Far East, the Government of China and the Government of Japan shall promptly consider in common the measures to be taken in order to meet the exigencies of the situation, and to do their share in the allied cause for the prosecution of the present war.

2. The methods and conditions of such co-operation between the Chinese and Japanese armed forces—in the joint defensive movements against the enemy for giving effect to the decision which may be arrived at by the two Governments in common accord under the preceding clause—shall be arranged by the competent authorities of the two powers, who will from time to time consult each other fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest. It is understood that the matters thus arranged by the competent authorities shall be confirmed by the two Governments and shall be put into operation at such time as may be deemed opportune.

Viscount Motono replied on the same day with an identic note recapitulating Mr. Chang's statements and adding:

The Imperial Government, fully sharing the views embodied in the foregoing proposals, will be happy to co-operate with the Chinese Government on the lines above indicated.

VISCOUNT MOTONO TO MR. CHANG

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—With reference to the notes exchanged on March 25 between the Governments of Japan and of China on the subject of their joint defensive movements against the enemy, I have the honor to propose on behalf of my Government that the period within which the said notes are to remain in force shall be determined by the competent military and naval authorities of the two powers. At the same time the Imperial Government is happy to declare that the Japanese troops stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of such defensive movements against the enemy shall be completely withdrawn from such territory upon the termination of the war.

MR. CHANG TO VISCOUNT MOTONO

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication under today's date, proposing on behalf of your Government that the period within which the said notes are to remain in force shall be determined by the competent military and naval authorities of the

two powers. I am happy to state in reply that the foregoing proposal is accepted by my Government. I am further gratified to take note of the declaration embodied in your communication under acknowledgement, that the Japanese troops stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of defensive movements against the enemy shall be completely withdrawn from such territory upon the termination of the war.

JAPAN'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT

These notes were undoubtedly the foundation of the reports current during the last of March in China. They show how extravagant some of the rumors were. In addition to them the Japanese Government issued a supplementary statement categorically denying all such interpretations of the agreement. The statement follows:

Having regard for the steady penetration of hostile influence into Russian territory, jeopardizing the peace and welfare of the Far East, and recognizing the imperative necessity of adequate co-operation between Japan and China to meet the exigencies of the case, the Governments of the two countries, after frank interchange of views, caused the annexed notes to be exchanged, March 25, between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Minister in Tokio.

In pursuance of the purport of the notes the Imperial Government subsequently sent Commissioners representing the imperial army and navy to Peking, where they held conferences with the authorities of the Chinese Army and Navy. The negotiations progressing smoothly; two agreements were concluded, one relating to the army being signed May 16, and the other relating to the navy May 19.

These agreements only embody concrete arrangements as to the manner and conditions under which the armies and navies of the two countries are to co-operate in common defense against the enemy, on the basis of the above-mentioned notes exchanged on March 25. The details of the arrangements, constituting as they do a military secret, cannot be made public, but they contain no provision other than those pertaining to the object already defined. Currency has been given to various rumors, alleging that the agreements contain, for instance, such stipulations as that a Chinese expedition is to be under Japanese command; that Japan may construct forts in Chinese territory at such places as she may choose; that Japan will take the control of Chinese railways, shipyards, and arsenals, and even that Japan will assume the control of China's finances; will organize

China's police system; will acquire the right of freely operating Chinese mines producing materials for the use of the arsenals, &c. It cannot be too emphatically stated that these and similar rumors are absolutely unfounded.

May 30, the 7th year of Taisho,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Tokio, Japan.

MILITARY DETAILS

In this statement there is no definite information given concerning the details of the military arrangement. Considerable speculation has taken place in regard to them. President Feng was rumored to have shown these details to a delegation of students who came to him to protest against the agreement. Various versions have been published unofficially; a translation of one of the most likely versions was printed in Millard's Review of the Far East on May 25, which reads as follows:

Article 1. In view of the penetration of enemy influence into the eastern territory of Russia, and of the likelihood of the peace of the two contracting parties being disturbed thereby, China and Japan mutually agree actively to undertake the obligations of war participation by measures designed jointly to guard against the action of the enemy.

Article 2. The two countries shall mutually recognize and respect the equality of the other regarding position and interests in carrying out joint military measures.

Article 3. When it is necessary to take action based on this agreement, orders will be issued by both China and Japan to their troops and people, calling on them to be frankly sincere in dealing with each other in the area of military operations; and the Chinese officials shall co-operate and assist the Japanese troops in the area involved so that there may be no hindrance to military movements. Japanese troops shall on their part respect Chinese sovereignty and shall not cause any inconvenience to the Chinese people by violating local customs and traditions.

Article 4. Japanese troops in Chinese territory shall withdraw from China as soon as the war is ended.

Article 5. If it be found necessary to send troops outside of Chinese territory, troops will be jointly sent by the two countries.

Article 6. The war area and war responsibilities shall be fixed by mutual arrangement of the military authorities of the two countries as and when occasion arises in accordance with their respective military resources.

Article 7. In the interests of convenience, the military authorities of the two countries shall undertake the following affairs during the period necessary for the execution of joint measures:

1. The two countries shall mutually assist and facilitate each other in extending the means of communications (post and telegraph) in connection with military movements and transportation.
2. When necessary for war purposes construction operations may be carried on, and the same shall be decided, when occasion arises, by mutual consent of the chief commanders of the two countries. The said constructions shall be removed when the war is ended.
3. The two countries shall mutually supply each other with military supplies and raw materials for the purpose of jointly guarding against the enemy. The quantity to be supplied shall be limited to the extent of not interfering with the necessary requirements of the country supplying the same.
4. Regarding questions of military sanitation in the war area, the two countries shall render mutual assistance to each other.
5. Officers directly concerned with war operations shall mutually be sent by the two countries for co-operation. (The two countries shall exchange staff officers for military co-operation?) If one party should ask for the assistance of technical experts, the other shall supply the same.
6. For convenience, military maps of the area of war operations will be exchanged.

Article 8. When the Chinese Eastern Railway is used for military transportation, the provisions of the original treaty relating to the management and protection of the said line shall be respected. The method of transportation shall be decided as occasion arises.

Article 9. Details regarding the actual performance of this agreement shall be discussed by mutual agreement of the delegates appointed by the military authorities of the two countries concerned.

Article 10. Neither of the two countries shall disclose the contents of the agreement and its appendix, and the same shall be treated as military secrets.

Article 11. This agreement shall become valid when it is approved by both Governments after being signed by the military representatives of the two countries. As to the proper moment for the beginning of war operations, the same shall be decided by the highest military organs of the two countries. The provisions of this agreement and the detailed steps arising therefrom shall be-

come null and void on the day the joint war measures against the enemy end.

Article 12. Two copies of the Chinese and of the Japanese text of this agreement shall be drawn, one of each shall be kept by China and Japan. The Chinese and Japanese texts shall be identical in meaning.

RECEIVED WITH RELIEF

The main feeling in the Orient concerning the alliance is one of relief, and of surprise at the long period of secrecy that has shrouded the negotiations—a secrecy which tended to increase any misunderstanding which might have arisen. An occasional explanation of this secrecy by Japanese, as well as Chinese, writers is that Japan attempted to gain more than what is contained in the final agreement; that her original plan had to be modified by the counterproposals of the Peking Government. There is also a tendency to criticise the statement for not being more explicit. Thus, according to *The Japan Advertiser* of May 31, "Mr. Yuko Hamuguchi, prominent member of the Kenseikai, remarks that the agreement has caused a misunderstanding and much excitement among many Chinese, and, though an official statement has now been published, the agreement will remain as much a conundrum as ever, inasmuch as the important clauses are kept secret. It seems problematical whether the official statement just published will have the desired effect in removing the suspicion of the Chinese."

On the other hand, there is a general appreciation of the promises of Japan to retire from Chinese territory when military necessity permits, and a feeling that, because of the alliance, Japan and

China are the better prepared to do their part in the final phases of the great war. Thus *The Japan Advertiser* comments editorially upon the alliance; its views are seconded by the hopeful-minded press of the Orient: "The categorical denial of the rumors so widely current in China is a conclusive reply to the sensation mongers who have been so active. The present emphatic disclaimer will have great value in restoring China's confidence in Japan, and may mark a turning point in the relations of the two countries. That may be counted positive gain, in addition to the confounding of malicious rumors. * * * The other positive gain is that the way is clear for whatever action may be called for by further enemy penetration of Russian territory. * * * There is ample justification for the agreement, and the Allies will sincerely rejoice that the way is clear for action, if action should be necessary."

[At the end of July China was in increasing danger of invasion by a force of 12,000 Bolsheviks who were threatening to pursue General Semenov across the Manchurian border into Chinese territory. On July 29 the State Department at Washington formally announced a new policy permitting American bankers to make loans to the Chinese Government so that China might be better able to defend itself against enemy forces approaching its borders. It was understood that \$50,000,000 would be advanced and that the United States had gone into this arrangement on condition that British, Japanese, and French bankers should make similar loans to China. When the Japanese sent their levy of troops to the allied expeditionary force, which landed at Vladivostok early in August, China also sent a few companies as its part in the expedition, in accordance with the foregoing military agreement.—EDITOR.]

Rumania's Humiliation

Oppressive Exactions of the Conquerors Are Added to Desperate Economic Conditions

By a Journalist at Bucharest (July, 1918)

ACCORDING to the peace conditions, the demobilization of the Rumanian Army began immediately after the signature of the peace preliminaries. A German Demobilization Commission was

appointed to supervise the Rumanian Headquarters, and German officers were attached to each division to see that the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled "to the letter." The Rumanian Army

leaders, General Prezzan and General Averesco, resigned immediately.

The strength of the Rumanian Army was reduced from 250,000 to 30,000 men. The effectives of the infantry regiments were reduced from 4,000 to 200 men, and of the mounted regiments to 120 only. Each man was allowed a rifle and 160 rounds of ammunition. The remaining arms and munitions were placed in stores guarded by German and Rumanian troops. For police purposes the Rumanians were allowed to keep mobilized in Bessarabia two divisions; but both were the so-called Dobrudjan divisions—that is, divisions recruited from the mixed population of the Dobrudja, where there are Rumanian, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Armenian elements.

The demobilized men were allowed to go to their homes in Wallachia and Oltenia in groups under very strict German control. There the situation was a most humiliating one. Officers and men were allowed to wear the uniforms, after having taken off their badges of rank or stripes. All, without consideration of the rank they had in the Rumanian Army, were compelled to salute the German soldiers, even the privates. This humiliation impelled most of the Rumanians to try to return to Moldavia, but not many succeeded owing to the strictness of the Germans.

A train now runs between Jassy and Wallachia, but only few can travel, for, although peace has been concluded for several months, there is still a frontier between Moldavia and the occupied territory. Rumanians are only allowed to go to Wallachia with special permits through two points, Marasesti and Braila, and the Germans keep a very strict watch on the whole line which separates Moldavia from the invaded territory. People are allowed to go to their homes only with the kind permission of the German Kommandantur in Bucharest.

The "rectification" of the frontier demanded by the Central Powers has given an opportunity to the Austrians to rob Rumania of another source of her natural wealth. According to the map drawn by the Austrians and naturally

accepted by the Rumanians, all the ridges of the Carpathians have been surrendered to the Austrians. Thus all the virgin forests which covered these mountains and belonged to the Rumanian State have passed into the hands of the foe. The loss suffered by the Rumanian Nation by this "rectification" of the frontier may be estimated at well over \$500,000,000.

The economic conditions of the country are desperate. Owing to the very difficult circumstances only a small area of land has been cultivated this year; drought prevailed throughout the Spring and the crops will yield practically nothing. The population, crowded together, underfed, and depressed, suffers the most terrible hardships, and all kinds of epidemics have broken out again. The Rumanian Nation is beginning to realize better now what a "German peace" means.

[A dispatch from Bucharest to the *Weser-Zeitung* on July 25 stated that the King of Rumania had been ordered to place all Rumanian territory under martial law, owing to the conditions of intense unrest. Field Marshal Mackensen, the German commander in Rumania, when asked how many divisions he could release to go to the western front, replied on July 30 that it would be unsafe to remove any troops, because of the excited condition of the Rumanian people. Under German pressure the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies at Jassy, according to an official report, voted on Aug. 7 to prosecute J. J. C. Bratiano, the former Premier, and four members of his Cabinet for their connection with Rumania's entry into the war. A Parliamentary Inquiry Commission had recommended this action. Amid scenes of excitement the reply of Mr. Bratiano and of the accused members of his Cabinet was read in the Rumanian Parliament. They declared they did not recognize the moral or legal authority of a Parliament composed of "traitors and deserters," adding: "With full confidence we look forward to the final consequences of this war and with pride to the judgment of history."]

Constantine's Treachery

THE Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 6, 1918, conveyed to the Examining Magistrates at Athens in the case of the ex-Ministers MM. Skouloudis, Lambros, and others an authorized copy of the translation of telegrams sent on Sept. 23 and 24, 1915, by M. Passaroff, then Bulgarian Minister in Athens, proving that King Constantine had before the Bulgarian offensive against Serbia confirmed to Bulgaria Greece's neutrality.

The first telegram sent by M. Passaroff to Sofia describes an interview with King Constantine, who asked him for what reason Bulgarian divisions had been mobilized.

M. Venizelos, [said the King,] thinks that you mean by your mobilization to occupy Macedonia, Nish, Pirot, and the Morava Valley. The occupation of Macedonia would constitute a *casus foederis* according to the treaty between Greece and Serbia. The occupation of Nish, Pirot, and the Morava Valley would destroy the equilibrium of the Balkans.

M. Passaroff replied:

The policy of M. Venizelos in regard to the equilibrium of the Balkans is negative and sterile. It is impossible to arrest the progress of the Bulgarian people, young, industrious, full of life, and capable. Its neighbors must not impede its progress. While the British were occupying themselves with sport, the French with the theatre, and the Russians with vodka, the Germans were working, and we see them accomplishing miracles.

The King said:

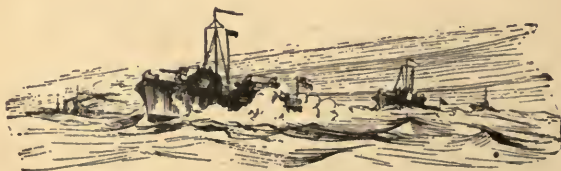
I am fully in agreement with you, and I hold that when you go to occupy Serbian Macedonia we have no reasons to intervene, since the *casus foederis* cannot apply after what you have heard. If you

take Pirot, Nish, and the Morava Valley you will not become much greater thereby. We cannot oppose such a course, for we should have to declare war for foreign territory. We are going to act now with Austria and Germany. It would therefore be suicide if in opposing you we were to declare war against two great powers. I did not agree to the proposal of M. Venizelos that we should oppose you with our troops and with those of the Entente, for if the Entente has plenty of troops it will send them against the Dardanelles, and not against Bulgaria. I beg you to declare to your Czar that in your action against Serbia you will have no opposition from our side. We shall not shed our blood against you and against Germany to save Serbia.

Please assure your sovereign and your Government that I have summoned you in order to make this declaration to you and to ask of you the following service: M. Venizelos is endeavoring to prepare difficulties and even disagreeable coups de theatre for me. I want to deprive him of the possibility of making a show with the *casus foederis* regarding Serbia. I therefore request you to declare to the Minister for Foreign Affairs here on behalf of your Government that you have nothing against Greece, and to declare that you will occupy Serbian Macedonia acting in conjunction with Germany. M. Venizelos demands from me the mobilization of two army corps on your frontier. I shall not consent.

M. Passaroff adds: "Finally, the King 'asked me to help him in his struggle to 'get rid of M. Venizelos.'"

The above assurances of the King were conveyed to Sofia not through the usual official channel but directly to King Ferdinand through his private secretary. This document furnishes the evidence, heretofore missing, of the motives which underlay the fictitious Greek mobilization in September, 1915.



Great Britain's War Record

Four Years' Fighting Reviewed in Eloquent Detail

by the British Prime Minister

By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

[ADDRESS DELIVERED IN PARLIAMENT AUG. 8, 1918. TEXT CABLED TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.
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WHEN the British Empire decided to throw the whole weight of its might into the greatest war the world has ever witnessed, it did not do so because it believed that British soil was to be invaded or even threatened with invasion, but because of an outrage upon international right. Had it not taken that decision the whole course of the war would have been different. The history of the world for generations to come would have taken a different course. I do not wish to exaggerate in the least the part which the British Empire has in the conflict, but a mere glance at the events of the last four years will show how great and how decisive its influence has been upon the turn of those events.

When the war began we had the most powerful navy in the world. It was as powerful as the three next navies of the world, and when units of command are taken into account it was more powerful than the three next navies, but we had the smallest army of any great power in Europe. We had an obligation of honor with France that, if she were wantonly attacked, the United Kingdom would come to her support. There was no compact as to what forces we should bring into the arena. In any discussion that ever took place in this country or outside there was no idea that we should ever be able to employ a greater force than six divisions. When there was a discussion in the House about the British expeditionary force the maximum was the six-division limit. Whatever the arrangement was, I think history will say that we have more than kept faith.

There is real danger in the more minutely and constantly described events on land to overlook the part which the

British Navy is playing in this conflict. There are two great struggles being carried on, one on land and one on sea. One is carried on almost before our eyes. Incidents are pictured from day to day by men who are engaged especially for the purpose of describing them. Every turn in events is portrayed. Not like the other struggle; that takes place on a vast wilderness of sea over hundreds of thousands of square miles, with no one to witness it or to describe it except those who take part in the fierce struggle.

It has been prolonged four years without a break. No darkness arrests it. No weather and no Winter stops it. The navy goes into no Winter quarters, the fight is going on without cease.

I do not think that many realize that that is the decisive struggle of the war. Upon its issue the fate of the war depends. If the Allies are defeated on land the war would not be over until they are beaten at sea. So the Germans can never triumph, and in the main this momentous deciding struggle is carried on by the British Navy. There is a disposition even here to take the British Navy for granted, exactly as we took the sea for granted, and in this there is no real effort to understand the gigantic effort which is involved in constructing, in strengthening, in increasing, in repairing, in supplying, in maintaining, and in manning that great machine.

When the war started, the British Navy had a tonnage of 2,500,000. It now has 8,000,000, including the auxiliary fleet. Every trade route of the world is controlled by its ships. Take the blockade alone. From Shetland to Greenland, from Greenland to Iceland, from Iceland to the coast of Norway, the most savage waters in the world, always angry—for four

years these seas have been incessantly patrolled by the British fleet, who have set up an impenetrable barrier. Elsewhere British shipping has been engaged in patrolling, mine laying, mine sweeping, escorting, chasing submarines over vast and trackless areas. They have destroyed at least 150 of these ocean submarine pests, more than half in the course of the last year.

VITAL FOR VICTORY

I will give you a figure which indicates the gigantic character of the work done by the British Navy. In the month of June alone ships of the British Navy steamed 8,000,000 miles. To this must be added the great efforts of the mercantile marine which has now become a branch of the British Navy. It faced the same dangers in caring for the Allies as well as ourselves.

Most of the American troops who have so gallantly acquitted themselves in France in the recent conflicts were carried on British ships.

It is difficult to make those who do not understand ships comprehend what a gigantic effort it means to keep this immense machine going. There is rather a tendency to divide our efforts into two branches—men for the army, ships for the navy. I wonder how many people understand the number of men required to man and maintain the British Navy and the British mercantile marine. It is at least 1,500,000; probably 800,000 or 900,000 were men of military age. We have made every attempt to comb out when there was a great pressure, but we found that it was impossible to do so without letting the British fleet down. And to let the British fleet down was to let the Allies down.

The Germans, during the last two years, have made two distinct attempts to force a decision, one on the sea, the other on land. They attempted the land offensive, because the sea offensive failed, but they knew that the sea offensive would be the more vital of the two. The land offensive might have been disastrous; the other, if it had succeeded, would have been final. If the submarines had succeeded, our army in France would have withered away, no

Americans could have come over to assist us, ammunition could not have been sent across, nor the necessary coal and material to enable France and Italy to manufacture munitions. France and England would have been starved. The war would have been over before that stage could have been reached.

I am not minimizing the great assistance rendered by the great navies of America, France, Italy, and Japan, but the British fleet is so incomparably greater, and its operations are on a scale of so much greater magnitude, that I dwell specially on this in order that the mainstay of these special efforts should be realized.

The American Naval Mission which came over here the other day saw a good deal of the efforts of the British Navy, and were immensely struck with the vastness of the work which was being done. They were specially anxious that steps should be taken to make known not merely here, but in America, the gigantic character of the task which is being undertaken.

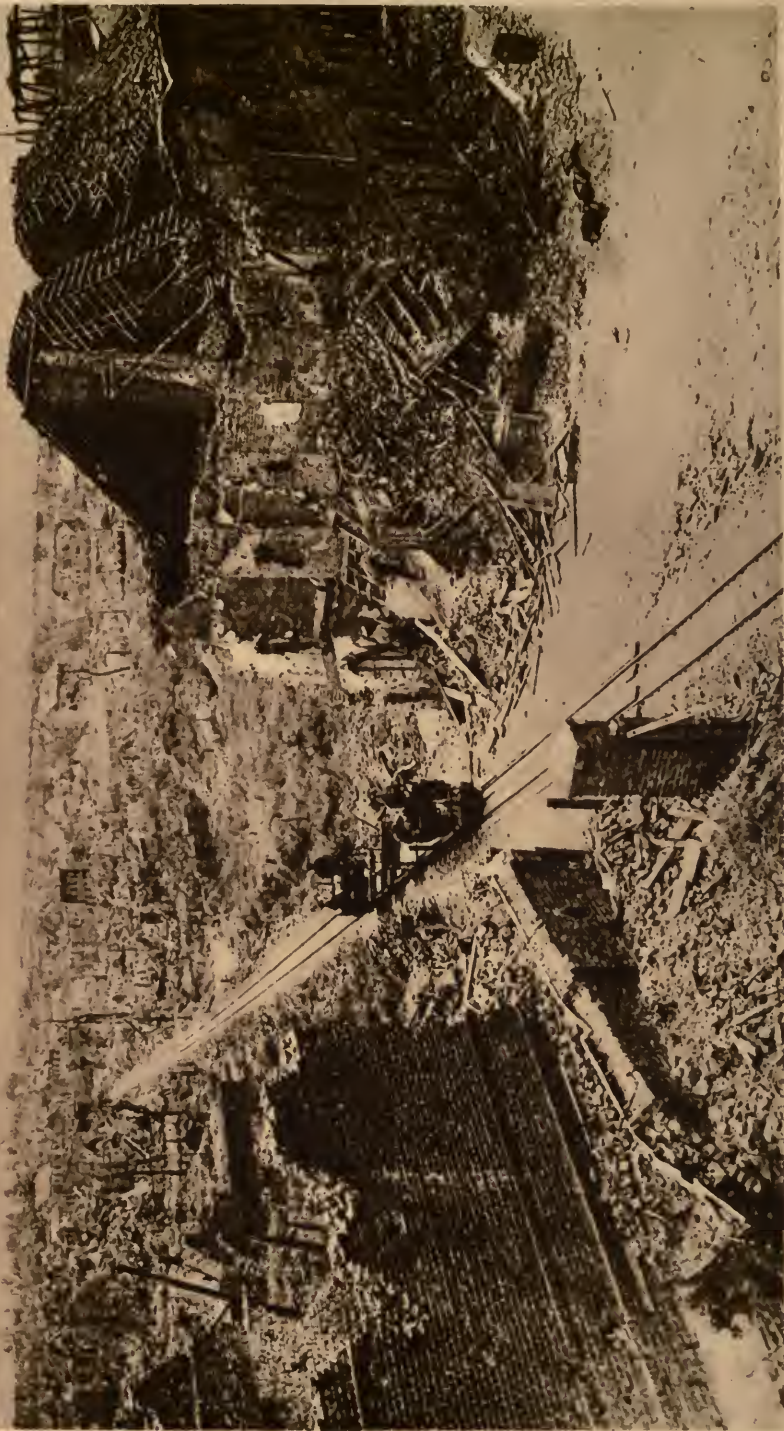
Unless the Allies had been completely triumphant from the outbreak of the war at sea, no effort on land would have saved us. The British fleet was mainly responsible for that complete triumph. Any destruction of our resources which would have impaired in the least this triumph would have been ruinous to the cause of the Allies.

AN ARMY OF 6,250,000

I will now say a word about our effort on land. Our military effort has to be subject to our resources in men and material. We had difficulties to confront us. We were not a military nation in the sense of the nations of the Continent. We had a small army. What have we accomplished? Since August, 1914, including those already with the colors, this country has raised for the army and navy in Great Britain alone no less than six and a quarter million men. Most of these were raised by voluntary recruiting, a most unexampled feat in the history of any country. In a word, in order to give an idea of what this means, if the United States of America were to call to the colors the same number of men in proportion to her population, it would mean nearly fifteen millions



The stone bridge across the Marne at Château-Thierry, where American troops distinguished themselves in June, 1918
(*French, Pictorial Service*)



A French town wrecked by the retreating Germans. A Canadian ammunition tramway has been built through the ruins
(© Underwood & Underwood)

of men. The dominions have contributed a million more. India has sent 1,250,000 men since the beginning of this war.

With regard to the present military situation, its essential facts are well known, but perhaps I may be permitted to summarize them as they appear to one who has been working inside. In reference to the great endeavor which has been made in this country during the last four months, what is the position? On March 21 the enemy had been relieved of all apprehensions on his eastern front by the peace of Brest-Litovsk. He had brought all his best divisions from the east. He was combing out the best men from the remaining divisions and bringing them to the west. Most of these men had enjoyed a long rest on the eastern front, and had devoted their time to training and preparing specially for the great blow which was to be directed against the allied armies.

On March 21 we had in front of us the flower of the German Army, rested, trained specially, and equipped for the campaign. Our troops were tired by a prolonged offensive under the most exhausting conditions any troops ever fought under. Practically the whole British front was new ground, which had been won from the enemy. There had been no time to set up defenses, and these tired troops, instead of resting, had to dig defenses.

Considerable American forces had been expected by Spring. As a matter of fact, on March 21 there was only one American division in the line. There were three or four divisions behind the line, who were brought up after the attack began.

MANY ANXIOUS MOMENTS

The weather conditions were the most favorable for the enemy that they could have possibly chosen. United command was not an established fact, in spite of all endeavors to achieve it, and each General was mainly concerned with the defense of his own front, so when the blow came the reserves of the allied army as a whole were not available to meet it where it fell.

What was the object? The object was to attain a military decision this year before the American Army could come up. How was that to be achieved? First of all, by driving a wedge between the two armies; then, having separated the British and French forces, overwhelming the British Army, and afterward dealing with the French Army.

That was the plan. If the first of these objects had been attained, and the British Army had been overwhelmed, the American forces could not have arrived in time to save the French Army. That was the German calculation, and let us not forget, in the light of what happened afterward, that it was not such an impossible estimate.

But how did the German plan prosper? There have been four hard months of such

fighting as has never been seen on the face of this globe, not merely in the magnitude of the armies, the losses inflicted and sustained, the valor displayed, but in the issues which hung in the balance.

What has happened? At first, the German Army achieved considerable success. We had anxious moments, very anxious moments, and those who knew the most were most anxious. The losses were considerable in men and in materials and in numbers of prisoners captured, far beyond any anticipation which could have been made and which we could have been called upon to provide for. Had they not been immediately made up, the second German blow might very well have overwhelmed the British Army.

GIGANTIC SHIPPING FEAT

Before the battle was over, in a fortnight's time, 268,000 men were thrown across the Channel, one of the most remarkable feats of British shipping, and of organization of our British transport for the War Office. In a month's time 355,000 men had been thrown across the Channel. A fresh gun had been put back for every gun that was lost, and every deficiency in a machine gun not merely supplied, but the number increased, and at this moment there are more guns and more machine guns than the army in France ever had.

It was the first German miscalculation. They had calculated that we could not do it, and we owe a debt of gratitude to a section of the press for misleading the enemy. He was foolish enough to believe it. The Germans believed we had no men to make up the deficiency, and they made their plans accordingly and attacked.

They hit here, they hit there. They hit in the south, they hit in the centre, they hit in the north. Why, they thought they were destroying the British Army and that there was nothing behind it. In six weeks they were hurled back, fought to a standstill by the British Army. They were defeated in two or three of the most sanguinary battles of the war, and they were left in unhealthy salients under the fire of our guns and with extended lines.

Their purpose was to overwhelm the British Army. They declared it, and they announced in all their inspired press that they were doing it. By May 1 they had left us to go south to make another attack. They knew it could not be done. It is one of the finest chapters of tenacious valor in the whole his story of the British Army.

Our losses were great. We took a step which only the emergency could have justified, that is, the sending of lads of 18½ years, who had received five or six months' training, into the line.

I remember coming at 9 o'clock one dark night from Boulogne after I had been to see the Generals. I saw these boys coming up

by torchlight from the boat straight to France. No sooner were they there than these lads had to face veteran and victorious troops. No veterans ever fought with greater courage and with greater splendor than these lads to help hurl back these legions that had fought to destroy the British Army. We must all be proud of the boys who so upheld the honor of their British native land and helped to save the cause of the Allies from disaster.

GALLANT FRENCH ARMY

After an experience of six weeks' fighting—it is a remarkable fact when you know what the German plan was—they left the British Army alone for three or four months. They may and probably will come back, but that is because they have failed elsewhere.

No one knows better than those who fought in that campaign how invaluable was the aid received from the gallant French Army in both these great battles. I only dwell on the part which the British forces took because in the main the fighting was theirs and the losses were in the main theirs. After the first of May the enemy turned off to attack the French. There never has been since the 21st of March an offensive conducted by forces of the same magnitude.

In the first attack on the French Army they won a considerable success. What has happened since then? Not merely have they been fought to a standstill, but General Foch—or if I may call him by his new title, and I am sure everybody will join in sending a message of congratulation on the title he won by such skill, such resource, and such genius—Marshal Foch, by his counterstroke, which is one of the brilliant events of the war, has driven the enemy back. The enemy, who was to capture Calais and Paris by dates which vary according to the temper of the prophets from May to August—August being the latest—to capture Paris, destroy the British Army, and overwhelm the French, is now retreating.

The danger is not over, but he would be a sanguine man on the German General Staff who would now say that General Ludendorff's plan of campaign would succeed in its objective and enable Germany to obtain a military decision.

The Germans calculated that we could not make up our losses, and that the Americans could not be brought over. Look what has been done. In February the Americans brought over 48,000 men, I think. In January it was still fewer, and the German General Staff, which seems fairly well informed, came to the conclusion that if what was said in the British press of our having no men was true, and they knew what was being brought over in American ships was true, and if what a certain section of the press said about our having no ships was true, then the destruction of the allied army was a certainty. That was one of the uses of

a good press. It is a mistake to contradict them. That was their second miscalculation.

CALL TO AMERICA

Now, what happened? Soon after the blow on March 21 the British Government made a special appeal to President Wilson to send men over, even if they were not formed into divisions, so they could be brigaded in British and French formations. President Wilson responded by return cable. It was prompt, it was decisive, but he stipulated that we should do our part of the carrying. It was true that we had no ships to spare, but we impressed upon the Shipping Controller the necessity of getting every American soldier over, and he pulled ships out of trades where they were quite essential—in order to carry over the American troops. Do not let any one imagine we have ships to spare, because there has been a loss of 200,000 tons per month in essential cargoes, which means 2,500,000 per annum—with the result we have just seen.

I forget how many thousand troops have been brought over since the battle, mostly in British ships. In July 305,000 Americans were brought over, of which 188,000 were carried in British ships. That was the second element in the restoration of the situation, because every one knows how valiantly these troops have fought. It is not merely that they fought with courage, every one expected that of the American Army, but they have fought with a trained skill that no one ever expected or had a right to expect. The men are brave, but the officers, who after all are not trained officers in the ordinary sense of the term, have shown skill and knowledge and management of their men under trying conditions which you could hardly expect from men who have not had a good deal of the experience of war.

That is one of the most remarkable facts in the fighting of the American troops at the present moment. What is the other element that has made for success? Unity of command, at last achieved, but after a long struggle. The word Generalissimo is a misleading one. There is no Generalissimo in the real sense of the term. A Generalissimo is a man who has complete command over his army and appoints Generals and dismisses Generals, controls not merely the fighting in the field, but the troops behind the lines. That is not the position of General Foch, and it is not a position he aspired to. In the ordinary sense of the term that has not happened, and I am still of the opinion that it is not desirable that it should obtain. No one has claimed it or asked for it. What has been established has been merely strategic command, and that has answered every purpose, as the Germans know too well to their cost.

Our first experiment in this direction was last year when General Nivelle was Commander in Chief of the French Army. He

was in command of the greater army and was chosen to command the whole, and apart from that we were fighting on French territory.

General Nivelle was an exceedingly able and experienced officer. He was the man who commanded in the struggle around Verdun which resulted in a disastrous defeat for the German Army, and he had a great strategic plan for a combined attack on the German Army in April of last year, and he was the first General in this war who devised the plan of attack on a wide front which the Germans have followed with such success since then. And when the attack took place unity of command was established during the battle, but it was to come to an end after the battle was over.

There has been a good deal of controversy about the French part in that battle, and that I shall not enter into.

VALUE OF VIMY RIDGE

Taking the battle as a whole, 50,000 prisoners were captured and 400 to 500 guns; large tracts of territory, some of it of first strategic importance, were captured. So far as the British part in the battle is concerned it was an attack on the left of the allied armies on the heights of Vimy. The British part of the battle was the biggest success won by the British armies since 1914.

Members will recollect that it ended in sweeping the German troops away from the heights of Vimy, from which the prolonged attacks by the French Army in 1915 had failed to dislodge them. It has been since like a great bastion, which the Germans could neither capture nor turn, and every effort they have made has ended in a most sanguinary repulse, and as long as it was in British hands it made difficult and impracticable to carry out their great operations for severing the British Army and ultimately destroying it.

Think what a difference it would have made if some of Vimy Ridge had been in the hands of the Germans on March 21. It would have made all the difference in the world. That was the first experiment in unity of command, and it achieved great results, especially for the British Army.

Then came the various efforts at Versailles, and afterward the unfortunate controversy which raged around the efforts in February of last year. We had no time to reap the benefit of it before the great blow fell. The controversy was in the army itself, but the Germans succeeded by their blow in convincing the most obdurate of the essential need of unity of command, and from the moment that General Foch assumed strategic command the fortunes of the allied armies were restored. There have been, perhaps, mishaps like the Château-Thierry disaster since, but by masterly handling of reserves of French, Italian, and American troops, as well as British, he gradually baffled

the German efforts, and it has ended in the disastrous retreat from the Marne, which has produced such a wealth of confidence and enthusiasm in allied countries and such depression in enemy lands.

It is too early to predict that the German effort is exhausted, and it would be a mistake for us to imagine it. There is no use in fostering false confidence. The Germans have still powerful forces in reserve; not so many as they had, but although it is too early to say that their efforts are over, it is not too early to say that the chance of March 21 will not come to them again.

Those conditions cannot now be reproduced for the German General Staff. The Americans have already a powerful army, and a tried army, and a victorious army in France equal to the best troops in the field, and growing every day, and there will be no break in the increase of that army until America will have an army not far short, if at all, of the German Army itself.

On the other hand, Germany can never maintain the same number of divisions. They are already reduced since March 21. They are now begging for Austrian support—rather humiliating for the great German Army, the army which was to destroy the allied armies by May.

Some of Germany's allies are now becoming a burden to Germany, rather than a support. They are now becoming disillusionized as to German invincibility. Germany promised great things to her allies this year. We can see the effects. Suddenly there was a withdrawal of all peace tenders. When you probed you found they were not there. What had happened? Germany said to her people, "Don't you worry about peace; we can dictate it in a few months. We mean to have a great offensive in the west that will destroy the allied armies."

Peace talk suddenly ceased. You could not hear a whisper, and the tinkle of the telephone bells stopped.

The great promise has failed. The economic position of the Central Powers and their allies is one of despair, and their harvests are not too good, and they are short of many essentials. Militarily they are past the height of their endeavors. At sea they know they have failed.

READY TO HELP RUSSIA

Russia has been a great disappointment. Russia has become a tangle to their feet. Russia is broken into a number of diffused but ill-defined entities that make the part of diplomacy exceedingly difficult. In relation to that vast country there is no *de jure* government there. They attempted to set up one by election. No sooner did the election take place than the Constituent Assembly was dispersed by force.

The idea that we are behaving hostilely toward a great democratic government has nothing in common with the facts of the case. There is no democratic government

in Russia now. Whatever its professions it is a government by force, and our only policy was to deal with the de facto government, and that is not easy. We have not the slightest desire to interfere with the Russian people, and we have certainly no intention of imposing upon them any particular government. That is a matter entirely for themselves, but when we see Germany imposing her authority on large tracts and exploiting or attempting to exploit them to the detriment of the Allies, against the will of the people, we feel at any rate that the Russian people ought to be free to decide for themselves.

Recent events, violent as they are, demonstrate that they regard the Germans as marauders, and the Russian people is more and more seeking allied assistance. We shall not hesitate to render every help in our power to liberate them from this cruel oppression.

POLICY IN SIBERIA

The Czechoslovak movement is a very remarkable movement. The only desire of the Czechoslovaks was to leave Russia and to come to the west to fight for the Allies. They asked us for ships, and we made arrangements to get ships to bring them away. I say this because I wish to make it clear that we are not exploiting the Czechoslovaks in order to interfere with Russian internal affairs. We took ships away from very important and essential work elsewhere in order to send them to Vladivostok.

Acting undoubtedly under German duress, the Bolshevik Government refused to allow them to get to Archangel and Vladivostok. If the Czechoslovaks have now become the centre of activities which are hostile to the Bolshevik Government in Russia, the Bolshevik Government have themselves to blame and no one else. The first thing they asked the Czechoslovaks to do was to disarm. They would have been lunatics if they had handed over their arms. You cannot blame the Czechoslovaks for getting assistance whenever and from wherever they could in order to save themselves.

We are told that Siberia is Bolshevik. If that is so, why do not the Siberians support that Government? They could not get a decent sized army, and so German and Austrian prisoners have been ordered to attack the Czechoslovaks and to prevent them getting to Vladivostok.

I want to make that clear, because there has been some criticism of the action of the President of the United States in the decision he has taken in conjunction with Japan to send forces to Vladivostok in order to rescue the Czechoslovaks from the plight that they have been put into by the organization of German and Austrian prisoners of war.

I have only a few words to say about what has been said about peace. There are people who seem to consider any effort to make

peace as in itself dishonorable and treason to their country. That attitude must be steadfastly discouraged, but is this a moment—I put it to those who only want an honorable peace—when such a peace could be made?

Why did we go into the war? Because the instinct and conscience of the British people told them that something, which is fundamental to human happiness and to human progress, was put in jeopardy by the great military power of Germany. That will remain indelible as long as the caste that made the war is in supreme command in Germany. Has there been any change in that respect?

Let us take recent events, such as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, when some German statesmen went in, I believe, with intention of negotiating a peace which, according to their minds, would be fair. What happened? As soon as there was any indication that there was to be anything but a humiliating and drastic peace imposed upon Russia, the German high command swept aside Count von Hertling, von Kühlmann, and Czernin, and imposed their own terms.

The next step was the humiliating and enslaving peace imposed upon Rumania.

The third test was what happened after Baron Kühlmann's speech in the Reichstag, in which he ventured to say things which I should have thought perfectly obvious to any one who had witnessed the course of the war from the point of view of the Germans. In a few days he was swept away.

What did that mean? It meant that the people who made the war were still prosecuting their sinister aims. You cannot have peace as long as they are predominant in the councils of our chief enemy.

WARNS OF PEACE TRICKERY

I believe in a league of nations, but whether a league of nations is going to be a success or not will depend upon the conditions under which it is set up. Some of us here have been members of representative assemblies for a generation. Every one knows that when any great decision is to be taken what determines it is not so much what is said as the fact that there is some power behind it which takes a certain view and has the power to enforce that view. It is the electorate here.

In any league of nations let us take care that it is not the sword. The same thing might conceivably happen to a league of nations unless you started under favorable conditions. You might enter it, the Germans not saying it in words, but saying in their actions, "We have invaded your lands, we have devastated them; we have trampled you under foot; you failed to drive us back; you made no impression upon our armies, they were absolutely intact when peace was declared; had it not been for our economic difficulties you would never have

won, and we will take great care next time that we shall not be short of rubber, corn, and other essentials."

Every time you came to a decision the Prussian sword would clank on the council table. What is the good of entering into a league of nations of that sort? We all want peace, but it must be a peace which is just. It must be a peace which is durable. We don't want to put this generation or the

next through the horrors of this war. To be durable, it must be just. It must be more; there must be a power behind it, a power that can enforce its decrees, and all who enter that conference must know that inside that league such a power does exist. And when you have demonstrated even to the enemy that such a power does exist, durable peace will then come, but no sooner.

President Wilson and the League of Nations

By HERBERT H. ASQUITH

Former Premier of Great Britain

[DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, LONDON, JULY 4, 1918]

IT would be too sweeping a generalization from the facts of history to assert that great occasions always produce, or find, great men. It may be that the case of America is one of rare good fortune. But it is a fact that in the supreme crises of her national history the man whom she most needed for inspiration and for guidance has always appeared. The War of Independence might have had a different course, and would almost certainly have had different consequences in its immediate after-history, but for George Washington. He was a great statesman, as well as a great soldier. The new state of things, he wrote very soon after he became President, was to be, in the first instance, in a considerable degree, "a Government of accommodation, as well as a Government of laws"—a wise and perfect sentence.

Nearly a century passed, and, in a still more terrible ordeal, America again found the right leader in a man untried and almost unknown—Abraham Lincoln. In the closing paragraph of perhaps his most famous speech—the second inaugural—he used the memorable words: "With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." In what more fitting language could we today express what is worthiest and best in the spirit of the Allies?

Washington and Lincoln are illustrious names, which have passed into history. We must not attempt to anticipate its final judgment upon men still living, whose lifework is not yet complete. But I will venture to say of President Wilson, who has been the head of the American Government in times hardly, if at all, less testing than any in its annals, these two things: First, he has taken and carried with him his people in the greatest decision of our age; next, he has laid before the world the grounds for that decision; the reasons which not only justified but compelled it, the spirit in which it was adopted; the aims, not narrow or local, but worldwide in their scope, at which it is directed, in State papers which are worthy to live side by side with the most sagacious and inspiring utterances of his most famous predecessors.

The critics, if there are any left, who were inclined to blame the President for delaying his intervention seem to me to show lack both of knowledge and of imagination. The direct participation of America as an active belligerent in a European war was a new departure in policy, alien to the traditions and prepossessions of her people. It is, moreover, the first time in history that a great democracy, organized not for war, but for peace, separated by thousands of miles from the nearest theatre of action, has been invited, and has resolved, to take up arms in a quarrel in which it had no scintilla of territorial or material interest, and no bond, direct or indirect, of treaty obligation. To embark

upon and, still more, to carry through such an enterprise, the first condition of success was national unity, unity of conviction, unity of spirit, unity of effort. That condition President Wilson secured. It could only have been secured by a rare combination of insight and of patience, and that, in spite of all the obstacles that lay in his path, he did secure it, will always give him an undisputed title to a high place in the gratitude and the reverence of those who love right and cherish freedom.

But it is one thing to embrace a good cause, which many of us have done in our time—it is quite another to push it to a victorious issue. If any cause, good or bad, is to hold its own in these days on the battlefield—on sea and land, under the sea, and in the air—it must be equipped not only with the strongest battalions and the best and fastest ships, not only with an adequate organization of transport and supply, but with a superiority in all the manifold mechanical devices for aggression and defense which the hellish ingenuity of modern warfare has at its command. We, in this country, know well by our own experience how severe a task that is in a community bred on the traditions and in the habits of the Anglo-Saxon race. America, too, has had her difficulties. They have not stifled but stimulated her energies; and the presence here tonight of my friend and guest, Admiral Sims—of General Biddle—and of the many officers of the two great services over which they respectively preside, gives us a welcome opportunity of acknowledging our unbounded admiration for the magnificent contribution which America has made, is making, and, as we know, will continue in even increasing measure to make to the common cause.

And here again we may gratefully trace the guiding hand and the driving will of the President. I am not sure that the world does not owe its greatest debt to President Wilson for helping men whose vision is naturally apt to be blurred and even blinded by the smoke of the battlefield to lift up their eyes and to look through it and beyond it. It is very difficult in time of war to keep a steady

head or even a clean tongue. It is not the least of President Wilson's services to the allied cause that he does both.

After all, we cannot ask ourselves too often or too searchingly what it is that we are fighting for. During the first month or six weeks of the war I said, quoting a phrase of Mr. Gladstone's, that the "enthronement of the idea of public right" was the best definition we could have of the ends of our war policy. And that idea, I added, could only be realized by a "real international partnership, based on the recognition of equal rights, and established and enforced by a common will." I venture to recall those words, lest it should be supposed that what we now speak of as the League of Nations was a mere afterthought. But there can be no question that President Wilson has done more than any statesman of the Entente to concentrate the minds, not only of his own people and of the Allies, but of neutral nations, and I will add, so far as they are allowed to hear and know the truth, of the enemy peoples themselves, upon this as our dominating and worldwide aim. It is this which, apart from, and in addition to, the special claims and special interests of this or that nationality, justifies the sacrifice which the great democracies are making of their blood and their treasure, of the best resources of their manhood, of the brightest promise of their youth.

We hear talk of a "clean peace." There can be no clean peace which does not clear away the causes of war. That is the true crusade to which we ought to consecrate our devotion and our energies. My noble friend, Lord Grey—who from his experience and character speaks among European statesmen with unique authority—has pointed out in his recent pamphlet some of the practical conditions, positive and negative, to which any such league or partnership must conform. Our enemies, both in Germany and Austria, are apparently for the moment too much preoccupied with intestine difficulties to look around or ahead. If we could penetrate beneath the surface we should probably find that the minds of the great mass of the population in both empires are poisoned with false legends, which

grossly distort our purposes and aims. We cannot help that, though we should do our best with all the means at our disposal to dissipate it. But what seems to me all important is that, both here and in America, we should realize, and act as though we realized, that the League of Nations is neither a vague political abstraction nor an empty rhetorical formula, but that it is a concrete and definite ideal, the embodiment in practicable shape of by far the most urgent constructive problem of international statesmanship.

I trust that the best and most instructed minds among us, on both sides of the Atlantic, will, without any prejudices to the supreme necessity of winning the war, contribute all that they have of expert knowledge, resources, and practical suggestion to the common stock. Let no one suppose that it is an easy task

which will yield to the simple solvents of sentiment and good-will. It needs, if its difficulties are to be overcome, all the resources of the hardest and the clearest thought. But there is much to encourage those who confront it in the experience of the past. Changes which seemed at least as utopian have passed, and passed rapidly, from dreams into realities. We have seen the abolition of private war. We have seen the reconciliation of disconnected and jarring races and interests in the lasting unity of federated commonwealths. This is a new step, a long step, a large step in advance on the road of human progress. But it can and it must be taken. And when the goal is reached, as it will be, and that perhaps sooner than many expect, due honor will be paid to one of the first and greatest of its pioneers—to President Wilson.

Austria's Leaders Accept Germany's Policy

By COUNT CZERNIN

Former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister

[IN AN ADDRESS IN THE AUSTRIAN UPPER HOUSE IN REPLY TO THE AUSTRIAN PREMIER, DELIVERED JULY 18, 1918]

IF the Premier [Dr. von Seidler] really treads the path he has indicated there is no doubt that we shall place ourselves unconditionally under him. Our policy suffers from the defects of the system whereby we pursue a different course in our domestic and foreign policies. In our foreign policy we steer, thank God, a German course. We are laboring very intensively on an extension and deepening of the German alliance. In our domestic policy it must, it is true, be admitted that the Premier, whose good qualities I recognize, for some time has been endeavoring to enter upon a clear course.

A domestic policy which is in accord with foreign policy can only rest on the majority, which in its nature is German. Only the separation of Galicia from the Austrian complex of lands can bring about a decisive step forward. A wavering domestic policy deprives Austria of her power of resistance and encourages

our enemies, who are quite openly working for a revolution within the empire. That was not always so. So long as the Entente hoped to be able to separate us from Germany and bring about a separate peace it treated us benevolently. Only when it became convinced that we are incapable of felony, and that we shall wage a war of defense for Germany's interests exactly as for our own to the end, did their protection give place to an attempt at revolution.

As long as the war lasts the monarchy can only be an ally or an enemy of Germany; it can never be neutral. I say nothing of what honor and the obligations of the alliance demand, although that alone would be a sufficient reason for not even mentioning the idea. Base acts have often enough occurred in the history of the world, but when they are also idiotic, then—. An internal policy which does not follow the same course as our foreign policy damages not only the

relations of our alliance but also our influence in Europe for the attainment of a world peace. The war is at the bottom a duel between Germany and Great Britain. The moment Germany and Great Britain can come to an understanding the world war is at an end, despite the French and Italian Utopia of conquest.

[Count Czernin added that he had read the last statement of the Imperial Chancellor relative to Belgium with great satisfaction, and he thought he might hope that the clear mind of this eminent statesman offered a guarantee in Germany, too, that this war would have reached an end at the moment when their enemies renounced their Utopian plans of conquest. Count Czernin continued:]

The Imperial Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George, and our Foreign Minister [Count Burian] are all, according to their declarations, inclined to examine peace proposals, but none of them will make them themselves. The way out of this dilemma would be if each of the two groups of powers would communicate their peace proposals to a neutral power which, by comparing the peace proposals of both sides, could form an idea as to

whether an agreement were possible or not. If only there were the slightest prospect of an understanding an attempt should be made. Absolute confidence between Berlin and Vienna is also a condition of the Austro-Polish solution.

[The speaker said he had recently become very skeptical regarding a solution of the Austro-Polish question. He no longer believed in it, because neither the Austrian Poles nor the Austrian Ukrainians had finally decided upon the matter, but the fact remained that those prerequisites might be established between Vienna and Berlin. That formed the basis of his entire line of thought. He protested against the allegation that the Brest peace was not a peace of understanding, stating in this connection that the union of Courland and Lithuania to Germany took place at their direct desire after the Russian Government had proclaimed free self-determination as the right of all individual peoples. The Rumanian peace was also a peace of understanding, and the best proof thereof was that Rumania herself would protest most loudly if this peace should be annulled and if it had to give up Bessarabia again.]

Views of Baron Burian and Baron Hussarek

Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in a communication sent July 16, 1918, to the Prime Ministers of Austria and Hungary, discussed the differences between the Central Powers and the Entente as follows:

If our enemies continuously demand atonement for wrong done, and "restitution," then this is a claim which we, on our part, could urge with much more justification against them, because we have been attacked, and the wrong done to us must above all be redressed. But this kind of interest will hardly prevent, to a considerable degree, the unraveling of the terrible war entanglement.

The enemy's obstinacy in regard to his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, Trentino, Trieste, the German colonies, &c., appears to be insurmountable. Herein lies the limit of our readiness for peace. We are prepared to discuss everything, but not the cession of our own territory.

The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure of the

monarchy itself, too, is to be attacked, and the monarchy to be dissolved, if possible, into component parts. Now that it is recognized that ordinary war methods have not sufficed to defeat us, then suddenly the interest in our internal affairs arose supreme. The Entente, however, discovered its sympathy for our internal affairs at so late a period of the war that many an enemy statesman who now prates about the monarchy's national questions as a war aim had probably no idea of their existence at the beginning of the war. This fact can be recognized from the amateurish and superficial manner in which our opponents discuss and attempt to solve these complicated problems. This method, however, appeared to them to be useful. They have, therefore, organized it as they have organized the blockade, and in England they have now also a Propaganda Minister. We wish to place this attack on record, but without any useless indignation or whining.

The choice of this new means of fighting us, however, does not show too great confidence in the success of our enemy's

previous efforts. We are certain that it will be unsuccessful. Our opponents start from a completely mechanical misjudgment of the character of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and prefer, in their satisfaction, to overlook the present difficult internal problems and the fact that these States, with their various nationalities, are no accidental structure, but a product of historical and ethnographical necessity which carry in themselves the fundamental principle of life and race. They therefore possess, and this applies fully to Austria and Hungary, the necessary elasticity and adaptability to the changing events of the times, the ability to reform themselves according to the necessities of their standard of development, and to solve all internal crises without uncalled-for foreign interference.

Our enemies want to paralyze us by an offensive of irritation and so render us helpless. They want to crush our very powerful organism in order to make the weak parts one after the other serviceable to their own purposes. In this they will fail.

According to their uninvited prescriptions, one-half of Austria-Hungary's population may perish in order to make the other half happy. For that purpose this senseless war must be continued.

As has always been the case for centuries past, the States and races of the monarchy will settle their internal problems in agreement with their ruler. The monarchy resolutely declines foreign interference in any form just as it does not meddle with the affairs of foreigners.

We have never prescribed a program for our enemies as to how they shall deal with their domestic questions, and when we have occasion frequently to recall that it is not all happiness and harmony with our enemies in their domestic affairs, and that they have their own problems in Ireland, India, &c., we did so only by way of exhortation to reciprocity, giving the advice: "Sweep before your own door."

Our enemy's inflammatory activity is not content with trying to stir up our races against one another, but it does not even scruple, by means of circulating monstrous and base calumnies, to sow

distrust between the races of the monarchy and the hereditary dynasty.

Baron von Hussarek, the new Austro-Hungarian Premier, in unfolding his policy in the lower house of Parliament, said on July 27:

In firm union with Germany, with which we are united in unshakeable friendship and loyalty, and with which we are about to be more closely united, it is now imperative to enforce a successful end to this terrible struggle. After a year of severe trial it is now time to realize the intentions which the Central Empires' statesmen repeatedly have unanimously stated, which threaten no one, and which aim at a general reconciliation of the people. The Austrian Government will contribute all in its power to the attainment of this ardently desired end.

For the attainment of this aim the outward manifestation of power alone does not suffice. There must also be a development of internal strength. An absolute condition, therefore, is continual constitutional co-operation with Parliament, to which the Government will scrupulously adhere.

In presenting his Cabinet to the upper house of Parliament on July 30 Baron Hussarek declared:

We are ready to conclude an honorable peace as soon as our opponents renounce their hostile plans aiming at our destruction or repression. So long as our opponents take the standpoint of one-sided dictation there is nothing for us but to continue the war and carry it on so vigorously that it will be shortened.

As in war, so in peace, Austria will not stand alone. Our alliance with Germany is a real affair of the heart and will deepen under the influence of peace. There is nothing menacing in this alliance, the warlike contents of which were forced upon the Central Powers by their opponents and will cease as soon as they extend the hand of peace.

Baron von Hussarek said that the Dual Monarchy could remain fully confident in its army and alliances to obtain a good and honorable peace.



Belgium as a Pawn

The Caustic Reply of the British Foreign Minister to Count Hertling

By ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

[AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY AT LONDON, JULY 20, 1918]

FOUR years ago the people of Belgium, like the people of Great Britain and of France, had no premonition of the disasters that were, within a fortnight, about to overwhelm them. Belgium was pursuing the peaceful and tranquil tenor of her national life, a model of industrial efficiency and political freedom, neither dreaming of making war nor fearing that others would make war upon her. The change from that day is indeed a tragic change, for we now see this martyr among the nations, her land trampled by a foreign and remorseless enemy; stripped of all means by which she can carry on her national interests; reduced to a servitude which in some cases amounts, I fear, almost to a slavery—tortured, crushed, helpless. And yet, though that is the picture of what has occurred to Belgium since July 21, 1914, I think there never was a moment when her virtue shone out more clearly in the face of mankind, and when the infamy of her oppressor caused bitterer hate or profounder loathing among all civilized nations.

The Germans, I believe—I know—calculated that, however unjustifiable by the laws of God and man and the rules that govern the commerce of civilized nations, however infamous her conduct might appear, success, striking, rapid, and overwhelming, would cause all those crimes to be buried in the past, and that she would shine out among all nations, if not the most beloved, at least the most feared, at least the greatest. Germany has made many miscalculations in this war. Indeed, she has never made a moral calculation which was not utterly wide of the mark, and her habitual practice has not been abandoned in this case. The crime of which Belgium is the victim

is not forgotten, is not likely to be forgotten, never will be forgotten. It is an eternal stain upon the fame of the German people which nothing they can do, even were they to repent tomorrow of their political crimes, would ever wipe out.

BROKEN CONTRACTS

Mankind are not mere worshippers of brute successes which the German moralists assume. There is such a thing as the human conscience and the human memory, and if and when this war ends successfully, when Belgium again takes her place among the free and independent and prosperous nations of the world, it will be vain for the Germans to try and put aside the memory of all that they have done. It is burned into the conscience of civilized mankind; nothing will efface it.

To me it seems that, perhaps from the very nature of the polemic in which we have all been more or less plunged since the war began, we have been inclined, from the fact that Germany broke all her treaties in attacking Belgium, to lose the full perspective, to see out of its correct proportion the real character of the deed that she then performed. It is perfectly true that the attack on Belgium becomes doubly infamous from the fact that the attacker had promised to be the defender, and that those whom Germany was overwhelming were the very people whom Germany herself had solemnly promised to defend. It is also true, and cannot be forgotten, that Germany's utter disregard of treaties is something we are bound to remember whenever we base a policy upon German promises.

The Germans tell us—and I hope in this respect that they tell us truly—that

the war is not going to be a prolonged one, and that peace negotiations are visible already above the horizon. I do not associate myself with those prophecies one way or the other. All I say is that when the time comes when Europe has to consider around a council table how to protect itself against a repetition of the horrors and atominations of which Germany has been responsible, it will be impossible for European statesmen to forget that a German promise is not a binding contract—and that the peace of the world rests on frail foundations indeed if it rests on nothing more solid than a solemn pact. That again, I agree, is a most important fact which we can not and ought not attempt to forget. There is another aspect again connected with the Belgian outrage which must be ever present to the minds of the citizens of this country, for it was the fact—and the fact is a mere historical truth—that we were pledged to defend Belgium, which wiped out every doubt that could touch the conscience of any man of British birth as to whether it was or was not his duty to take part in this great struggle.

A "FLIMSY EXCUSE"

Therefore, from all these three aspects I do not deny that the breach by Germany of her treaty obligations is of the deepest as well as of the most sinister significance. Do not let us forget that had there been no treaty binding Germany to protect Belgium, had Germany violated no paper contract at all, the infamy of attacking a small, friendly, and neutral State—first attacking it, then conquering it, then oppressing it—all for no other reason than that Germany wanted to get at another foe, that would remain, if the Treaty of 1839 had never been brought into existence, one of the most shocking episodes of the war—and one which, of all others, is of a character which it behooves mankind, by some league of nations or other machinery, to see shall never recur in the future.

I am aware that the Germans in the earlier days of this controversy were good enough to observe that Belgium

had brought all these misfortunes upon herself, because instead of trusting to Germany and silently permitting Germany to use her country she had defended to the best of her ability that neutrality which we were all pledged to protect. What a flimsy excuse is this! But flimsy as it is, I am not sure that the general public appreciates its full cynicism. At the very time that Belgium was being attacked by the German armies, Switzerland, another small country, another free country, announced that it was prepared to defend its neutrality against all attacks. How did the Germans deal with that situation? They sent a document, of which anybody who takes the trouble can obtain a copy, in which they congratulated the Swiss upon their courage and foresight (I forget the exact words, but that is what it comes to,) and which told them how pleased they were to learn that the Swiss were determined at all costs to maintain their position as a neutral power. So that you have at the same moment Belgium attacked and told that neutrality is a thing which a weak nation ought not to raise against a nation so much more powerful—and I presume so much more cultivated—than themselves, while another nation, also a small nation, is told that it is doing well in publishing to the world that it will not allow its neutrality to be interfered with, and is making all preparation to prevent it being interfered with. Who can doubt that if it had suited the German high command to attack France through Switzerland, instead of through Belgium, it would have been Belgium that would have received the congratulations of the German Government, and it would have been Switzerland who would have been trampled under the German heel?

WHAT IS A "PAWN"?

But, surely, the crowning insult has been leveled against Belgium by the German Chancellor in his last speech. He then told the world, the German world in the first place, and listening nations in the second place, that Germany did not propose to keep Belgium forever, but that Germany did intend

to use Belgium as a pawn. The word "pawn" ought not to be unfamiliar to the German Chancellor, for it has been used in connection with the future peace arrangements both by President Wilson and by the German Chancellor himself on a previous memorable occasion. You may remember that when Germany did not think that things were going quite so well with her as she thought, when Count Hertling made one of his recent speeches, he dwelt at length in the Reichstag on President Wilson's well-known four points. This is what Count Hertling said: "The second of President Wilson's points is that peoples and provinces shall not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels or pawns in a game for the balance of power. This clause," went on the German Chancellor, "in President Wilson's pronouncement can be unconditionally assented to. Indeed, one wonders that the President of the United States considered it necessary to emphasize it anew."

THE SUPREME INSULT

Compare with that the more recent utterance of the same orator, in which he says that "the occupation and present possession of Belgium only means that we have a pawn for future negotiations." Now what does a "pawn," in the sense in which it is used by the Chancellor, really mean? It means that having attacked Belgium without provocation, having conquered it, and having treated it when conquered without pity, having deprived it of every material good and of all the moral benefits that attach to freedom, he is prepared to give it up provided he can get some other territory in which the Germans can exercise their peculiar gifts.

When he talks of a pawn and of exchanging Belgium for some other district, some other country, some other colony, it

may be it only means that he will consent no longer to misgovern and oppress Belgium on condition that the powers permit Germany to misgovern and oppress some other areas in Europe or elsewhere. That is what treating Belgium as a pawn means—that and nothing else. And to me it seems that of all the outrages to which Belgium has been subjected none has been more insulting.

Against the dark background of these infamies, military infamies, political infamies, administrative infamies, the brightness of Belgium's glories and virtues shine out with special and immortal lustre. Whether we think of what her people have endured, or what her army has done and is doing, or what her heroic monarch has performed for his country — whether we look at all three as one indivisible and patriotic whole, our admiration warms and glows at the contemplation of this unique endurance, this unique flight of courage, faith, endurance, and patriotism. Bitter must be the thought in every Belgian heart of what Belgians in Belgium are now suffering. Let them, however, take courage. Let their spirits rise in the mood of profound cheerfulness, for these dark days are not going to last forever, and when they come to a conclusion, when peace again dawns upon this much tormented and cruelly tried world, when Belgium is again free and prosperous, then Belgians, whether they have spent these unhappy years in exile, or, an even harder fate, have spent them in their own country, they will be able to look back upon this time of cruel and unexampled trial, and they will say to themselves, to their children, and to their descendants, that Belgium, though her existence as a political entity is less than a century, has within that period shown an example of courage, constancy, and virtue to mankind for which all the world should be grateful.

Belgium Under the Iron Heel

Intolerable Conditions of Life in Belgian Cities Under German Domination

[BY A BELGIAN LAWYER WHO ESCAPED FROM THE COUNTRY AND TOLD THE LONDON TIMES WHAT HE HAD SEEN]

ON the smallest pretext, a mere suspicion, an anonymous letter, &c., the most honorable citizens are arrested, imprisoned, and completely isolated. Some have never been examined, and are released after a few months' captivity without being allowed to know the cause of their arrest. Others are subjected to constant cross-examinations and sometimes to severe ill treatment to force them to confess their supposed crime. The prisons of Turnhout, Antwerp, and Charleroi have been converted into torture chambers. At Turnhout, a German officer named Fliieger strikes the accused in the face with a whip. In Antwerp, the two brothers Meyer and the Director of the prison are the chief torturers. Several of their victims have become mad. If brute force fails, the Germans try to extract confession through false promises, as in the case of a citizen of Brussels who had been corresponding with his son at the front. His letters having been seized, he was solemnly promised that if he mentioned the name of the messenger the latter would not be prosecuted. He was weak enough to speak, and his accomplice was condemned to eight months' solitary confinement.

If this method fails, the examiners adopt sterner means, depriving the prisoner of food, drugging him, or putting in his cell a spy in disguise who will try to gain his confidence. Sometimes even false documents are produced which are supposed to be signed by an accomplice and the prisoner is told that, his friends having confessed their crime, it is no use for him to resist any longer.

The prisons are overcrowded, three and four men being confined in a cell designed for one. The bedding is not

changed for months and the prisoners receive one towel a month, which must be used for everything. Most of the food is uneatable, and the prisoners—whether accused or convicted—are subjected to the worst ill-treatment. If they do not spring to attention before their guards, if they speak in the courtyard, if they turn their head when at attention they are mercilessly struck in the face. Sometimes, during the night, those who are condemned to deportation are warned to be ready to go in the early morning. If they shout with anger or even cry with anguish on receiving the news their guards rush into the cell and knock them about until they fall senseless on the floor. This is not hearsay. I have had the opportunity of meeting several trustworthy people who have been the eye-witnesses and the victims of such scenes, particularly in Antwerp.

As a lawyer, I am able to give some details of the sittings of the German Military Court. In Brussels, these sittings take place in a large room on the second floor of the Ministry of the Navy. The Judges sit from 8 o'clock in the morning till late at night. The Public Prosecutor, after explaining the case in German, examines the German agents and the witnesses for the prosecution. The advocate, usually chosen by the accused's relations, has a most difficult and painful task, as he is not allowed to see the dossier and cannot even interview his client. He knows practically nothing of the case when he comes into court and has to improvise his defense during the proceedings. The accused is cross-examined in German, the questions being translated by an interpreter. The severity of the German Judges is well known. No week passes without three or four executions taking place. In Antwerp

twenty-four people were recently condemned to death in one day.

The Germans themselves estimate at 100,000 a year the number of condemnations and fines inflicted on the Belgians. Though this figure is certainly below the mark, such persecutions only affect a minority and are not the worst evil which the people have to stand.

The cost of food and fuel inflicts untold sufferings on the whole nation and threatens the existence of every Belgian home. The following figures give a fair idea of the increase in prices since the beginning of the war:

	1913.	1916.	1917.	April, 1918.
A pound of meat..	\$0.35	\$0.60	\$1.41	\$2.00
A pound of butter. .	.35	.60	2.50	3.50
A pound of bacon. .	.50	1.10	2.50	....
A pint of milk.....	.05	.08	.25	....
One egg .....	.02	.08	.25	....
Meal, per pound...	.03	.50	1.00	....
Sugar, per pound..	.06	.50	1.00	....
Potatoes, per lb...	.01	.07	.25	....

The principal cause of this increase in the cost of food is the creation by the Germans of their *Zentrale*, which requisitions almost everything under the pretext of stopping profiteering. The consumer is thus obliged to buy from smugglers, who run great risks in infringing the regulations forbidding the transport of potatoes, butter, and other foodstuffs from the country to the towns. Free fights occur frequently between the soldiers and the smugglers when the latter are in sufficient force, and in some cases German sentries have been killed. The average cost of the daily life of a family of two adults and two children, which before the war was 62 cents, is today \$3.50, and a yearly budget of \$230 for food expenses alone has risen to \$1,240.

The rich people are spending their capital, the people of the middle class are completely ruined, and the laboring class, the majority of whom are unemployed, are on the verge of starvation and entirely dependent on relief from outside. Most people have lost 25 per cent. of their weight, the cases of tuberculosis have increased by 100 per cent., and the doctors, in spite of their untiring devotion, can no longer cope with the work. The mortality, which was 8.5 per

1,000 in 1913, was 19.30 in 1917, and the birth rate has decreased from 17 per 1,000 to 13.7.

The shortage of coal is due mostly to the lack of means of transport, the railways and even the barges on the rivers and canals having been requisitioned. In Brussels a ton is worth anything between \$50 and \$60. In Flemish communes the Germans have given special facilities for transport and purchase to their Activist friends, who are monopolizing the trade and are able to sell at a much lower price, (\$20 to \$30 a ton,) realizing at the same time a net profit of over \$5 per ton. They insure in this way the fidelity of this little band of traitors. A similar organization was set up for Brussels, but it was boycotted by the public.

A similar policy with regard to the Activists has been pursued lately in every department of public life. Some of them fill several offices, being, at the same time, professors in the German-Flemish University at Ghent and chiefs of some department of the new Flemish Ministry in Brussels. The place of every patriot who resigned was promptly filled by some Activist without any claim or right to it. Young undergraduates have been made professors, and small employes are at the head of important offices. This policy is not without some inconvenience when dealing with such a motley crowd of shady characters. About a dozen Activists who had been given important posts in the new administration have had to be dismissed for accepting bribes.

The importance of the separatist movement has been greatly exaggerated abroad. At the demonstration which took place at Antwerp in February last, and to which the rank and file of the movement had come from the smallest village in Flanders, only between 300 and 400 men formed the procession. Altogether at that time the Activists certainly did not number 1,500 out of a population of 6,500,000. Since then, after the anti-Activist campaign started all over Flanders, their number has greatly diminished. Secret meetings of patriots were held at night to take the

necessary measures in view of the forthcoming visit of Activist leaders. At Ghent they were booed, at Antwerp stones and mud were thrown at them, and for two days they were hunted from house to house; at Tirlemont peasants armed with whips broke up their procession, and the garrison of Louvain had to be called out to rescue them from the hands of an infuriated mob; at Malines they were beaten.

I am inclined to think that the separatist movement has strengthened the morale of the Belgians instead of de-

teriorating it. The pact made by the Activists with the enemy has stirred the people's deepest energies. "We have 'lost everything' you hear them say, 'we have lost our liberty, our comfort, 'our flag, our King, to preserve our 'honor. Shall we allow this band of corrupted spies to pose as our representatives and to stain our good name?' By shaking hands with the German Chancellor the members of the Council of Flanders have prevented many from having anything to do with the humblest of his representatives in Belgium.

Saving Belgium From Starvation

Exactions of the Invaders

LORD ROBERT CECIL of the British Foreign Office, speaking in the House of Commons on Aug. 6, 1918, stated that the Germans had levied war contributions to a total of 2,330,000,000 francs (about \$466,000,000) upon Belgium, besides enormous fines upon localities, firms, and individuals. These monstrous exactions, he said, must certainly be taken into account when peace terms were being arranged.

The Belgian Legation at Washington issued the following official statement on Aug. 8:

Article 51 of the fourth convention of The Hague stipulates concerning requisitions in an occupied country of war material which can serve only the armies of occupation that they "must be proportionate to the resources of the country."

In Belgium the Germans have interpreted this article so liberally that the stipulated restriction no longer has any meaning; they have possessed themselves by seizures, purchases more or less voluntary, and requisitions of the food stores and of the agricultural products on the pretext that they were necessary for their so-called army of occupation, which in reality was their fighting army. There has resulted a great scarcity of the very essentials of existence.

With the same scorn of all the obligations to which they themselves subscribed, the invaders do not trouble themselves at all to feed the people, so that without national and foreign aid the people would be in danger of dying of hunger. It is to the great generosity of the United States

that the Belgians owe their escape from destruction by famine. They will never forget it.

One may realize the enormous importance of American aid by considering the following tables. There are to be found there the quantities of products, according to their weight, brought to Rotterdam and sent on to Belgium in the care of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. These totals would be much larger if the Germans had not too often carried off the stores of the "relief."

There have been sent from the United States (reported April 2, 1918):

Cheese, tons.....	31,023
Flour, tons.....	52,158
Meat, bacon, and lard, tons.....	983
Corn, tons.....	14,369
Rice, tons.....	2,674
Pease and beans, tons.....	4,080
Coffee, tons.....	34
Milk, tons.....	53
Potatoes, bushels.....	9,491,250
Miscellaneous, tons.....	9,000
Clothing, tons.....	123,000

In addition, large purchases have been made in several countries. They represent a total weight of 2,789,406,000 kilos.

FAMINE PRICES

To the list of wartime prices given in the foregoing article may be added a few items that appeared in the Teutonized Brussels press at the end of April, 1918: At the slaughter house of Anderlecht an ox was sold by weight for 13,000 francs, (\$2,600.) That makes up to 25 francs (\$5) a kilo and 35 francs (\$7) for the best cuts. Spinach, 2 francs (40 cents) a kilo, (2 pounds 3 ounces;) salad, (today

it is weighed in the shops as are drugs in a drug store,) 40 centimes (8 cents) for 100 grams, (3½ ounces;) turnips, 1 franc 30 centimes (26 cents) a kilo. A ray at the market of Brussels was sold for 18 francs (\$3.60) a kilo.

From the same source comes this picture:

Eleven o'clock at night. The pedestrians hurry to catch the last train. The Place de la Bourse is alive under the bluish light of the street lamps. At the corner of the Monico Restaurant in the shelter of a French window is seated an old man. Before him we see a basket in which are several articles. We stop. We walk around him. On a plate are spread out four or five slices of bread that etiquette calls a "sandwich" of liver sausage 2 francs 75 centimes, (55 cents.) At one side a diminutive tart, which seems to be made of rice, 3 francs 50 centimes, (70 cents.) Also some apples at 1 franc 25 centimes, (25 cents,) and boxes of matches at 25 centimes, (5 cents.)

A Belgian interned in Holland obtained permission to wear civilian dress. His wife, who had remained at Verviers, Belgium, joined him and the interned prisoner wrote recently to one of his friends as follows: "My wife has come "with my personal effects; however, a "number of people came to her, before "she left, and offered her for my Sunday "suit and overcoat, 500 francs, (\$100;) "for a pair of velvet trousers, which cost "me 7 francs (\$1.40) before the war, 40 "francs, (\$8;) for my shoes, 250 francs, "(\$50,) &c." Since this woman left, the situation has not improved. Wooden shoes are taking, more and more, the place of leather footwear; even the young girls who care most for appearances are obliged to wear wooden shoes.

The following statement regarding continued deportations of Belgian workmen to Germany was made public Aug. 1,

1918, by the Belgian Legation at Washington:

It is known that at the beginning of the year 1918, in spite of all their promises to the neutrals, as well as to the Pope, the Germans again deported from Lokeren (Eastern Flanders) to the western front, to labor at military works, 27,000 men of the middle and working classes.

It is announced at present that 200 of these unfortunates have been able to return to their native towns. They are all in a lamentable state of health, and for the most part tuberculous; but dysentery and typhus, underfeeding, cruel treatment, and blows have made very many victims among the men deported from Lokeren, and nothing marks the spot where they have been buried.

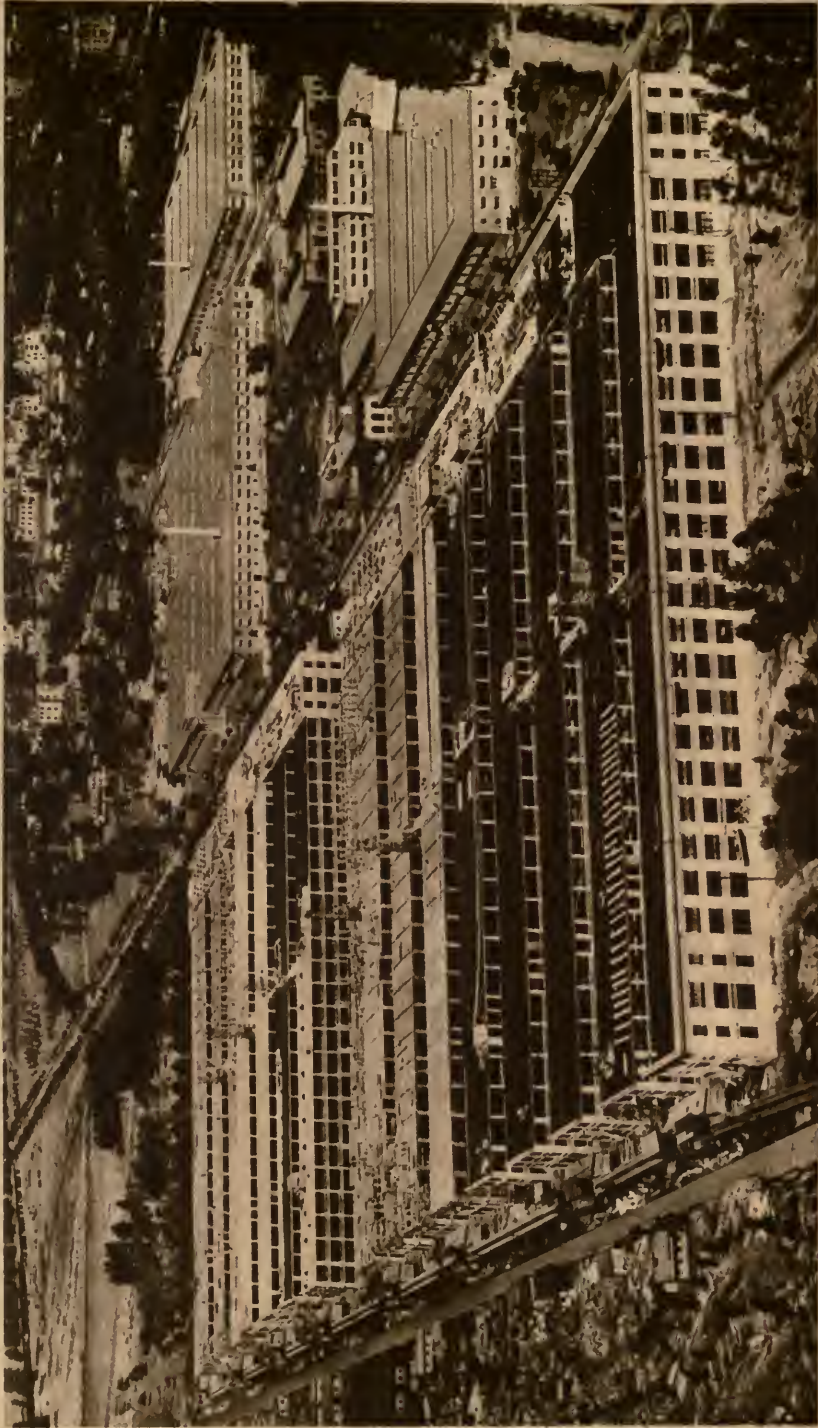
We learn that Louis Franck, Alderman of Antwerp, condemned once before by the Germans to pay a fine of 1,000 marks because of a speech too strongly stamped with patriotic loyalty, has just been arrested, condemned to two months in prison, and incarcerated in solitary confinement at Bonn, forbidden to communicate with the outside world.

According to the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, M. Franck was punished for having refused, in the name of the Communal Administration, to place at the disposal of the enemy the storehouse of the port and the force of workmen which is attached to it, the German requisition constituting a violation of the liberty of labor forbidden by the Belgian law.

News has come of the arrest and deportation into Germany until the end of the war of M. Braun, Burgomaster of Ghent, dismissed from office by the occupying authority at the request of the Activists. M. Braun will be accompanied by his associate, M. Maurice de Weert, an Alderman dismissed at the same time as the Burgomaster.

Up to the present four members of the Board of Aldermen of Ghent have experienced the severity of the enemy—M. Lampens, Deputy, imprisoned and deported; M. de Bruyn, Alderman of Public Instruction and of the Beaux Arts, deported; M. Braun and M. de Weert, the two most recent victims of the German terror, deported.





The new United States War Department building at Washington. It is the largest office building in the world



The first American troops on German soil. They are marching through Massevaux, (German Masmuenster,) in Alsace, a town reconquered by the French

(© Underwood)

American Government's Peace Terms

United States Senate Leaders of Both Parties Firmly Opposed to German Proposals

The attitude of the United States toward peace proposals was clearly stated by the leaders of the two political parties in the Senate Chamber on July 25, 1918. The addresses were made by Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, the Democratic whip, who has consistently represented the views of President Wilson on the floor of the chamber, and by Senator L. Y. Sherman of Illinois, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. The two Senators, representing the two opposing political parties, which constitute the entire membership of the Senate, are completely in accord in their views respecting the terms of peace. As the Senate is the treaty-making body of the United States Government, these utterances may be regarded as the irreducible minimum of any peace terms that could be ratified by this Government. Both utterances are presented herewith.

The Price of Peace

By J. HAMILTON LEWIS

Democratic Whip of the United States Senate

[ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, JULY 25, 1918.]

I HAVE for three or four mornings received protests in rather flaming language and in accusatory form, all charging this Government with having for its object the obeying of the demand of the capitalist power—whatever that means—in going into Russia, in refusing to “recognize the Bolsheviks,” and in “intruding ourselves in their affairs just at a time,” as the petitions charge, “when the rights of those who claim to represent the will of the people are about to be enforced.” These petitions charge that this Government has the object or desire of intercepting the men who represent what they call “real democracy”; that we are upon the eve of some intervention that they claim is in violation of all the policies which heretofore we have professed. They call attention to our friendship in the past shown in the democracy of Greece and the passage by Congress of resolutions in behalf of the different lands of South America when these were protesting against kingly oppression and fighting for their liberties. They invite attention to the fact that we raised a voice against foreign Governments attempting to lay

a strong hand upon the revolutionists of Cuba when Cuba sought freedom.

I deplore that one of these petitions referred to the “capitalist-owned” Republican Party, to the “capitalist-owned” Democratic Party, to the Senate as the slave of this wealth that merely bided its time to surrender, to the House of Representatives as the tool of tyranny, and everywhere asserts that this present Administration watches for an opportunity to ally itself with “those interests that are destroying democracy and are marching on over liberty.”

I never have refused to present petitions to this body whenever they came respectfully, even when I was very much opposed to the subject matter of the petition; but I do not feel that I am under any obligation to any people who may call themselves my constituents to present resolutions to this body which are couched in such unbecoming accusations—so unwarranted, in fact—as these in their reflections upon Senators who are loyal and faithful in their public service to their country, however much they may differ from each other on local subjects. I decline to present these petitions, and

I do not want the cover of cowardice or the excuse that I did not receive them or that I forgot them, or that I have been prohibited from presenting them by any particular rule of the Senate. I wish to say that I decline to present them. I decline to present them, not because I would not present to the Senate any protest from any American upon any subject touching government, but I do not feel that, in such language as they are framed, in such accusations as they are modeled, they should be presented here or that I could sponsor their presentation.

VON KUEHLMANN'S TERMS

I think we are confronted at this time with a most attractive and consoling aspect, so far as the European war is concerned, particularly as to the east. If history is a guide to us, all preceding action anticipating surrender, concessions, compromises equivalent to the confession of defeat are now being duplicated by the course of the Imperial German Government. A short while past the officials of this Government asserted to the world that it was their object to hold all those lands which had become their conquest, and all of those people that had become subjugated by the power of the sword. This was before America landed her soldiers and gave evidence of what we may call proof earnest of what we could do, what we would do, and what we had entered this war to do.

It is interesting to note that we have from von Kühlmann, Foreign Minister, the statement that Germany is now ready for peace, and the further statement that this peace cannot be obtained by arms nor is it expected that it shall be by arms. The appeal is now made that there be some diplomatic arrangement entered into by which there be some diplomatic tribunal established before which the propositions of peace may be made. One would have imagined when this proposition was made by von Kühlmann that it would have met indignant repudiation on the part of the Kaiser, it was so at variance with all the past boastings that had occupied those eminent leaders in their defiance to any

movement in behalf of justice and liberty, particularly as against us who were the envoy, as we felt, of just government administered by the will of the people.

Promptly after this von Kühlmann message we are moved to consider that von Hertling, the Chancellor, comes forth now to proclaim that it was never the intention of Germany to hold Belgium as a vassal nor to continue it as a prize. That the only object in holding Belgium is that it may be treated, to use his words, as a "pawn," something as a basis of trade. Where? Evidently in that anticipated diplomatic convention that is about to be called or that is desired, referred to by von Kühlmann, and as one of the considerations for the peace terms to be asked by Germany.

Now that is followed with the statement of an intimation to surrender Serbia, Rumania, a part of the Bulgarian country, and to yield all of those concrete demands as to military conquered countries of Europe—propositions for which we have contended as necessary to democracy and to liberty.

What does this mean? If there be those in this country who are now charging the United States with the object of intervening in the east in any form of intervention for the purpose of suppressing liberty, let them understand that any move this Government may make in harmony with the other Governments working to the common end of obtaining justice for the world is not addressed to suppressing anything in the east or intervening with a view of disturbing a free Government, whether it be Russia or any other Government that is at peace or on its way to liberty, but that our action, whatever it is to be, is to prevent the success of the design of Prussia, which is demonstrated to my mind, exhibited very clearly, by those two professions on the part of von Kühlmann and Hertling.

OSTENSIBLE CONCESSIONS

What are they? Some time ago I took the liberty of making a statement on this floor, and, I think, it was the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, [Mr. Nelson,] who forecast my views in

an expression of his own. We then said that in the lapse of time Prussia took for her military drives, and while she indulged the suggestion of what she called her peace move or peace drive, the real object was to tender to us an apparent evidence of granting all that we had asked in the way of freedom of the seas and government by the consent of the governed. Then she would make the offer to do something with Belgium satisfactory to the world and yield up the smaller possessions—particularly Northern France and Alsace-Lorraine.

I made bold then to offer the suggestion that all this when it came forth would be in consideration of our yielding to Germany the undisturbed privilege to possess all of that eastern country which she had overrun and taken by sword and cannon—that part of Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and a portion of Russia leading to an eastern outlet from sea to sea of which she is now in full control. This extends from Finland over across the Baltic and down to the Caspian. I said then that it was my opinion that her purpose was to make tender to the world that she was yielding everything we sought for in return for those things in the east, which, at the time we entered the war, she would say were not in our consideration and could not have been within our purpose, for when we entered the war she would say that those particular territories of Russia had no interest to us, and that, therefore, whatever has transpired concerning them was in defense of Germany against the advance she charges Russia had made upon her and not in opposition to any assault she had made against the Russians.

I am free to tell you there is information in this community that the suggestion has now been made by Prussia and Austria, filtered through Italy, and will find its way in a more official form and outwardly to all the people that Germany's proposition for peace is now that she will before the world tender Belgium, Rumania, something of privileges to Serbia, an apparent concession to the world of freedom of the seas for which America went to war, and the consent of the governed to the different localities

now subjugated, and for herself will ask in turn that as to all of this country of the east of which she has become possessed she be allowed to deal with it herself without our interference, the interference of Britain or that of France or of any other of the Allies, her object being that she may obtain the east and hold it—the thing that has been long her object—an increased population of 250,000,000 of people and a property of hundreds of billions of dollars.

PRUSSIA'S CHIEF OBJECT

I have held within myself that the principal object of Prussia in this war was to capture the east, that she might hold the east there to work her power in multiplied form for future destruction of her opponents. I think I see now that the proposition that will be before us in the immediate day has for its design to awaken the American public to the idea that we are now fighting uselessly; to give the impression that the men who are dying, crossing the Marne, moving forward in their valor and glory, are having their lives spent without a purpose; to impress mankind that Germany is tendering to the United States everything for which she went to war and yielding to the Allies every land for which they went to war, and to charge that the continuance of this conflict and the pushing of the allied armies forward into German territory is in direct violation of the things for which we said we went to war. The purpose is to awaken revolt on the part of every mother of a boy and every father of a son; to spread the cry in this country, echoing, "Gentlemen, why not accept the terms of Germany; she gives everything for which you went to war, she tenders a yielding to every proposition that you have ever asked; she only asks to be let alone as to those matters which were not the concern of America when she went to war and which Germany has obtained by virtue of her power in her defense after she was wrongfully assailed by Russia." Germany will present to the United States that it was Russia that prepared to assail her and that when she mobilized she did so only with the single object of

meeting this advance. She is now saying this through von Hertling, although we recall that Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador for Britain, at London, but a short while ago gave out that when the war came on through the action of Serbia it was the result long calculated and ordered, notwithstanding the efforts of Britain and Russia to arbitrate, that the suddenness of action was in order that Prussia might take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for quick assault. This ex-Ambassador has not been called to account for this confession.

I think I see clearly the move to advance upon our people with this false doctrine with a view to awakening, if they can, dissent in our nation, to create in Britain the feeling that all that Britain has gone to war for is now conceded, in the alleged granting of the rights of France and the rights of the sea. The object is to give to France the idea that all that for which France fought—Alsace-Lorraine and her northern border and fixed borderland—is now being conceded, and yet with all of that we still fight. The charge will be made that at last we are in the open, confessing that we are fighting for the possession of territory, to rob Germany of the field which is hers, and that in nowise were these zones which we entered to protect of concern to a people in whose interests and for whose welfare we have heretofore never professed any purpose or protection.

PERIL IN SIBERIA

Therefore, what will it mean? It will mean that if Germany by way of Esthonia, by way of Rumania, or by way of Vladivostok can get into the east she will have all of the soldiers, the vast millions, of this newly conquered eastern country—Russia and her accessories—and she will promptly organize them into an army of stupendous force.

Remembering the grievance that she feels of our aid to the allies, as she calls it, and our entering this war just at the moment she felt her triumph, she will, by way of Vladivostok, assail us from the Pacific or, coming around and out of the Persian Gulf into the Mediterranean,

assail us from the Atlantic, and it will be our country, the United States, which will be the very first to pay the penalty of yielding to these artful suggestions which are being made now with a view to arousing our countrymen to protest against further war. Therefore, if the United States shall find it necessary, in conjunction with those who are co-operating with us, to enter into Russia or into Siberia, let it be understood that it is not for the purpose, as charged by these petitioners or by other people, of intercepting any free government in those lands nor of taking one inch of anybody's territory or preventing the establishment of any democracy under law, but of preventing conversion by Prussia of these peoples—some innocent, some corrupt—into her service, by which she would possess everything from Poland to Vladivostok in the east, then convert all that force against us to the destruction of the things for which we did go into the war and be herself enabled to return to the conflict with a multiplied force and reopen the bloody conflict which she precipitated on this earth in the present war.

NO FALSE PEACE TERMS

For that reason we enter, for our protection as well as for the salvation of liberty to the hoping people of Russia, not as intruders, not as trespassers, but we do warn Prussia that we see through her designs; we understand this new profession of peace, this false propaganda; we inform her that we are not lured by its false glare; by it we are not deceived. And we announce that the course we will take is the course we should take for the preservation of those who rely upon us, and, above all, for that sure defense of America, whose soil and whose future is in danger unless we shall guard those interests in the east that could be converted against us by way of the Pacific.

I would protest against such peace terms and stand against them wherever I could make my voice heard, and I express to the people who send these petitions, as I do to my eminent colleagues here, that our duty here in the face of war and the real designs on the part of

Germany is to take the course that is in the mind and intention of our Government respecting the protection of Russia, the preservation of the East, and the proper salvation of America on the Pacific.

Therefore, I have assumed to offer these suggestions, and I might also say to my people that I trust that the object of these publications, which may come to us in apparent innocence, may not be misunderstood; that it shall be made known that it is with the view of inducing our

people to believe that peace can be had upon their own terms, with the object of tendering as the consideration of that peace that we yield those peoples and those countries which to surrender would mean very shortly afterward their oppression and our destruction. We answer all these approaches of Germany beseeching that we halt and listen to deception by replying in the words of the parable, Our hand is to the plow; we will not look back; our order is advance!

Germany Must Be Vanquished

By L. Y. SHERMAN

Republican Senator from Illinois

[FOLLOWING THE SPEECH OF SENATOR LEWIS IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, JULY 25, 1918]

I DO not wish to hear any peace talk or any intimation of peace while Germany occupies Belgium or flies her colors above a single foot of French soil. Neither do I wish to hear any intimations of peace until Germany has disavowed her piratical warfare on the sea and given pledges to the civilized world that the submarine shall cease its mockery of humanity, not only now but under guaranties for Germany's future behavior. I only desire to add to what my colleague from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] has forcefully intimated, that peace cannot be considered so long as Germany has failed to disavow the reasons that impelled us to declare war against her. There can be no peace on our part while such a public enemy remains at war with this country and with our allies.

The only time I myself care to consider whether peace shall be discussed in this chamber is when the power of the United States and her allies have driven Germany from Belgium, from France, have taken her by force off the high seas, and when the colors of this Republic are triumphant over the helmet of the Prussian. When that is done, when military force on land and sea have demonstrated even to the apostles of brute force in this world that we can meet them on their own terms and conquer them, I am willing to talk about peace

and to listen to some terms for the adjustment of this trouble. Never will there be peace without victory, but there must be peace with a conclusive and overwhelming victory over our public enemies. Until that shall be done it is idle to talk or think peace; until that time has arrived our duty in this chamber is to talk of force, without limit, without stint, and to the utmost—swift, unrelenting, and decisive war. To that end let our airplane development be thoroughly investigated by the authorities now in charge of it, and in addition to that let us vote not only additional appropriations and men for all proper purposes, but let us see that those appropriations are made effective and that the existing waste be stopped. Let our economical development proceed, but let the expenditure of millions upon millions without adequate result be checked. I understand that these things are incidental to hasty preparation, and I speak in no spirit of criticism, but only in a spirit of making our action effective so that we may continue the means of waging unrelenting war until we have produced decisive victory, out of which shall come a permanent peace.

We have in our camps in this country some of the best of our generation; we have across the sea others of the best of our generation. The two years that will

end with present appropriations made or to be made will show an expenditure of \$50,000,000,000 that is to be raised by present and future taxation. When the best of our blood, when the countless billions that come from our resources, from our accumulations and our daily toil are to be spent in waging a war of this kind there is but one way to talk peace, and that is through the agency of our army and navy and to continue pressing back the line that is now north of the Marne until the colors representing the enemy that began this war four years ago shall be thrust back beyond the Rhine, until not one acre of French territory remains under the guns of Germany. Let them then ask for peace.

NO PEACE WITH BURGLARS

Shall I begin to talk peace with the burglar in my house at night? When I awaken from my slumbers and find a murderous ruffian rifling my household or destroying my family, shall I, when I recover the power of speech, ask this cutpurse for peace, or, rather, shall I gird my armor about me, seize whatever weapons I have and appeal to the god of battles and let the invader ask for peace after he shall have been subjugated? That is the time when and the source from which peace must come—not from us, who are the outraged victims on land or sea; not from us, who took up arms justly a year ago last April to meet this invader of the world's peace. So, I repeat, let this great cutpurse of empires understand that the free Governments of the world are today meeting with their blood and treasure his efforts to dominate the earth.

Most of this is futile. I realize, as a certain Senator said to me in private conversation, that we are talking about nothing to nobody most of the time here. That was a very apt summing up of the situation. I only make that as introductory to the further statement that when victory shall have been achieved, when it is properly time to talk peace, we shall not have anything to say about it.

A commission is now gathering data. That commission is headed by an unofficial representative of governmental pow-

er. Editors of newspapers, statisticians of renown, statesmen who have never held office, legislators who never legislated, judges who have never judged and who could not if they tried, gentlemen of various talents, many of them habitual dwellers in air castles, idealists, the dreamers of the generation, are found on that commission. When they, some of them practical men and some of them impractical men, have secured a wealth of information about the world and it comes time to gather about a peace table and to arrive at a tentative peace, the treaty will be written without our knowledge or consent.

It will be perfected and then this gem and brooch of all human wisdom will be put before us for instant ratification. We will not even have the poor consolation of the comprehensive and peculiar knowledge that percolated through the brains of the men who prepared it. We will be poor children of blind impulse, wandering in the wilderness without even a voice to guide us. The babes in the wood would be comparatively well provided for when covered with leaves alongside of the Senatorial members who will be asked to vote "sight unseen" for the peace treaty that will suddenly be thrown unheralded before us. I shall animadvert in proper terms and under proper conditions upon this mysterious commission now gathering information on some future occasion, but when we are talking about peace I wish it to be remembered that this mysterious agency of unofficial government is lightening our labors and relieving us of any mental agitation.

NO TERMS WITH KAISER

There can be no permanent peace in the world so long as Germany is dominated by the Kaiser or the militaristic party—which sometimes excuses his actions because they are involuntary, his Generals, it is alleged, forcing him into a certain line of conduct. Taking that for what it is worth, the coterie of Prussians that surround him or the Kaiser himself can never make a peace with free Governments that will be permanent. There must be a complete overthrow of

both Kaiser and his council; an overthrow not by diplomacy, but an overthrow by the decisive and swiftly driven power of armies and navies. With such a Government as that of Germany there can be no permanent peace. It will be an armed truce that converts the world into a military camp. There must be a complete transmutation of the power of the German people, a complete change until their Government is responsive to the better thought and the humanities that still are found in the hearts of some, at least, of the German people.

They are public enemies now; they have roused the most brutal impulses that are latent in the American people. This brutalizing of all concerned is the regrettable feature of this war, but until

we have reached the point where Germany can form a Government that is responsible to German opinion in its better sense, the nation for which Heine wrote, the nation that felt its responsive heart thrill when Goethe was the literary genius of his generation, when Schiller had sympathetic readers, and when their humane instincts appealed to the better element and nature of the German people—until there is a new spirit born in Germany, until the arbitrary house that has sought to make the Prussian people the dominant race of the world is overthrown, there can be no permanent peace, and there will be none.

Until that time is reached America must fight with all the resources she can command.

Fourth Anniversary of the War

Observance of the Occasion Throughout Great Britain—
Official Messages Interchanged

THE fourth anniversary of the beginning of the war was observed throughout Great Britain on Aug. 4, 1918, as a day of prayer and remembrance in churches of all denominations. In Hyde Park, as elsewhere, shrines were erected where thousands laid flowers in memory of the dead. One newspaper, quoting Lincoln's Gettysburg address, said:

Not in the spoken or written words expressed in any age can we find such a text for today as the shortest and most eloquent speech ever made by Lincoln. In full knowledge of what his words mean, let us wage war until war, for all time, is ended.

King George, Queen Mary, and members of both houses of Parliament attended special services at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. The Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the sermon.

The ceremonies at Westminster were impressive and historic. In addition to the King and Queen, Dowager Queen Alexandra and the Duke of Connaught, as well as other royalties, Premier David Lloyd George and many other distinguished people attended. The Lord

Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons, wearing their robes of state and preceded by the mace bearers, led the members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons.

St. Margaret's Church for nearly three centuries has been the official church of the House of Commons, but this solemn consecration, attended by the royal family and members of both houses of Parliament, was unprecedented. Many thousands gathered in the Summer sunshine to watch the novel scene.

It was an impressive procession which assembled at Westminster Palace and marched slowly the short distance to St. Margaret's, the state robes of the peers and officials lending a pleasant touch of color. Premier Lloyd George, walking with Arthur J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, headed the Commons in the procession both coming and going.

The arrival of the royal carriages, with King George, Queen Mary, and Princess Mary in one and Dowager Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria in another, was greeted with great cheering by the

onlooking crowds. The King wore an Admiral's uniform, while the women of the royal family all wore mourning for former Emperor Nicholas of Russia.

The congregation included the Premiers of British Dominions, with other representatives of the empire. The peers and members of the Imperial War Conference sat on the north side of the nave and the members of the House of Commons on the south. The Speaker of the House of Commons and the Lord Chancellor read the lessons. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his sermon declared:

Four years of war have taught us much. They have taught us in plain prose war's unspeakable hatefulness, and those who have been in touch with all the realities of such a war are the first to resolve that, please God, a repetition of its ghastly horrors shall become impossible among men.

After the benediction, and while the congregation was still kneeling in prayer, the great doors were thrown open, flooding the entrance with sunshine. Simultaneously the national anthem pealed from the great organ, and the crowds outside uncovered and joined in the singing. As the royal and other processions departed with the same formality as when they entered, there was an outburst of cheering.

Twenty thousand persons gathered in Hyde Park, where a special open-air service was held with the Bishop of London officiating and attended by the Lord Mayor. With the Bishop on the platform were representatives of all denominations, while the singing was led by a band of Salvation Army members.

Public prayer for victory for the Allies was said also throughout France on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war.

NEW WAR PRAYERS

Among the forms of prayer for use on the day in the Church of England services throughout the United Kingdom were the following:

For the King and all who are set in authority under him:

Almighty God, the Fountain of all Goodness, we humbly beseech Thee to bless our Sovereign Lord, King George, the Parliaments in all the dominions of

the King, and all who are set in authority under him; that they may order all things in wisdom, righteousness, and peace, to the honor of Thy Holy Name and the good of Thy Church and people; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For the British Empire:

O Lord God of our fathers, Who in Thy goodness hast led this people hitherto by wondrous ways; Who makest the nations to praise Thee, and knittest them together in the bonds of peace; we beseech Thee to pour Thine abundant blessing on the dominions over which Thou hast called Thy servant George to be King. Grant that all, of whatever race or color or tongue, may, in prosperity and peace, be united in the bond of brotherhood and in the one fellowship of the faith, so that we may be found a people acceptable unto Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

There was a definite and clear prayer for victory:

Almighty God, Who rulest all things by Thy power, we beseech Thee to grant that our warfare may be crowned with swift and final victory, and that, laying aside the sins which hinder the coming of Thy Kingdom, the nations of the world may serve Thee in freedom and in peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The following was an entirely new prayer for the Royal Air Force:

O Lord our Governor, Who hast given unto men dominion over earth and air and sea; we beseech Thee to look upon Thy servants who are called to serve their country in the air: give them courage, a steady nerve, and a ready mind; be with them in all times of sudden peril; and make them to know Thy power to save them to the uttermost from all evil, whether in life or death; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

A new prayer for prisoners of war was as follows:

O merciful Father, look with Thy tender compassion upon all prisoners of war: supply all their needs, and hasten the time of their release: let Thy love protect them and Thy presence cheer them, that day by day in weariness and hardship they may have strength to endure patiently, and may find peace in Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The following was a new prayer for the harvest:

Almighty God, who by Thy dear Son hast bidden us to ask of Thee our daily bread; prosper the labor of the men and women working in our fields, and grant us such favorable weather that we may

in due time gather in the fruits of the earth; protect the sailors who bring us food from distant lands; and give us grace day by day to deny ourselves and to remember the needs of others; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The suffrages included appeals for harmony between Great Britain and her allies and thanks "for the powerful and timely aid of the United States of America" and "for the success already granted to our arms." The new prayers included the following:

For men under training:

Almighty God, Who knowest and rulest the hearts of men, look mercifully upon those who are now being trained for war; give them the spirit of discipline and loyalty, and strengthen them with Thy grace, that, withstanding all temptations that beset them, they may show themselves now worthy defenders of the cause of their country and true followers of Jesus Christ, for the sake of the same, Thy Son our Lord. Amen.

For absent friends:

O God, Who art present to Thy faithful people in every place, mercifully hear our prayers for those we love who are now parted from us; watch over them, we beseech Thee, and protect them in all anxiety, danger, and temptation; and teach us and them to feel and know that Thou art always near and that we are one in Thee forever; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For the sick and wounded:

Have mercy, we beseech Thee, upon the sick and wounded; relieve their pain, comfort and cheer them in weariness and depression; if it be Thy will, give them health again, and make Thyself known to them as their present Friend and Saviour, whether they live or die; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGE OF THE PREMIER

On Aug. 5 the British Premier issued a message which was read simultaneously throughout the kingdom to the audiences in the theatres, concert rooms, moving-picture houses, and other places where people were assembled:

The message which I send to the people of the British Empire on the fourth anniversary of their entry into the war is: "Hold fast!"

We are in this war for no selfish ends. We are in it to recover freedom for the nations which have been brutally attacked and despoiled, and to prove that no peo-

ple, however powerful, can surrender itself to the lawless ambitions of militarism without meeting retribution, swift, certain, and disastrous, at the hands of the free nations of the world. To stop short of victory for this cause would be to compromise the future of mankind.

I say "Hold fast!" because our prospects of victory have never been so bright as they are today. Six months ago the rulers of Germany deliberately rejected the just and reasonable settlement proposed by the Allies. Throwing aside the last mask of moderation, they partitioned Russia, enslaved Rumania, and attempted to seize supreme power by overthrowing the Allies in a final and desperate attack.

Thanks to the invincible bravery of all the allied armies, it is now evident to all that this dream of universal conquest, for the sake of which they wantonly prolonged the war, can never be fulfilled.

But the battle is not yet won. The great autocracy of Prussia will still endeavor, by violence or guile, to avoid defeat, and so give militarism a new lease of life.

We cannot seek to escape the horrors of war for ourselves by laying them up for our children. Having set our hands to the task, we must see it through till a just and lasting settlement is achieved.

In no other way can we insure a world set free from war.

Hold fast!

LLOYD GEORGE.

President Wilson on Aug. 4 sent this message to the King of England:

America cordially extends her hand to Great Britain upon this anniversary of Great Britain's entrance into the present war, in which the forces of civilization are engaged against the forces of reaction, and rejoices with her that the two nations stand side by side in so great a cause.

Secretary Lansing also cabled Arthur J. Balfour, expressing "the profound satisfaction which Americans feel that their armies and navy are associated in this great crusade for liberty with such brave and loyal comrades in arms as these who are fighting on land and sea under the Union Jack."

King George, replying to the message from President Wilson, said:

I am proud that my forces and those of the United States are fighting side by side, and you may rest assured of our unswerving determination to continue with all our strength until a victory of right over wrong is achieved.

Field Marshal Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in France,

issued the following special order of the day, dated Aug. 4:

The conclusion of the fourth year of the war marks the passing of the period of crisis. We can now with added confidence look forward to the future.

The revolution in Russia set free large hostile forces on the eastern front, which were transferred to the west. It was the enemy's intention to use the great numbers thus created to gain a decisive victory before the arrival of American troops should give superiority to the Allies.

The enemy made his effort to obtain a decision on the western front and failed. The steady stream of American troops arriving in France has restored the balance. The enemy's first and most pow-

erful blows fell on the British. The superiority of force was nearly three to one. Although he succeeded in pressing back parts of the fronts attacked, the British line remained unbroken.

After many days of heroic fighting, the glory of which will live for all time in the history of our race, the enemy is held. At the end of four years of war the magnificent fighting qualities and spirit of our troops remain of the highest order. I thank them for the devoted bravery and unshaken resolution with which they responded to my appeal at the height of the struggle. I know they will show like steadfastness and courage in whatever task they may yet be called upon to perform.

Homage to the British Sovereigns

Notable Addresses by David Lloyd George and Herbert Asquith

ON the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of the British King and Queen notable congratulatory addresses were delivered in the House of Commons by Premier Lloyd George and former Premier Herbert Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George said regarding King George:

Those of all parties who have been privileged to serve as his Ministers during these four years can best testify to his undaunted courage, under the most dismaying conditions, and how in hours of anxiety he has watched all the vicissitudes of this terrible conflict and fulfilled in every sphere of council and action all the functions of a constitutional Monarch in the hour of his country's peril. His constant thought for those who on land and sea are undergoing endless dangers for their country, his solicitude and that of the Queen for those who are suffering pain for their native land, their tenderness for those who are bearing the more poignant and enduring pangs of grief—all these have sunk deep into the hearts of the people, who will never forget them.

I feel, as one who has had a good deal to do with the munitions of this country, that I should also dwell for a moment on the help which the King gave by his visits to the yards and factories and workshops of the country, where men and women have been toiling hard to equip the nation's armies and navies for this great struggle. Wherever they went they encouraged and inspired those who toil, and when perplexities and misunderstandings

threatened to weaken the arm of Britain, when all her might was needed, the King's and Queen's presence invariably helped to smooth difficulties. They went there not merely to persuade and to encourage, but also to inquire and to help to remove the causes of irritation.

In all these tasks the Queen has been the supporter and partner of our sovereign; the truest and wisest of mothers in her own home, she has displayed the same motherly care for the people over whom the King reigns. All this has strengthened the monarchy in times when systems of government have been put to the severest, sternest, and most certain trial that the world has ever known. When thrones were tottering—some ancient thrones—when monarchs were being deprived of their sceptres in other lands, Britain's throne became more firmly established than ever on the only foundation which is lasting—the affection and good-will of the people.

No King and Queen ever won a more sure place in the regard and loyalty of all classes of their subjects, and the war which has severed so many ties has only strengthened the bonds which unite the sovereign and his people. At a crisis in our fate, when the integrity of the empire means more to civilization than it has ever done in our past history, the position won by the occupants of the throne in the minds of the people of the empire is a matter of imperial moment. The stability of the throne is essential to the strength of the empire, for it is not merely a symbol of unity, it is in itself a bond of unity. It is therefore no mere traditional tribute of loyalty, but a heartfelt and spontaneous expression of the

people's affection, esteem, and good-will which greets this anniversary of their Majesties' wedding.

Former Premier Asquith in his address said:

If there are any people who are disposed to think that, apart from social and ceremonial duties, the function of a constitutional sovereign is that of a benevolent cipher or detached looker-on, I can assure them they know very little of the truth. This is not an occasion on which it would be appropriate to define or defend the office of the monarchy in a democratic age and country. But what concerns us today is not the abstract merits or practical utility of the institution, but the manner in which it has been worked in times of almost unexampled difficulty by our present King and Queen. The earlier years of their reign had more than their share of trouble and anxious time, but through them all, as I can testify, the King, with the ever ready sympathy and co-operation of her Majesty, never lost head or heart or nerve, always leaned toward policies of reconciliation and appeasement, diligently thought out day by day the problems whether of his own duty or of the nation's need, showed unfailing consideration for those who had the privilege to serve him, and when he had accepted the final counsels of his constitutional advisers adopted and acted on them with whole-hearted sympathy.

It is four years ago this month since the King, with the object, if possible, of surmounting the most formidable of all our domestic difficulties, brought together,

unhappily without result, the Buckingham Palace Conference. The clouds to which my right honorable friend referred were already gathering on the international horizon. The first preoccupation of the King, as of his Ministers, was, if and so long as it could be done without breach of our national honor, to avert the unimaginable calamities of European war.

When the full history of the closing days of July, 1914, is unveiled it will be known—till then it cannot be known—with what unwearied tact and assiduity his Majesty strove for peace. But it was not to be, and even with the incomplete evidence that has yet been given to the world there is no longer any question at whose door lies the guilt and responsibility for this war. There was a saying in the ancient world that it is rule which tests the real quality of a man. Let me add to that, it is the experience of war, and of such a war as this, that tests the real quality of a democratic King. Few who have not seen him at first hand can realize the gravity of the burden which from the first day of the war has lain on the shoulders of the King and Queen or the extent to which they have voluntarily added to its weight by countless self-imposed tasks and duties. They have won for themselves by the worthiest of titles an impregnable place in the hearts of the people and an undying memory in the country's annals. It is fitting that this House should offer as it does today a tribute of its gratitude and affection to the Crown and its expression of the heartfelt prayer that their reign may be prolonged to witness the garnering of the fruits of an honorable peace.

The Fraternity of English and French

By MAURICE BARRES

Member of the French Academy

[ON THE OBSERVANCE OF BASTILLE DAY IN ENGLAND, JULY 14, 1918]

WE of the two countries love and admire each other in the persons of our sons, our brothers, and our friends, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder, in those of our families who are enduring the same anguish. It is important that we should choose from time to time days on which we can demonstrate clearly the closeness of this union. These are precious days, days that strengthen our will. July 14 is a date which recalls the dawn of the French Revolution. The English, with a sort of

official solemnity, are turning their thoughts to France.

Do you, our friends in England, think of Locke, of his influence on Voltaire, on Condillac, on Rousseau, of all that your philosophers and your politicians contributed toward our revolution? Are you going to think of Burke, of Carlyle, of all that you detested in that Revolution? Truly, these great memories play but a small part in today's commemoration. Brands from the national conflagration, sparks of genius forging its

work in solitude, have crossed the Channel at times to make us burn with the same fire; but beneath these scorplings of the surface and these casual impressions we remain at heart French and English—souls that have been molded differently by nature and society.

France and England have never ceased to develop, each in its own way, their own ideas, and to manifest more freely from age to age their two-fold originality—witness their contrasted dispositions. In a brief space it has come about that our ideals have been wedded. We could trace our fraternity of today to certain isolated occurrences in the past; we could explain that the taking of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, was an event that accorded with the traditional respect of the English for the liberty of the subject and with their horror of arbitrary action. But how pedantic, artificial, and strained explanations of this kind would be! If our nations fraternize on this 14th of July, 1918, it is for no reason dating from before the last year years. We have only to gather together some fragments and memories in order to explain our

friendship. Only one single point must be borne in mind. It is that four years ago we entered upon a common life in the course of our daily experiences. For four years it has deepened the life of every one of us, and we have discovered in ourselves fundamental truths on which we are absolutely in agreement.

In the midst of the destruction of the established order, and when Germany had recognized as her system the abandonment of all generosity and the terrorizing of the world, we discovered that we English and French were brothers, faced with a common danger, and that in concert with our Allies we desired to uphold the sacred arch of civilization, while the Germans wished to hurl it down and crush us beneath its ruins. The defeat of Teutonism is for the two nations a matter of life or death. We Frenchmen have a whole-hearted interest in the maintenance of the integrity of English power, and you English in that of French power.

To perish together or to conquer together—that is the motto for France's Day.

The Road to France

By DANIEL M. HENDERSON

[This poem won the prize of \$200 offered by the National Arts Club of New York for the best patriotic poem]

Thank God our liberating lance
Goes flaming on the way to France!
To France—the trail the Ghurk found!
To France—old England's rallying ground!
To France—the path the Russians strode!
To France—the Anzacs' glory road!
To France—where our Lost Legion ran
To fight and die for God and man!
To France—with every race and breed
That hates Oppression's brutal creed!

Ah France—how could our hearts forget
The path by which came Lafayette?
How could the haze of doubt hang low
Upon the road of Rochambeau?
How was it that we missed the way
Brave Joffre leads us along today?
At last, thank God! At last we see
There is no tribal Liberty!
No beacon lighting just our shores!
No Freedom guarding but our doors!

The flame she kindled for our sires
Burns now in Europe's battle fires!
The soul that led our fathers west
Turns back to free the world's oppressed!

Allies, you have not called in vain!
We share your conflict and your pain!
"Old Glory," through new stains and rents,
Partakes of Freedom's sacraments!
Into that hell His will creates
We drive the foe; his lusts, his hates!
Last come, we will be last to stay—
Till Right has had her crowning day!
Replenish, comrades, from our veins,
The blood the sword of despot drains,
And make our eager sacrifice
Part of the freely rendered price
You pay to lift humanity—
You pay to make our brothers free!
See, with what proud hearts we advance
—To France!

Historic Fourth of July Utterances

English and French Statesmen and Journalists Pay Memorable Tributes to the United States

A historic message from the United States to Great Britain, issued officially in London on July 4, 1918, read as follows:

The President, the Government, and the people of the United States desire it to be widely known how greatly they appreciate the gracious and cordial observance of Independence Day in Great Britain. With the forces of Great Britain and those of the United States fighting shoulder to shoulder for the supremacy of democracy and freedom, the remarkable demonstrations of Independence Day throughout the British Empire, and in fact in all friendly nations, are an added evidence of unity and fraternity which cannot but be an inspiration to the Government and people of the United States.

The August issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presented the text of many other official interchanges in honor of the Fourth of July. Herewith appear further utterances in England and France that made the day memorable.

American Independence Day

By WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL

[AN ADDRESS DELIVERED JULY 4, 1918, IN CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, AT THE ANGLO-SAXON FELLOWSHIP MEETING]

WE are met here today, in the City of Westminster, to celebrate the 142d anniversary of American independence. We are met also as brothers-in-arms, passing together through a period of exceptional anxiety and suffering; therefore, we seek to draw from the past history of our race inspiration and encouragement which will cheer our hearts and fortify and purify our resolution and our comradeship.

A great harmony exists between the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. A similar harmony exists between the principles of that declaration and what the British Empire has wished to stand for, and has at last achieved, not only here at home but in our great self-governing dominions throughout the world. The Declaration of Independence is not only an American document. It follows on the Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, as the third of the great title deeds on which the liberties of the English-speaking races are founded. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also retained an empire. By applying its principles and learning its lesson we have

preserved unbroken communion with those powerful Commonwealths our children have founded and have developed, and who, in this time of stress, have rallied spontaneously and nobly to our aid.

The political conceptions embodied in the Declaration of Independence are the same as those which were consistently expressed at the time by Lord Chatham, by Mr. Burke, and others, who had in turn received them from John Hampden and Algernon Sydney. They are political conceptions which spring from the same source. They spring from the same well, and that well is here by the banks of the Thames in this famous island and which we have guarded all these years, and which is the birthplace and the cradle of the British and American races.

It is English wisdom, it is that peculiar political sagacity and sense of practical truth which animates the great document which is in the minds of all Americans today. Wherever men seek to frame policies or Constitutions which are intended to safeguard the citizen, be he rich or poor, on the one hand from the shame of despotism and on the other from the miseries of anarchy, which are

devised to combine personal liberty with respect for the law and love of country, and wherever these desires are sincerely before the makers of constitutional law, it is to this original inspiration, which is the product of the English soil, which is the outcome of the Anglo-Saxon mind, it is to that that they will inevitably be drawn. We therefore feel no sense of division in celebrating this occasion, and we join in perfect sincerity and perfect simplicity with our American kith and kin in commemorating the glorious establishment of their nationhood.

We also, we British who have been so long in this struggle, express our joy and gratitude for the mighty aid and the timely aid which America has brought, and is bringing, to the allied cause. When I have seen during the last few weeks the splendor of American manhood striding forward on all the roads of France and of Flanders, I have experienced emotions which words cannot describe. We have suffered in this country, and in gallant France they have suffered still more, but we have suffered so that we can feel for others. There are few homes in Britain where you will not find an empty chair and an aching heart, and we feel in our own sorrow a profound sympathy for those across the Atlantic whose dear ones have traveled so far to face dangers we know only too well. Not British hearts only, but Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African hearts, beat in keen common sympathy with them.

All who have come across the great expanses of the ocean to take part in this conflict feel in an especial degree a sympathy, an intense and profound sympathy, for the people of the United States who have to wait through these months of anxiety for the news of battle.

NOT COUNTING THE COST

The greatest actions of men or of nations are spontaneous and instinctive. They are not the result they gain by exact calculations of profit and loss, of long balancing of doubtful things. They happen as if they could not help happening. I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment in the history of

Britain was reached on that August night, now nearly four years ago, when we declared war on Germany, war for freedom and civilization.

Little could we know where it would carry us or what it would bring to us. Like the United States, we entered the war a peaceful nation, utterly unprepared for aggression in any form. Like the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost, a cost that has been far more terrible than our own most sombre expectations, without seeking reward of any kind. What is the reward, the utterly unexpected reward, which is coming to us beyond the obvious promise and hopes we cherished, supremely and irresistibly in consequence of our unhesitating response to the appeals of Belgium and of France? Territorial indemnities, commercial advantages—what are they? Such matters are utterly subservient to the moral issues and moral consequences of this war.

Deep in the hearts of those whom the Declaration of Independence styles "our British brethren," deep in the hearts of your British brethren lies a desire to be firmly reconciled before all men and all history to their kindred across the Atlantic Ocean, to dwell once more in spirit with their kith and kin, and stand once more in battle at their side in a true union of hearts. One prophetic voice predicted the arrival of a day of struggle which would find England and the United States in battle. It seemed to most of us that our desire for union and reconciliation in sentiment with the United States would not be attained in our lifetime. It has come to pass already, and every day it is being emphasized, and every day it is being made more real and more lasting.

However long the struggle may be, however cruel may be the sufferings we have to undergo, however complete may be the victory we shall win, however important may be our share in it, we seek no nobler reward than that, we seek no higher reward than this, this supreme reconciliation.

That is the reward of Britain; that is the lion's share. A million American soldiers are in Europe. They have arrived

safely and in the nick of time. Side by side with their French and British comrades, they await at this moment the furious onslaught of the common foe, and that is an event which, in the light of all that has led up to it, and in the light of all that may follow from it, seems, I say it frankly, to transcend the limits of ordinary mundane things. It is a wonderful event; it is a prodigy; it is almost a miraculous event, which fills us all—it fills me—with a sense of the deepest awe. Amid the carnage and confusion of the immense battlefield, amid all the grief and destruction which this war is causing and has still to cause, there comes surely over the most secularly minded of us a feeling of hope that the world is being guided through all this chaos by something higher than, better than, it has ever yet enjoyed. One feels in it the presence of a great design of which we only see a small portion, but which is developing and unfolding at this moment, and of which we are the necessary instruments in ourselves and in our generation. No event since the beginning of the Christian era has been more likely to strengthen and restore faith in the moral government of the universe than the arrival from the other end of the world of these mighty armies of deliverance. One has a feeling that it is not all a blind struggle; one has a certainty that not for nothing is the suffering, not too late is the effort, and not in vain do heroes die.

There is one thing more I want to say, and it is a great thing to say. The essential purposes of this war do not admit of a compromise. If we were fighting merely for territorial gains, or were engaged in a dynastic or commercial quarrel, no doubt those would be matters to be adjusted by bargaining. But this war has become an open conflict between Christian civilization and scientific barbarism. The line is clearly drawn between the nations where the people own the Governments and the nations where the Governments own the peoples. Our struggle is between instruments which peacefully endeavor to quell and quench the brutish, treacherous, predatory promptings of human nature, and

a system which has deliberately fostered, organized, armed, and exploited those promptings to its base aggrandizement.

ONLY ONE SOLUTION

We all are but mortals. No race, no country, has a monopoly of good or evil, but face to face with the fact of this war who can doubt that the struggle in which we are engaged is in reality, literally, and instantly, a struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil? It is a struggle between right and wrong, and as such it is not capable of any solution which is not absolute.

Germany must be beaten. Germany must know that she is beaten. Germany must feel that she is beaten. Her defeat must be expressed in terms and facts which will for all time deter others from emulating her crimes, and will effectually safeguard us against their repetition.

But the German people have, at any rate, this assurance, that we claim for ourselves no natural or fundamental right that we should not be obliged, and even be willing, under all circumstances to secure for them. We cannot treat them as they have treated Alsace-Lorraine, or Belgium, or Russia, or as they would treat us all if they had the power. We cannot do it, for we are bound by the principles for which we are fighting. We must cleave to those principles, for they will arm our fighting strength, and will enable us to use with wisdom and with justice the victory which we shall win. Whatever the extent of our victory, these principles will protect the German people. The Declaration of Independence, and all that it implies, must cover them.

When all those weapons in which German militarists have put their trust have been broken in their hands, when all the preparations on which they have lavished the energy and schemes of fifty years have failed, then the German people will find themselves protected by those simple, elemental principles of right and freedom against which they will have warred so long in vain. So let us celebrate today not only the Declaration of Independence, let us proclaim a true

comradeship of Britain and America, to stand together till the war is done, in all trials, in all difficulties, at all costs, wherever the war may lead us, right to the very end. No compromise on the main purpose, no peace till victory, no pact with unrepented wrong—this is the declaration of July 4, 1918, and that is a

declaration which I invite you to make in common with me. To quote the words which are on every American lip today, and for which I ask the support of this declaration: "With a firm reliance on the protection of a Divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

British-American Union Ever Memorable

By the Editor of The London Times

TODAY we celebrate as a nation the Declaration of Independence. For the first time since they used to keep the birthday of George III. together, England and America join in a common solemnity. King George V. and his Queen take part officially in commemorating the birthday of the great Republic; the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack float side by side over Westminster Abbey and the houses of Parliament; services of thanksgiving and praise are held in Canterbury Cathedral, at St. Paul's, and in scores of other churches in this island. Throughout the land the day will be observed with a warmth and an enthusiasm seldom shown on our own national holidays. Statesmen and orators will do their best to convey to the Americans who have come among us, and to the hundred millions of their fellow citizens beyond the ocean, something of the feelings with which we greet this day, forever memorable in the history of the world.

They are solemn feelings, for in this raising of the hearts of our two nations we recognize the symbol of the greatest event of our time. From the first we have felt its immense significance, not only in the terrible struggle which we have still to fight out, but for long generations, to whom all its sacrifice and anguish will be the story of a bygone world. For almost a hundred and fifty years we have gone our several paths. Now they bring us together, to ameliorate the condition of mankind. They have led to this common goal after wide divergencies and after controversies not a few; but they have led to it at last be-

cause the great moral forces, which ultimately direct the destinies of nations, have always been the same among the English-speaking peoples of the world. Long ago some few prophetic thinkers foresaw this result and ardently desired its accomplishment. To us it has been given to witness the fulfillment, and to feel in our every fibre that in this supreme sphere of national consciousness, where politics and morals melt into each other, England and all who have gone out from England are at one.

This war was the test. None who had shared our heritage could stand aloof from it and preserve our holiest traditions. By it German "militarism" deliberately challenged them. The Kaiser, in contradiction to the latest professions of his statesmen, blurted out a truth which we proclaimed from the beginning when he said the other day that it is a struggle between two "world views," one or other of which must prevail. It was the recognition of this fact which compelled America to join in the war. She could not stand idly by while the armed apostles of naked force were striving to impose their yoke upon the world. Her conscience, her faith in her own principles, forbade it. Her sense of duty, and no selfish aim, constrained her to join the champions of freedom and of law.

Freedom and law have been her guiding stars from the remote days when love of them drove the first settlers from shores where they were obscured for a time. She faithfully followed them when they led her to sever the constitutional ties that bound her to the mother country, as she follows them now when they

bring her back to our side. Then, and now, and at all times, her conception of them, and of all that gives them their content and meaning, is essentially our own. When she took arms for the cause whose birth we celebrate with her today many of the loftiest and the purest minds in England ardently supported her. Pitt proposed in Parliament the recognition of the Philadelphia Congress. Edmund Burke, in one of his most famous speeches, said of the new community: "English privileges have made it all "that it is; English privileges alone will "make it all it can be." For long the object of the colonists was the vindication of what they deemed their legal rights and nothing more. Adams himself declared that he would have given all he possessed to see the position restored which existed before the contest, "Our larger ideals," as Mr. Page has well phrased it, have been unchanged. They came down to us both through the

long centuries of our undivided history. They have been saved from material alteration by all that is common in our religious and political thought of every day, in our institutions, our laws, our language, our literature, and our domestic life. "The same human coin rings true "to each of us, and the same rings "false."

We have been kept apart by lesser things. This life and death conflict for fundamentals brings us together. It will also, we are firmly convinced, keep us together in a "union of hearts" stronger and more abiding than history has ever known between great sovereign and independent States. There is no bond like the bond of blood shed in a common struggle for the attainment of the same high ends. That will unite all the allies to each other and to America, but it will be strongest and most enduring among those whose conceptions of these ends is most nearly identical.

‘Interdependence Day’

By the Editor of The London Telegraph

WHAT our American brothers-in-arms may think of the way in which London celebrated Independence Day it is for them to say. But we can speak with confidence as to what Londoners thought of the fête day which they celebrated yesterday for the first time. July 4 will henceforth stand to the British people not, indeed, for independence, but, as was well said by one of the American speakers at the magnificent Anglo-Saxon fellowship meeting in Westminster, for interdependence—the interdependence of the two great English-speaking peoples, which after long severance have come together again, and mightily rejoice in the reunion.

It was a great day for London, and equally so for Paris, and efforts were made with complete success to show the oneness of Great Britain and of France with the Republic of the West, whose armies are now gathering so swiftly for the decisive struggles of the war. Nothing will give greater pleasure across the

Atlantic than the presence of the King and Queen at the baseball match at Chelsea. That mark of understanding and attention will appeal to the heart of America far more than any military pageant or review, and the handing out of a ball by the King to the players—an act which will seem trivial and incomprehensible to the German mind—is likely to do more toward the removal of a century-old prejudice in America against the name "King George" than the ablest diplomacy or the most persuasive rhetoric. The spectacle of the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes flying together on the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament was another eloquent symbol, and we believe that there is no precedent for the special service of Holy Communion which was celebrated in every church of the diocese of London. Every one felt—the religious and secular, each in his own way, and both together in the common way of ardent patriotism—that this Independence Day had a special signifi-

cance for Great Britain and for America, and for the spirit of liberty which has brought them together in arms.

The sight of American soldiers has now become a familiar thing in London and many English provincial towns. Wherever they are seen they are heartily welcome, for surely there can be no imagination so dull as not to realize something at least of what their presence means, and, even more perhaps, something of what their absence would mean at this critical hour of the great war. * * *

One other aspect of Independence Day was powerfully emphasized at the Westminster meeting. It was drawn from the language of the famous Declaration of Independence itself. Even that document contains a reference to "our British brethren," and speaks only of political severance. There is no occasion to strain the plain, well known facts of history to a false and misleading interpretation, for no sensible person will seek to gloss over the lamentable heritage which the War of Independence—but still more the miserable war of 1812—left behind it. But there stand the actual words of the Declaration, and for fifty years and more

the best minds and the most generous hearts in both countries have been working for complete reconciliation, recognizing that in spite of all their differences the springs of action, the modes of thought, the political and moral instincts, the tests of right and wrong, and the ultimate aims and goals of both, are essentially the same. When America won her liberty from Great Britain it was British liberty that she won; and it has remained British in character ever since, strong enough to permeate and dominate all the other race elements which have entered into the making of the American Nation.

The greatest prize which Great Britain and the British Dominions can hope to win from this war is an enduring union of sympathy and interest with America. That will, indeed, be in Mr. Churchill's happy phrase, "the lion's share." We believe that America holds the same view, and that to the English-speaking races and to France the guardianship of liberty has been intrusted. To that great end yesterday's celebration of Independence Day in London, Paris, and New York will, we believe, most powerfully contribute.

Observance of the Day in France

Addresses Delivered by High Officials at the Historic Celebration
in Paris on July 4

PARIS celebrated the Fourth of July with genuine emotion, as revealed in the eloquent speeches of some of the nation's foremost orators, who, standing in the Place d'Iena beside the statue of Washington, reviewed the great procession that filed into the square from the newly named Avenue du Président Wilson and voiced the esteem and gratitude of France. All the way from the Place du Trocadéro to the Place d'Iena the streets were massed with people, and clusters of humanity seemed to hang even from the walls of the houses as the procession passed. Everywhere the flags of the two Republics were intertwined, and almost every man, woman, and child in the dense throngs was waving or wearing the Stars

and Stripes. At 9 in the morning the Place de la Concorde was already black with people. The crowd came in great waves, overflowing all the avenues and streets, and swirling about the Strassburg statue, the "grand quand-même" of the lost provinces, and shouting madly, "Vive l'Amérique! Vive Wilson!" as the first platoons of Americans débouched into the Champs-Élysées, preceded by two bands and a drum major of majestic stature. Overhead, both here and in the Place d'Iena, hovered airplanes, at times performing the most daring feats of aerial gymnastics.

On six open platforms, flanked with tall flagstaves bearing the colors of all the allies, were gathered almost all the high officials of France and of Paris,

from President Poincaré and his Cabinet Ministers to the Prefect of Police; the members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies; Marshal Joffre; Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, and Signor Orlando, Italian Premier; Baron Sonnino, Italian Foreign Minister, with the Ambassadors of most of the Entente nations, large and small.

After a military band had played the "Marseillaise" and "The Star-Spangled

Banner," addresses were delivered by Adolphe Chérioux, Vice President of the Municipal Council; Anthonin Dubost, President of the Senate; Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies; William G. Sharp, American Ambassador, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Three of these addresses, specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, are here presented:

A New Epoch in History

By ADOLPHE CHERIOUX

[VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF PARIS]

IN the person of President Wilson we desire to honor not only a great man, but also a great people. I doubt whether one could find many examples of such perfect and entire harmony between the soul of a nation and the soul of the leader in whose hands it has intrusted its destinies; and perhaps the happy star under which the United States was born is most evident in this, that in every crisis of its history it has found the man it needed to lead it, the living incarnation of the nation's highest, purest, strongest impulses, of its noblest and deepest purposes.

Shall I evoke the memory of the father of American liberty, of that Washington under whose shadow we stand today, and of whom it could be said that by his modesty and simplicity, by his passion to serve, apart from all personal ambition, he modified the world's idea of human greatness? Do not those words, more than a century old, which he spoke after his first victories, seem to be of today: "May these events teach all tyrants that the best and only road which leads surely to honor, glory, and true dignity is justice"? And these, too—was it from the mouth of Washington or from that of President Wilson that they came: "We have sown a seed of liberty and union that will germinate little by little through all the earth. Some day, on the model of the United States of America, 'The United States of Europe will be created'?"

Washington could not foresee the monstrous German ambitions or know that for his dream of the United States of Europe we should be obliged to substitute that of a society of free nations; but under the difference of formulas palpitates the same living soul, the same high thought of concord and of justice, that of which President Wilson has made himself the herald and apostle, that for which, fraternally mingled with those of free America, our soldiers are lavishing their life blood without measure.

In the inestimable aid which America brings us we appreciate the material side of it, which has surpassed all expectations, and which will yet surpass our surprise; but we appreciate, perhaps still more, the spirit in which this help is given. I shall not sadden any of our beloved allies if I say that inside our great alliance the particular friendship that has always united France and the United States has taken on a degree of warmth hitherto without example in the history of nations. President Wilson in his messages, American authors and journalists in their books and articles, have found it in their hearts to speak of France—of France as the war has revealed it to them, France of the Marne and Verdun—in terms that have touched our most secret emotions, our inmost hearts.

Even here in Paris the American Red Cross is taxing its ingenuity to serve us in a thousand ways, adding to the most magnificent generosity the most exquisite

delicacy, caring for our wounded, assisting our bereaved families, re-educating our mutilated and blind soldiers, devoting themselves to our orphans, sending the little ones to the country, in short, daily acquiring new titles to our gratitude. Yonder, on the front, our poilus, connoisseurs in matters of heroism, have immediately put the American soldiers into their own ranks, and it is not only an excellent comradeship, it is a veritable spirit of brotherhood that has sprung up between the two.

Gentlemen, the blood shed in common today is completing that which was begun by the blood shed in common 130 years ago. This holiday, which we are celebrating together, marks the supreme crowning of our ancient friendship. Let it no longer be said that an intimate union of nations is impossible, for here we have such a society already realized between these two sister Republics. But

what am I saying? This society of free nations already enfolds all the peoples that are fighting the good fight with us against the powers of oppression and iniquity. Today we honor the United States of America; soon, on July 14, our American friends will be with us at the City Hall to welcome and honor our other allies.

A flame has been kindled which will spread and grow, and in whose crucible will be consumed all petty national jealousies as well as immoral imperialistic ambitions. In the words of Goethe, a new epoch is beginning in the history of the world, and, despite all our bereavements, all our sufferings, all our ruins, happy will be the men privileged to see it and take part in it.

Long live President Wilson, gentlemen! Long live the United States of America! And may the Franco-American friendship live and thrive and grow forever!

What America Gives and Gains

By ANTHONIN DUBOST

[PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE]

IT was with unanimity of heart and spontaneity of spirit that the Government and people of France decided to celebrate America's Independence Day as fully as one of their own anniversaries. Better than an official edict, our hearts have decreed this provisional celebration. Provisional because other great dates are coming, other anniversaries to celebrate a vaster independence, that of the world, the most formidable and righteous insurrection, that of the free nations against the nations of prey and domination.

That this insurrection should unfold its murderous tragedy, that this independence should be fought for and won on the soil of France is an honor to which she has been condemned by a sort of fatality or predestination. That this powerful and perhaps permanent coalition of free nations has placed its heart in the very heart of France is a supreme honor, of which the nation that created the crusades and the revolution, and

whose great thinkers founded the religion of humanity, will know how to render itself worthy.

But that the great American people, guarded by the ocean and free apparently to build in its own way, should have resolved to throw itself into the thick of the bloody and epoch-making conflict of European hatreds—this is a new grandeur that blinds us and that, in the lightning flash of its revelation, discloses to us some of the higher steepes which our destinies are to climb, some new and higher order: *Magnus nascitur ordo*.

These great events that are unfolding could not, indeed, be completed without you, Americans! I will even dare to say to you, henceforth our brothers, that without this ordeal you would have missed something precious. For neither the happy equilibrium of your institutions, nor even the annals of your own independence, nor yet your immense prosperity, would have sufficed to give you the final cement that always binds and

completes nations—the cement of suffering.

This is what, 120 years after the immortal Washington, the immortal Wilson has understood. Into the unfinished kneading of the many races that go to the making of your nation he has dropped the supreme leaven of sacrifice. Yes, it was by the heroic death of her youth in the Champagne and on the Vosges, fighting through many centuries, that France made and remade her chastened soul; and it is there that America in her turn is going to raise herself into the fullest and highest life of a great nation.

You have seen, too, that the security of America is inseparably bound up with

that of the world, that one cannot accept a share in the spirit of pillage and conquest, and that, in short, liberty is not received, it is won by fighting. What an extraordinary favor of destiny that America in the two greatest moments of her history should have found the necessary man!

Gentlemen, this is not yet the day to celebrate victory; it is rather a time in which to fortify our hearts for the new trials through which victory must be purchased. Before separating and returning each to his separate task let us bow before the great Washington, who knew how to remain calm in adversity and moderate in success!

American Ideals in the War

By PAUL DESCHANEL

[PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES]

ON this Fourth of July, so close to our own July 14 and our Aug. 4, the United States and France are of one heart and one soul. They offer to the noble family of allies, united in the same ideal, their fraternal friendship and their inflexible resolution for the supreme cause.

Rome created law, England civil and political liberty; the United States founded modern democracy; France contributed the revolution of 1789; and now these far-reaching acts are culminating in the greatest historical event of all time, and together we are taking part today in what may be called the Human Revolution.

The immortal glory of President Wilson—who at first was resolutely pacific, who sought for his country a rôle of mediator between the belligerents, and who accepted war only in the last extremity, when it had been proved to every American that the German Government, through its submarine warfare and its intrigues, was attacking the essential principles of the Republic—the double glory of President Wilson is that he proclaimed for all nations those maxims of liberty, loyalty, and justice which the founders of the Republic had

proclaimed for the Union, and that at the same time he threw into the service of these ideas the force of the New World.

Thought and action—are these not the whole of life? On the Acropolis, the temple, a divine marvel, crowns the abrupt rock, rugged instrument of defense and struggle; they protect each other—the unique beauty of the holy mountain, the harmonious symbol of right in arms! And is this not all of man? Nature, back of her splendor, is an abyss of iniquity. Her daylight smiles upon the greatest crimes. The law of nature is reciprocal extermination, and this was also the law of primitive humanity. Slowly, in man, conscience was formed, and from conscience, little by little, justice was born; yesterday, rules of right between men; tomorrow, rules of right between nations.

This is what President Wilson desires, this is what he proclaims in the name of his nation; this is the desire of the leaders of free England, and this is what we desire with them; that the principles of morality and of public right which have shaped the consciences of adult human societies shall be made to prevail. Ah, gentlemen, if the adverse idea were

to triumph even for an hour, the idea of supremacy, of hegemony, such as Prussia has imposed successively on Silesia, on Poland, on Denmark, on Alsace-Lorraine, on Belgium, and now upon Russia, Finland, the Ukraine, and Rumania, if such acts were to be the habitual order of the world and were to be held up as examples for peoples who were to be the eternal toys of violence and intrigue, there would follow such a crumbling of justice, such a disaster of right, that man would have to turn his face from heaven and abase it to earth, like the brute beast groping in the obscurity of instinct!

Oh! no outraging word shall issue from my lips against the young men who, in the enemy's camp, are dying for their country, for duty, for their ideal. But what ideal? The Emperor has just told us once more. He had told it long ago, for example, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1902, at Münster in 1907. It is the national doctrine, taught in all the schools, in all the universities, in all the barracks: The superiority of the Germanic race and its dominion over the other races. Germany is living the precepts that have made her greatness and power; strength is the supreme good, weakness the one evil. Even those who have been called the most French of the Germans have never spoken otherwise.

We and our allies are fighting for another ideal. We desire that all nations, the small as well as the great, shall be able to live in security, peace, and honor. President Wilson invites them all—including Germany herself—to the banquet of life; but in so far as Germany wishes to take the place of the others,

the others will have to defend themselves against her. It rests with Germany to decide whether she will enter the society of nations by respecting their rights, or whether she will see them league themselves against her for their legitimate defense.

And we Frenchmen, who in 120 years have suffered five invasions, and, between one war and the next have endured perpetual alarms—1875, 1887, 1905, 1908, 1911—are we too ambitious if we demand, not only for our own peace of mind, but for that of Europe and the world, that this constant menace shall be lifted from our capital, that the shadow of the German eagles shall cease to darken our sky?

When the Germans, seeking to justify their repeated aggressions, call up the memory of Jena, they appear to forget that both before and after that date they appealed many times for the help of France.

Are we too ambitious if we wish for Russia a Government that shall avenge and make reparation for a shameful treaty—which Germany, moreover, immediately violated?

Our great Paris—so calm, in which the shells strike the stones, not the souls of men, and which can be reproached only with an excess of smiling temerity—Paris acclaims this splendid flood of American youth, whose spirit burns for battle, and whose valor the enemy already feels.

O Washington, thy gentle soul leads our armies, united once more, toward honor, and thy pure sword, always lowered before law, is pointing them to victory!



Boycotting Germany

The Seriousness of the World Movement Against German Trade

By H. G. WELLS

MANY people even in England do not realize the extent and seriousness of the world movement to boycott German shipping after the war. This is a movement essentially of seafaring men round and about the world, a movement independent of any Governments and treaties, and one that will go on in defiance of any Governments and treaties. It is what the Germans would call a "hate" movement. It has been fed by a series of submarine atrocities, of which the Black Prince story is only one of the culminating examples, into such an organized and enduring will to exclude and injure Germans as no race nor nation, not even the scalping and outraging Red Indians in Colonial America, has ever had to face.

From 1871 up to the very outbreak of the present war no German sailor, it is well known, dared to join the crew of a French ship, and French ports were extremely uncomfortable places for Germans; that enduring detestation, however, was a pale thing to the bitter hostility that now awaits the German seaman and skipper and passenger upon the high seas and in the ports of all this planet today. This movement against German seamen and ships is not confined to allied countries; the seamen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are joining in; the dockers of South America; and its full significance is probably only understood as yet in seagoing circles.

I have recently had a talk with that strange figure of will and passion, Havelock Wilson, the President of the British Seamen's and Firemen's Union. He is a very ominous figure indeed for Germany, because he is a very representative figure. He sits in an upper room in Victoria Street, twisted and crippled by rheumatism, scheming to draw together the willing threads of this worldwide

net against German ships and trade and men. He told me of how the transport workers of the world are being drawn into the scheme—how he hopes to bring in the miners, so as to control the coaling of German ships—how, side by side with the Seamen's and Firemen's Union there grows up his big Merchant Seamen's League, open to landsmen of all sorts in sympathy with this plan.

"We are going to boycott German goods," he told me, "as well as ships and men. Any ship with any German goods on board will be a tainted ship, and it will neither sail nor unload nor get coal if we can prevent it. In a little while we shall have things so arranged that before coal starts for any coaling station in the world we shall be sure that it is not going to coal a German ship."

"How much of this will you be able to carry out?" I asked.

"Every bit of it," said Havelock Wilson. "However the war ends, whatever treaties they make * * * you don't realize the passion in it—the strength of will. * * *"

He began to tell me story after story—they were familiar enough, except that his passion colored them—of murders, deliberate drownings, the mockery of wounded and dying men, that has made the U-boat and the German name loathed wherever seamen gather. "D'you think men are going to forget that?" he asked. "Or that * * *?"

"And there is to be no peace?"

"Not while Germany is an empire—not while she clings to militarism. No!"

Here is something like a natural force at work against imperialist Germany, a natural force she has awakened by her own acts. Long after the war ends Hamburg may still enjoy the quiet of a blockaded city if she will not disavow the dream of German militant imperialism,

scheming against the world. And while the native and natural resentment of all the seaports of the world thus threatens Germany, other men, with less passion but with no less determination, are planning schemes for protection against her that would have been incredible four years ago.

Thinkers like Herr Dernburg predicate the Great Britain of 1920 as though she was going to be an unchanged continuation of the Great Britain of 1913, as individualistic, planless, disorganized, and chaotic. They think of the Allies as the same divided States, with conflicting fiscal policies and economic rivalries. Much of Germany's strength in the war has lain in her collectivism, and it is manifest the German mind does not begin to realize what vast strides toward collectivism and international unity have been made by her antagonists under the pressure of the war. Such a bill as the Imports and Exports bill, for example, now before the House of Commons, which proposes to continue the present war power of the State to regulate imports and exports upon strategic lines for a period of five years after the war, would have been impossible in 1913. It is only one of a great number of symptoms that point to the rapid spread of ideas of concerted and organized economic action against Germany. These are but the first small crystals of a great possibility of organized opposition. If Germany continues to organize against the world, most certainly the whole world will organize against Germany.

Consider, for example, the line recently taken by the Washington Chamber of Commerce. This body, representing the whole business community of America, has, by a vote of 1,204 to 151, passed the following resolutions, which may well set any reasonable German weighing the utterances of Herr Dernburg very earnestly:

Whereas, the size of Germany's present armament and her militaristic attitude have been due to the fact that her Government is a military autocracy, not responsible to the German people; and,

Whereas, the size of the German armament after the war will be the measure of the greatness of the armament forced on all nations; and,

Whereas, careful analysis of economic conditions show that the size of Germany's future armament will fundamentally depend on her after-war receipts of raw materials and profit from her foreign trade; and,

Whereas, in our opinion the American people for the purpose of preventing an excessive armament will assuredly enter an economic combination against Germany, if Governmental conditions in Germany make it necessary for self-defense; and,

Whereas, we believe the American people will not join in discrimination against German goods after the war if the danger of excessive armament has been removed by the fact that the German Government has in reality become a responsible instrument, controlled by the German people; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States earnestly calls the attention of the business men of Germany to these conditions and urges them also to study this situation and to co-operate, to the end that a disastrous economic war may be averted and that a lasting peace may be made more certain.

These resolutions give the form as the British bill gives the spirit of the new movement against Germany. They do but foreshadow the worldwide organization that is bound to arise if Germany persists in her fantastic dream of world dominion. She is compelling mankind to create an economic prison about her because she will give mankind no chance unless this is done. The French and Italians are temperamentally individualistic, the Anglo-Saxons are "free traders" by disposition. It is with the utmost reluctance that they are being welded into an iron league against Germany. But they are being so welded now. Germany will have it so.

Dr. Mühlon's Revelations Regarding the Kaiser

A SIGNIFICANT statement by Dr. Wilhelm Mühlon, former Director of the Krupp works in Germany, was printed in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE among the corroborative documents appended to the now famous memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky*, the German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, wherein the ex-Ambassador laid the responsibility for the war upon the German Government. The importance of Dr. Mühlon's testimony lies in the fact that, as head of Germany's great munition works in the period prior to the war, he had exceptionally close relations with leading men and was in a position to see the inner workings of the Pan-German plot; he was, furthermore, one of those rare Germans whose critical faculty survived the frenzy of August, 1914.

Dr. Mühlon became more and more critical of the policy of Berlin, and finally, withdrawing to Switzerland, took the courageous step of publishing his criticisms of the German Government. In June, 1918, there appeared at Zurich his book, entitled "Die Verheerung Europas," ("The Devastation of Europe,") containing his diary written between the months of August and November, 1914. The author stated that the publication was prompted by no feeling of personal bitterness toward any one in Germany, but that its motive was "rather one of indignant protest against the immoral system and the barbarous worship of material things that has plunged Germany and Europe into unspeakable disaster." His book, he said, was addressed to his own compatriots.

Shortly before the appearance of his book Dr. Mühlon was visited by a Brit-

ish journalist, F. Sefton Delmer, at Gumligen, near Berne, Switzerland. Mr. Delmer describes him as a stalwart Bavarian in the prime of bodily and mental vigor, thus contradicting the statements of the German journalists who had sought to discredit Dr. Mühlon's earlier criticisms by asserting that he was a neurasthenic whose mind was no longer strong. Mr. Delmer obtained the following typical passages from the former Krupp Director's diary:

Aug. 5, 1914.—From a moral standpoint our invasion of Belgium is nothing short of a catastrophe, for it means that we have out-Bismarcked Bismarck in unscrupulousness. It means that even if we again come out victorious we shall have forfeited the trust not only of Europe but of the whole world.

Among my friends I find no comprehension of my attitude. One says: "If we had not raided Belgium, France would have." Another says: "You must have confidence in the General Staff. It would not have done what it has done without urgent reasons." A third, a man of high culture and high position, says: "Questions of right or wrong, justification or no justification do not concern us. The chief thing is that we are stronger, and that if any one questions this fact we should smite him on the mouth till he grows wise."

Aug. 6.—The words of the Kaiser yesterday to the leaders of the Reichstag parties are characteristic. "And now step forward," he said, "and give me your hands and swear you will stand with me to your last gasp, and that you will see it through." Each gives him his hand, not daring within such precincts to do otherwise, and for fear of lending a discordant note to a great hour. It fits in with the whole picture that the Kaiser immediately afterward, lapsing into the taproom tone, asks, "Who is going to the front?" and says: "And now we will squeeze the very life out of them."

Aug. 11.—The newspapers are full of indignation about England's infamous breach of international law in confiscating the ships now building for Turkey in English private docks, but the Berlin War Office and Admiralty, as I happen to know, from the first day of the war confiscated all the artillery and shipping material in the German private yards ordered by Argentina, Norway, Brazil, and other

*A dispatch dated July 15, 1918, stated that Prince Lichnowsky had been expelled from the Prussian House of Lords on account of this memorandum, notwithstanding that the Kaiser—so it was said—had interceded in his behalf.

neutral States. Our Government told the firms to get out of their contracts the best way they could.

"PERSECUTING GERMANY"

Aug. 16.—In Berlin people jeer at the English Fleet. Stories are going about that the German Fleet has been searching the seas for the English and have been right up to Scotland without being able to find a trace of them, and so had to return home. They say that this reluctance of the British Fleet is probably due to the unpopularity of the war in England.

Aug. 18.—The German press is full of cock-and-bull stories about Alsace. I have come to the conclusion that the Germans spread truth or lies indifferently according to the needs of the moment.

Aug. 22.—Innumerable royal and Ministerial admonitions to prayer to Almighty God to protect us poor invaded and persecuted Germans. What disgusting hypocrisy and chicanery. At the root of all this official piety there is nothing but cynical contempt for the masses and criminal fear lest this crime should come to light.

Aug. 23.—People blame our diplomats for muddling the war. My opinion is that these diplomats have been handicapped by the power, the vacillating character and the continual interference of the Kaiser in their work. Only men who would dance to his piping could remain in office, and such men were always determined to remain in office come what might. They are full of the desire for power but have no convictions.

Aug. 25.—German trust is the trust of barbarians. Their faith is in their numerical superiority and in the superiority of their armaments. If Germans get the upper hand in Europe there will be a general flight of Europeans to land overseas.

Aug. 30.—A General writes in the Tag: "Belgium is and must remain German, not because we need the few million rapscallions who live there, but because we need their land, their mineral resources, and most of all their coast, so that we can get our knife into the English."

Sept. 1.—It is nothing short of tragedy for me that both in small things and in large I think so differently from the rest of my countrymen. If ever the conversion of Prussians takes place it will be due, I am convinced, not to the recognition of what are called fair truths, but to the material failure of their policy. Every day brings new proofs that France did not, as the Germans maintain, plan the invasion of Belgium. But go on spreading your lies, oh, barbarians! the time will nevertheless come when the truth will hurl you into the abyss.

Pending the publication of Dr. Mühlon's book in English the following

further extract, translated from the German by The New Europe, throws an interesting light upon German psychology in August, 1914:

What was the public temper in Germany? All classes of the population realized that the Vienna ultimatum to Serbia meant war against Serbia and consequently a world war. They felt that in view of the longstanding alliance Germany must renounce all criticism and take her stand by the side of the Dual Monarchy, since a defeat—even a diplomatic defeat—for that country would be a defeat for Germany. The tension immediately became acute, as it was felt that the clearing up of the situation and decisive action would very quickly follow so as to give the Triple Entente no time for further treacherous (listig) combinations which could rob Germany of her chief advantage, a swifter readiness for war.

One can say that the German people waited anxiously for the breaking of the storm (Entladung) and hailed it as a relief. There had been too many war scares already, foreign policy had been changed too often and had made too many unsuccessful ventures, the burden of armaments had grown too heavy and constant. And yet at the same time the uncomfortable consciousness was steadily growing stronger that German prestige in the outer world was not rising but falling. Germany had become rich and powerful, but the dislike of all foreign countries for everything German had grown to incredible proportions. The Germans were looked upon as a foreign body in the European community, something to be removed, divided up, or absorbed.

* * * The Germans were regarded as a plague, and it was the highest and richest among them who were most hit by this dislike. The simple German man of the old style was still tolerated, because he was not in the way. All this the Germans had experienced, down to the smallest man; even if he did not cross the frontier, he knew that everywhere abroad the German was unpopular, the people avoided him or held their noses.

This was a dreadful conflict, for at home those who set the tone behaved as though the German was a beacon to all the world and its ideal for the future. His morale, his strength, his principles, his aims were, according to them, higher and deeper than those of all other peoples. It is true that no one knew exactly how, and that no one felt inwardly conscious of the truth of this contention. On the contrary, one saw in Germany itself the strongest contrasts and found mutual incompatibilities: South and North, Catholic and Protestant, Junkers, Democrats, and Socialists, Emperor and Fed-

eral Princes—the list of such contrasts could be increased indefinitely.

KULTUR REJECTED

But, in particular, the Irreconcilable attitude of the Poles, Danes, Alsations, and Lorrainers seemed to prove to the German people that no foreigner could bring himself to recognize the moral superiority of the dominant German tendency, that no one would willingly remain, learn, and adapt himself, and indeed, would not even yield to force, but that every one would, so to speak, rather mount the scaffold than submit. Where then, one asked one's self, is the great idea, the lofty program, the clearer light which Germany holds before herself, and which justifies her leadership? We do a great deal of work, and do it methodically. We have become more prosperous and more exacting, but have our progress and our achievements in other directions kept pace? Did we not mean more for the culture of the world and the progress of human thought at the time of our greatest political disunion and economic poverty than we do today?

In short, Germany was torn by doubts, in a medley of opinions, suspicious toward its own preachers, pessimistic as to the official course of the ship of State. It saw itself being led by a group of Prussian-Protestant bureaucrats, soldiers, agrarians, and industrialists toward what were alleged to be great and splendid times; but it did not notice any progress. (Aufsteig.) Those of a different opinion had better hold their tongues. Every opposition was, from the outset, outlawed, even socially; only the ever-increasing burdens of taxation pressed upon all alike. No wonder that the German people wished to see matters at last put to the test, that it felt itself set free from a nightmare when it saw that at last we should know where we are. One might almost say that the question, how it would end, fell into the background, as compared with the strong feeling: "It could not go on like this, there must be a clearing up, the load must be shaken off. If it ends badly, then we shall find a new orientation—more modest, simpler, more sympathetic, better. If it ends well then we the people, shall have done it, and we can demand the right to lead a life more worth living and to come to terms with our present enemies—who today

"hem us in and misunderstand us—as soon as they have been overthrown."

How great a part such feelings, if not conscious estimates, played in very wide circles, was, in my opinion, to be seen from the fact that even the press of the Left (like the Berliner Tageblatt) at once emphasized the gravity of the situation and its consequences, virtually without criticism. The Government should for once act and justify itself and not be able to say that it had been prevented. This attitude then was taken by the very press which was otherwise in the habit of blaming most severely the Government's policy and measures. The press of the Right naturally went with the Government, had no attitude of its own, and was at bottom far more timid because it did not understand to what an extent the sense of the untenable character of existing conditions, both at home and abroad, had penetrated even the lowest ranks. * * * The Centre's press was for unrestricted support of Vienna, if only because the Dual Monarchy upholds in all its peoples the Catholic idea.

Only the Social Democratic press raged against Austria and said that not a drop of German blood must flow for this cause, and that the world's peace must be upheld by the proletariat, if necessary by force. But even the Socialist leaders eventually gave up all resistance and demanded full support of the Government, when they saw that their whole following wished no further controversy and no separate attitude, but wished the Government to be free to act with the whole people behind it, so that failure might finally condemn the Government, or success bring new life, thanks, and progress for the German masses. The millions of Socialist workmen did not wish to separate themselves on this occasion from the people to whom they belonged and whom they wished to win over more and more for themselves. After all, it was the people that had to wage and endure the war, and one must stand by it, not injure and oppose it by refusing obedience to the Government. The Socialists suddenly had enough of quarreling. They wanted to go with the nation as a whole, to ally themselves still more closely with it, and then to attain their aims more easily in conjunction with it. It was certainly not from love of the Government that they acted.



Germany's Financial Burden

Lord Emmott, in the British upper house, July 3, 1918, in discussing the British Government's Financial bill, gave the following facts regarding the deplorable state of Germany's finances up to June, 1918.

GERMAN finance was dishonest in the sense that their figures were unreliable, he said. For instance, they still took credit for their pre-war revenue, about \$750,000,000 in all. In that pre-war revenue there was an item of about \$180,000,000 from customs, but owing to the blockade the commodities that were going into Germany at the present time were so small that no large revenue such as that could possibly be raised from customs at present.* In regard to excise, which produced \$160,000,000, the chief items were brandy, malt, and sugar. Far less of all these commodities was being consumed in Germany at the present time than was the case before the war, and yet they were taking credit for receiving the same amount that they received in peacetime. In addition to Germany crediting herself with the old peacetime revenue when she did not receive it, on the other side she did not debit herself with the \$350,000,000 that was paid in peacetime for the upkeep of the army and navy. The acknowledged deficit for this year of \$720,000,000 was arrived at by overestimating her receipts and underestimating her expenditure. It was a fictitious figure, and did not represent the facts, which apparently the German Government dare not disclose to its people.

Only very few people had an elementary knowledge of German finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had estimated that the German debt on March 31, 1919, would amount to \$40,000,000,000. That was not only the funded debt, but the unfunded debt, because there was always an unfunded debt in Germany of approximately \$5,000,000,000. He calculated that the pensions after the war would cost Germany at least \$750,000,000, perhaps a great deal more. It was calculated that \$3,600,000,000 was the amount that Germany would have to meet if the war ended about March 31 next. The corresponding figures for

Great Britain, as stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were \$3,250,000,000, made up of its pre-war expenditure and of roughly \$1,000,000,000, and the extra amount to which Great Britain was committed for education and other items and the additional sum that would be required for pensions after the war and the interest on sinking fund. The net debt, it was estimated, would stand at the end of the current financial year at \$40,280,000,000.

As regarded Great Britain the whole of the \$3,250,000,000 was provided in the Finance bill of this year with the taxes that had been levied before this year.

Germany had provided by permanent taxation less than one-half of the amount which she would require if the war came to a close with the present financial year. From taxation of all kinds, whether permanent or temporary, Germany proposed to raise \$720,000,000, but that amount was arrived at by the German method of overestimating receipts and underestimating expenditure. Toward meeting that, \$600,000,000 of new permanent taxation was proposed in Germany this year, but only \$2,500,000 of that would accrue during the year. Great Britain had budgeted for \$4,210,000,000 this year by financial arrangements, which in a full year would produce \$4,330,000,000. The total extra taxation raised by Germany from the beginning of the war was stated in the budget speech in the Reichstag to be \$1,000,000,000 from indirect, \$1,775,000,000 from direct taxes, including the capital increment levy, and \$500,000,000 raised by the Federal States, making the total sum which would be raised toward the cost of the war by extra taxation since the war began up to the end of March, 1919, \$3,375,000,000. The sum which Great Britain should have raised by the same time would be \$8,430,000,000. Germany had paid interest to some extent by loans.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Spanish Cartoon]

So Near and Yet So Far

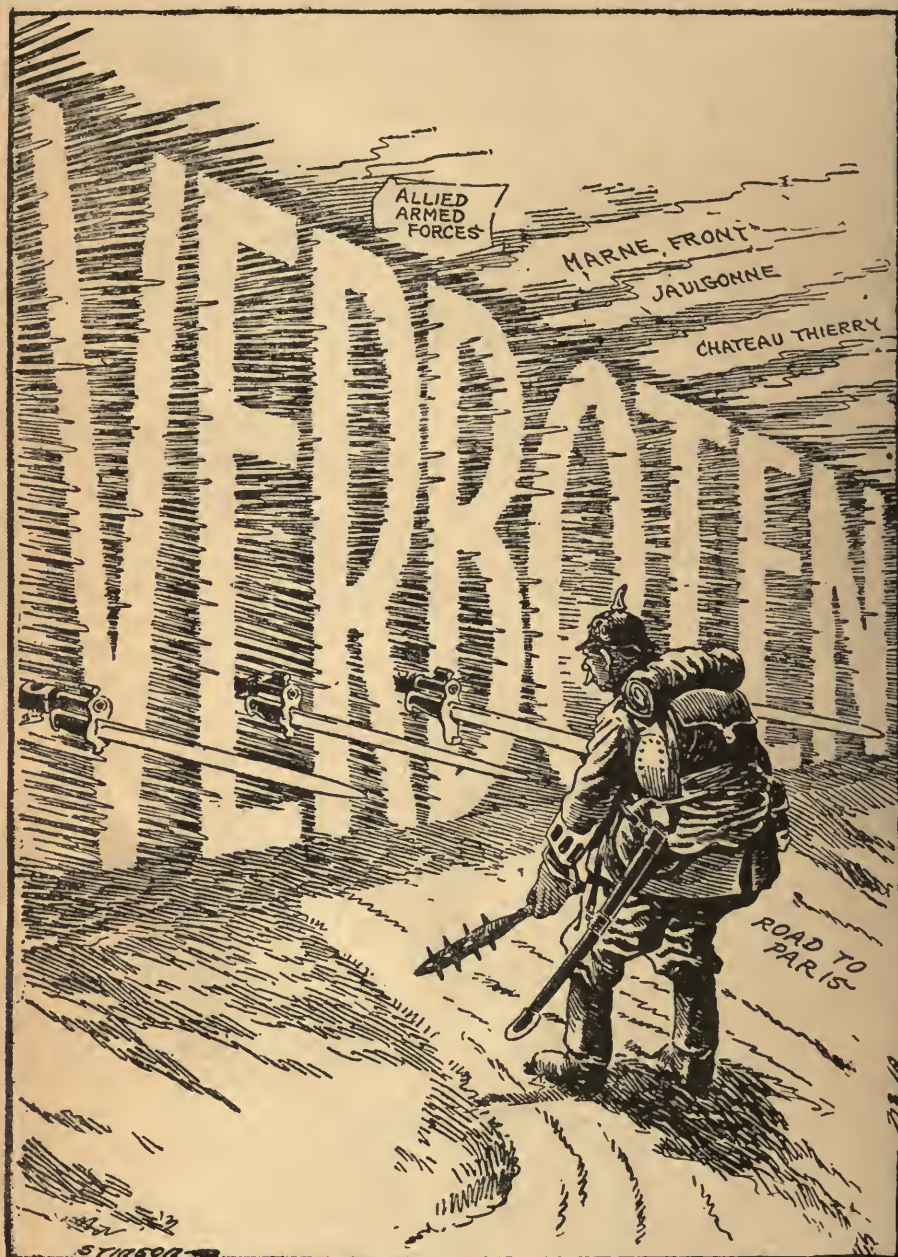


—From *Iberia*, Barcelona.

FRANCE: "Nor this time, either! There are two million Americans on the way."

[American Cartoon]

On the Road to Paris



—From The Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoon]

The Conflict of the Ages



—From *The Brooklyn Eagle*.

"The Past and the Present are in a death grapple."—President Wilson.

[American Cartoon]

A Thousand Years Late



—From The New York Herald.

[American Cartoon]

Forward With the Spirit of France



—From The New York Herald.

[German Cartoon]

A Little Job for Hindenburg



This child, as his speeches show, is no angel;



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

Therefore we hand him over to you for proper discipline.

The Unexpected

Germania's Plight



—Iberia, Barcelona.

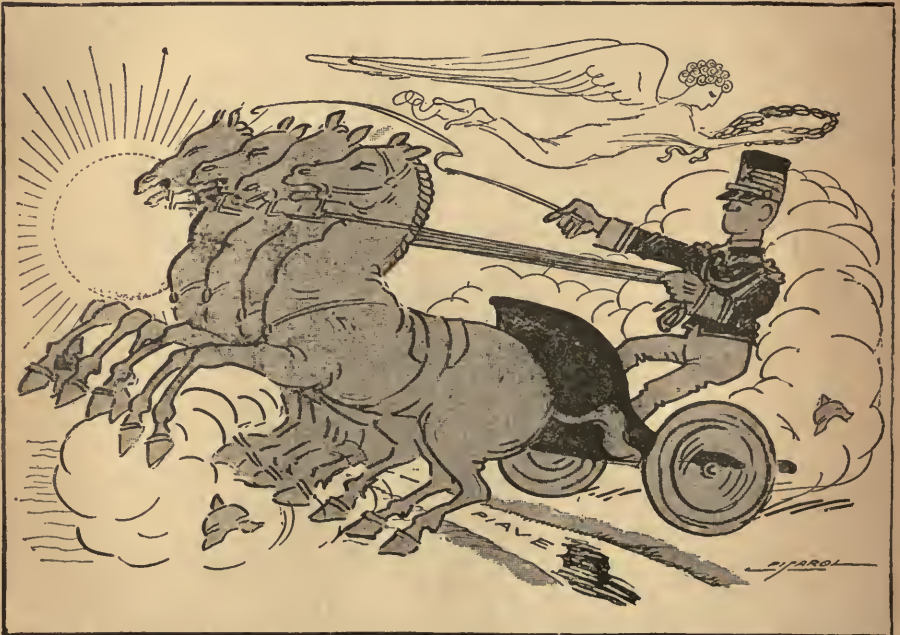
"Who would have thought that those miserable twins, Justice and Right, could have made such a resistance!"



—Iberia, Barcelona.

Good heavens! Another German offensive!

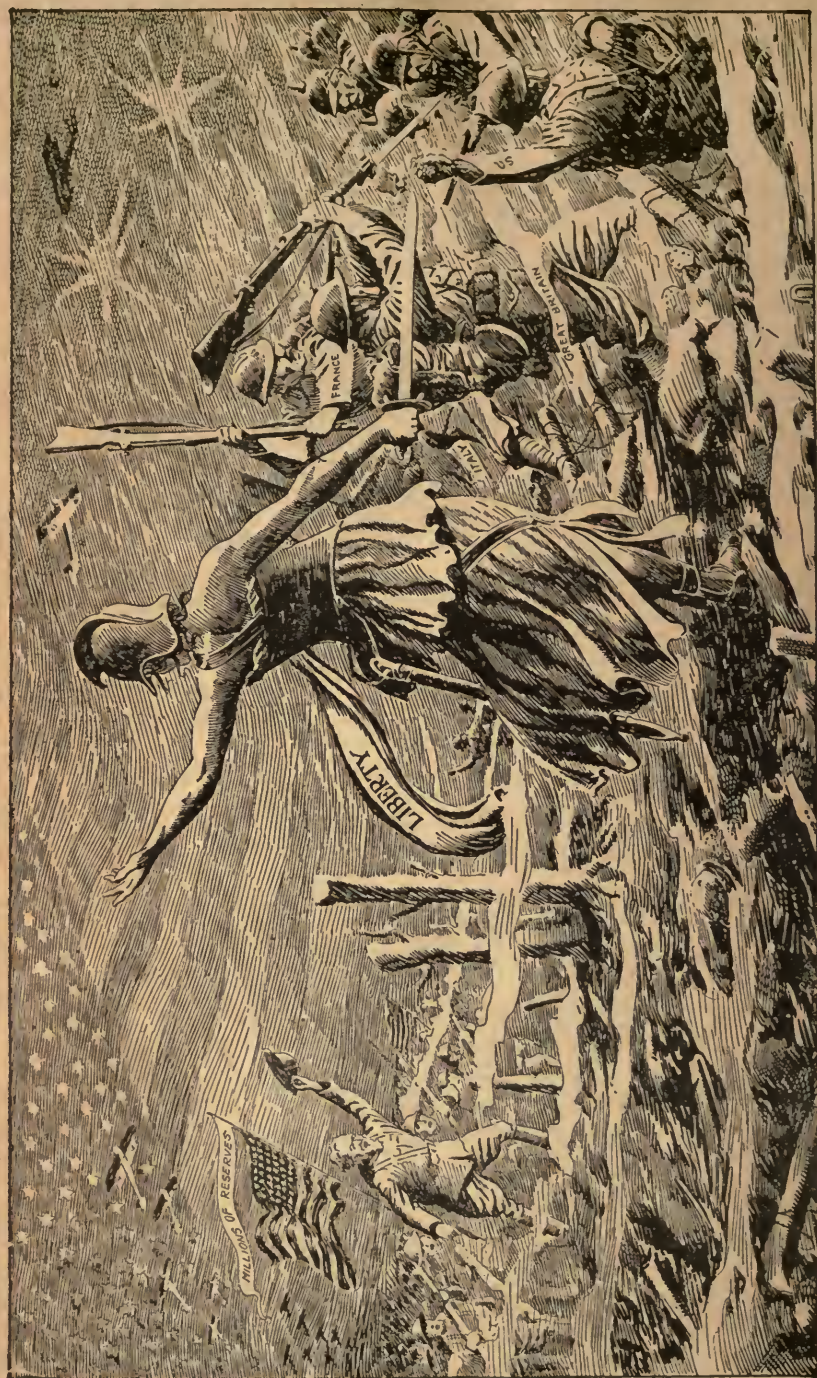
The Successor of Garibaldi



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

Italy's commander sweeps the enemy back over the Piave.

“BY THE DAWN’S EARLY LIGHT”



—From The Dayton Daily News.

[Australian Cartoon]
Proving His Bona Fides



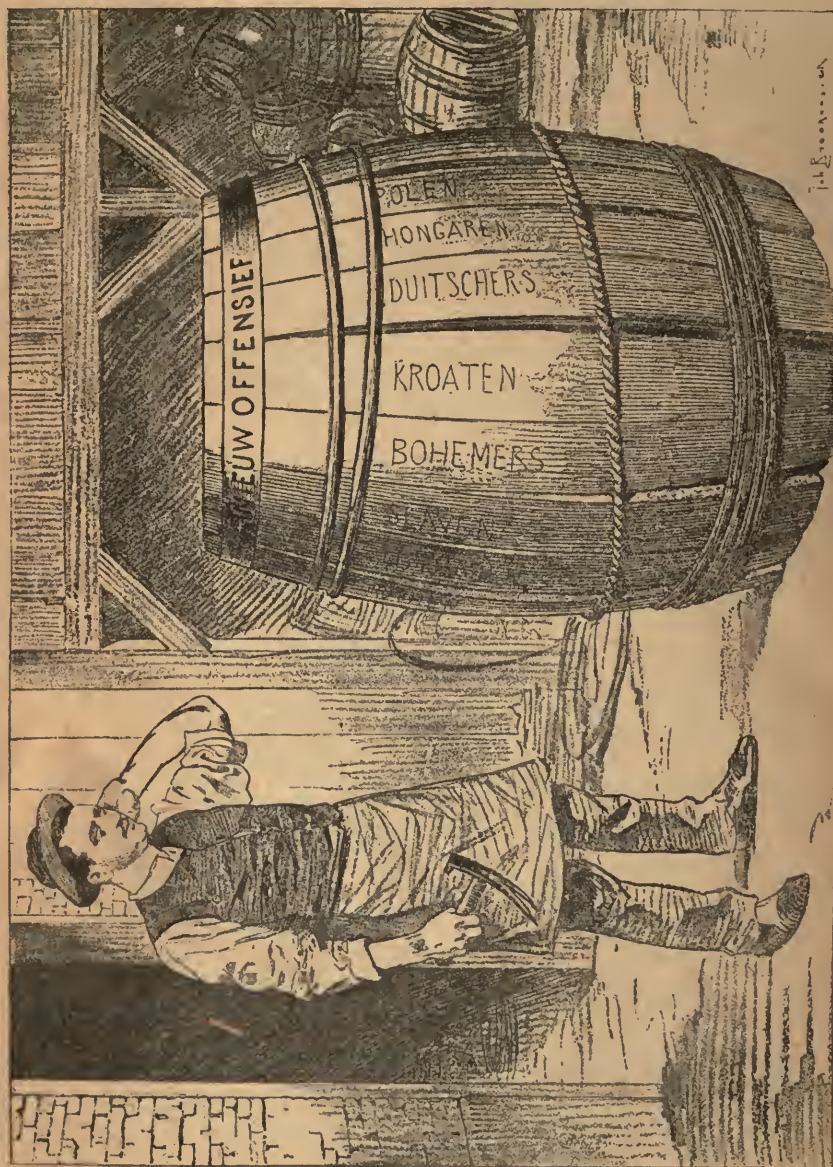
THE HAWKER: "I want to make a deal so much dot I put up der price higher and higher, and STILL she don't go off!"

—From *The Sydney Bulletin*.

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Old Austro- Hungarian Barrel

COOPER KARL: "With
this new hoop I hope
the old thing will
hang together a bit
longer."



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

[American Cartoon]

Another Vacation Spoiled

"But you promised to
take me to the seashore
this Summer!"

—From *The New York
Times*.



[Italian Cartoon]

Held!



—From Il 420, Florence.

A Happy Prospect for Karl

Souvenirs for Gretchen



—The Passing Show, London.



—London Opinion.

[Australian Cartoon]

Bolshevist Statesmen at Work
on a Platform

[American Cartoon]
No Trespassing



—New York Evening Post.



—Sydney Bulletin.

"Salome" in the Paris Opera

The Entente Cry-Babies



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

SALOME (Clemenceau): "Give me the head of Joseph Caillaux."



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"Come, Uncle Sam, oh, come and save us!"

The Race

Still Unsatisfied



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"For the Germans as well as for the Allies these weeks have been a race between Hindenburg and Wilson."—Lloyd George's Edinburgh speech.



—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

DEATH: "Not high enough yet."

The Skeleton in Armor



The German Army Is Said to Be Suffering From the Grip



—Detroit News.

Remember the Lusitania!



Effects of Kühlmann's Speech



—Central Press Association.

[American Cartoons]

Stopped by the Stars and Stripes



Another German Gas Attack



From the Mire

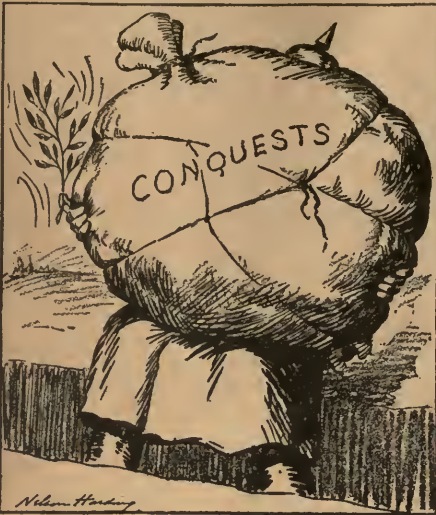


The Footprints in the Sand



—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

Trying to Wave the Branch and
Hold the Bundle



"Gott"



Stepping Stones



High Tide



—Nelson Harding in Brooklyn Eagle.

The Kaiser's War Council



—Washington Times.

"The Face That Launched a Thousand Ships"



—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The End of a Perfect Day



—New York World.

Pinching the Mailed Fist



—Newark Evening News.



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